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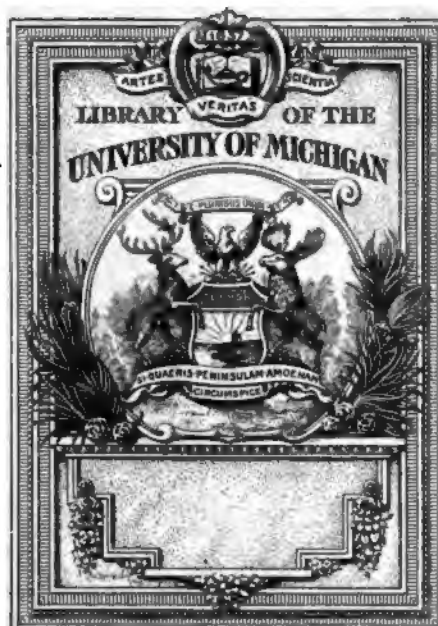
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THE  
MAGAZINE  
OF  
AMERICAN HISTORY  
WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. III

A. S. BARNES & COMPANY  
NEW YORK AND CHICAGO  
1879

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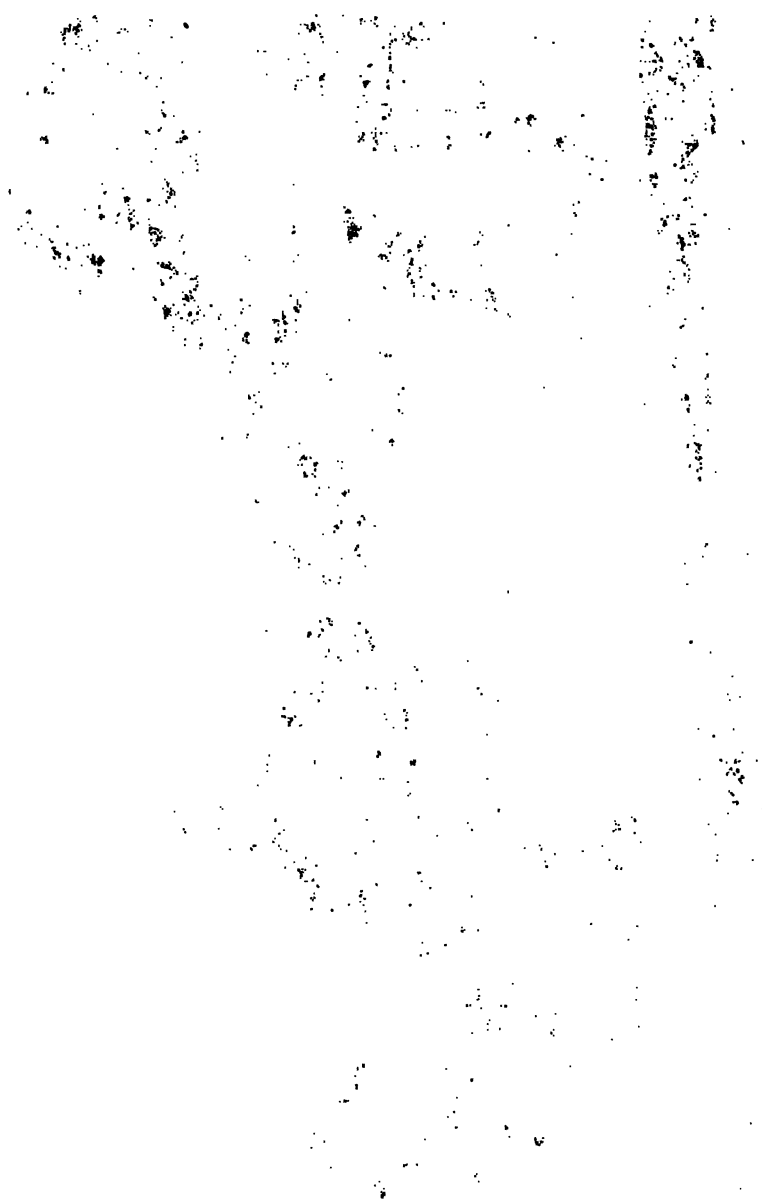


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## BIRTH OF THE EMPIRE STATE

FORMATION OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF NEW YORK

1777

ON the 10th May 1776, the Continental Congress adopted a resolution recommending to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs had been already established, to adopt such government as should, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in general, and America in particular. This was accompanied by a preamble adopted on the 15th of May, declaring the necessity of a total suppression of every kind of authority under the crown of Great Britain and an exercise of all the powers of government under the authority of the people of the colonies.

The colony of New York was, at this period, without a regular government. The assembly had been for more than a year prorogued, the English Governor Tryon had fled for safety to the ship *Duchess of Gordon*, which lay in the bay under the guns of the men-of-war on the station, and public affairs were under the control of a Provincial Congress elected in the month of April preceding, and then sitting in the City Hall of New York. This Congress was in every sense a revolutionary and temporary body. It was the third in succession from that first Provincial Congress called into being by the Committee of Inspection, immediately after the battle of Lexington, to deliberate upon and from time to time to devise measures expedient for the public safety.

The preamble and resolutions of the Continental Congress were read in the Provincial Congress of New York, on the 24th of May. Mr. Gouverneur Morris opened the business by a long argument



"showing the necessity of the measure and that this was the crisis in which it should be done, and concluded with a motion to appoint a committee to draw up a recommendation to the people of the colony for the choosing of persons to frame a government." Here was shown the tenacity with which even the representatives of the landed estates clung to the popular rights. This was not a strange view for Mr. Morris, whose ancestors had from the early days of English rule been staunch advocates of liberal opinions and unswerving opponents of the encroachments of the Crown. Here was the first public appearance of this gentleman, then but twenty-four, who later became renowned on both hemispheres for his varied accomplishments, versatile talents and commanding eloquence. His views were not concurred in at the moment, being opposed even by the popular leader, John Morin Scott, but they were not without their weight on the Convention. The whole subject was referred to a committee, of which Mr. Henry Remsen was Chairman, who reported on the 27th that they were of the opinion "that the right of framing, creating or new modeling civil governments is and ought to be in the people;" that the "old form of government was dissolved, and a new and regular form of internal government and police had become absolutely necessary." In addition, adopting the view of Mr. Morris, they stated that there were doubts whether the people had invested the Provincial Congress with sufficient authority to frame and institute such government, doubts which could and of right ought to be removed by the good people of the colony, and recommended that the inhabitants of the several counties be summoned to confirm their present or elect new representatives, but with express authority to institute a new internal form of government.

New York had always been jealous of its rights; nowhere were the great principles of English liberty more thoroughly understood than in this colony. In the words of Chancellor Kent, through the whole period of the colonial history "the General Assembly of New York rarely ceased to sustain its rights and assert its dignity with becoming spirit against the whole weight and influence of the delegated powers of royalty." This character of the House, he adds with graceful and forcible illustration, "was a consequence naturally flowing from the healthy and vigorous principle of popular elections, which, like the touch of Antæus of his mother Earth in his struggles with Hercules, always communicated fresh strength and courage to renew the contest."

The report of the committee was agreed to; on the 31st (May) resolutions were adopted setting forth the causes of their action and

recommending the new election of a new body, to meet in New York the second Monday in July, with power to constitute a new government, and on the 10th June the electors were earnestly recommended to inform their deputies of their sentiments relative to the great question of independence which was then before the Continental Congress.

The Provincial Congress continued to meet, taking action for the organizing of regiments and providing for the defense of the city, until the 30th June, when, the British fleet and army under Sir William Howe having entered the harbor, the public papers and treasure were removed to White Plains. It then adjourned to meet at the Court House in that town on the 2d July, and summoned the new Congress elected under their instructions to meet at the same place on the 8th July. The expiring Congress held no further session.

On the 9th the new Provincial Congress for the colony of New York met at the Court House (White Plains), and a majority appearing, organized with the election of General Nathaniel Woodhull as President and of John McKesson and Robert Benson for Secretaries. Immediately after the examination of credentials and the passing of a resolution empowering the General to call out the militia, a letter from the New York delegates in Continental Congress was read, inclosing the Declaration of Independence signed by John Hancock, President of Congress. The letter and Declaration were referred to a committee, which in the afternoon of that same day made a report which was unanimously agreed to, and the delegates in Congress were clothed with full power to concert and adopt all such measures as they deemed conducive to the happiness and welfare of the United States of America. It may here be properly noticed that the letter of John Hancock, President of Congress, dated the 6th July, announcing the passage of the Declaration, did not reach the convention till the 11th, when it immediately ordered a reply to the effect that on information of the Declaration from the New York delegates the convention had anticipated the request of the Continental Congress.

On the 10th it was resolved and ordered that the style or title of the House be changed from that of the "Provincial Congress of the Colony of New York" to that of the "*Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York.*" The next day the Convention appointed Tuesday, the 16th July, to take into consideration the resolve of the Continental Congress, of the 10th May, recommending the formation of a government.

Meanwhile the state of affairs in and about the city of New York had become alarming, and the Convention was fully occupied in preparations

to meet the attack hourly expected; in giving aid to General Washington who was in personal command of the defenses, and in securing the Highland passes and the communication with Albany. On the 12th a second fleet, under command of Lord Howe, arrived at Sandy Hook, and in the afternoon of the same day two of the ships of war, taking advantage of the tide and a favorable breeze, ran past the batteries, and came to anchor off Tarrytown in the Tappaan Zee. Nothing better shows the patriotic self-sacrificing spirit which governed the Convention than their unanimous passage of a resolution pledging to General Washington, if he should think it expedient for the preservation of the State and the general interests of America, to abandon the city of New York and withdraw the troops to the north side of Kings Bridge, their full co-operation in every measure necessary for that purpose. In this grave emergency there was little time for the immediate business for which they were convened, and on the 16th—the appointed day—the consideration of the necessity and propriety of establishing an independent civil government was postponed until the 1st of August. At the same time, to provide for a due administration of the law in the interim, all magistrates and other officers of justice in the State, who were well affected to the liberties of America, were requested until further orders to exercise their respective offices, provided that all processes and other proceedings be under the authority and in the name of the STATE OF NEW YORK.

The Convention likewise unanimously resolved that all persons abiding within the State and deriving protection from the laws of the same owed allegiance to the said laws and were members of the State, and all persons making a temporary stay therein were entitled to its protection and owed to it temporary allegiance, and finally declared that all persons, owing allegiance as above described, who should levy war against the State within the same or adhere to the King of Great Britain be guilty of *treason* and that thereof convicted they should suffer the *pains and penalties of death*. Proclamation of these resolutions was ordered in the city of New York at the City Hall after notice by ringing of the bells and publication made in the newspapers.

In such manner, under the pressure of a military situation unexampled in the history of the colonies, did the State of New York emerge from its colonial trammels, and boldly throwing off dependence upon the mother country and allegiance to the King, assert the sovereignty of the people of whom it was composed. No more thorough or complete instance of an absolute popular body-politic can be imagined or devised.

The people, retaining all the rights which had before been vested in them, now assumed also all the reserved right and authorities claimed or exercised by Parliament and the Crown. On the 29th July the Convention ordered the transfer of all their records, files and papers and the treasure to Harlem, where they renewed their sessions in the church on the 29th.

On the 1st of August, the day designated, on motion of Mr. Gouverneur Morris of Westchester, seconded by Mr. William Duer of Charlotte, a committee was appointed to report a *form of government*, and, at the suggestion of Mr. Adgate of Albany, at the same time directed to report a *bill of rights* as the foundation for such a form of government. This committee included the most distinguished men of the Convention. They were John Jay, John Sloss Hobart, William Smith, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris, Robert R. Livingston, John Broome, John Morin Scott, Abraham Yates, Henry Wisner, Sr., Samuel Townshend, Charles De Witt and Robert Yates.

The committee appears to have at once set about the work entrusted to them, but to have been impeded by the non-attendance of Jay and Livingston, who were engaged upon important business on the Secret Committee. This secret committee, raised by the Provincial Congress the 18th May, 1775, to confer and advise with the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces in the colony, had been continued by the Convention, and was now engaged in aiding General George Clinton in raising and provisioning the troops and obstructing the navigation of the Hudson. To the letter of the Convention, inviting them immediately to attend its deliberations for the framing of a new government, written on the 12th, reply was made that they were informed by Clinton that their services in the Secret Committee could not be dispensed with.

On the 28th August, by a resolution which declared the defenseless town of Harlem liable to surprise by a small body of men from the enemy's ships of war in the Sound and the situation of their army on Long Island, the Convention adjourned to Fishkill, in Dutchess County, whither the treasure and records were immediately removed, and a Committee of Safety was appointed for the interim.

On the 5th September the Convention resumed its sittings at the Episcopal Church in Fishkill, but it was found to be "so foul with the dung of doves and fowls, and so uncomfortable without any benches, seats or other conveniences," that an immediate adjournment was made to the Dutch Church. The reason of this condition of the Episcopal Church is easily found. The clergy, holding their offices by the

Establishment of which the King was the head, had almost without exception ceased to hold services, and in many instances had withdrawn from their charge. The sessions of the Convention at Fishkill were held in constant fear of surprise, to guard against which on the 12th October a supply of arms and ammunition was ordered for self-protection.

In the fall and winter of 1776-1777 the country was ravaged by the smallpox, the curse of the last century. The army in Canada had been decimated by it, and it had made its appearance in all the larger cities, where inoculation was as yet powerless to check its spread, owing in part doubtless to the general dread of even the milder form of the disease. In January, 1777, the epidemic reached Fishkill, and great alarm was felt that it would be communicated to the barracks. On the 25th the Convention resolved to move again, and on the 11th February adjourned to Kingston, in Ulster County, where they met on the 6th of March. The quarters taken by them here were not much more convenient than those they had left. Kingston, though at this period the third town in the State, was infested by a dangerous population. The prisoners were confined here. The very room in the Court House, in which the Convention sat, was directly over the jail, the nauseous and disagreeable effluvia arising from which caused the introduction of a resolution allowing members to smoke in self-defence until the jail could be cleared and the prisoners removed. During all the intervals of session the affairs of the State were managed by the Committee of Safety chosen by the Convention.

Some of the reasons for delay in the draft of a constitution have been mentioned. The principal one, however, seems to have been the varied and important service demanded of Mr. Jay, the chairman of the committee to whom it had been assigned. Mr. Jay, although at this period only thirty-one years of age, had proved himself the equal of the wisest of the prudent, intelligent men to whom the colonies had cheerfully intrusted their destinies. Bred to the bar, and by the nature of his even, well-tempered mind, as well as careful training, fitted for trusts where not only manly courage but serene judgment were required, he had already made an enduring mark in his address to the people of Great Britain, by universal acknowledgement the ablest of the papers of the First Continental Congress, of 1774. He was now not only a member of the Continental Congress, of which he was, with Robert Morris, a member of the Secret Committee of Correspondence charged with the foreign relations, but he had also been appointed chairman of a "Committee to detect and defeat conspiracies against the liberties of

America," a body to which formidable and almost unlimited powers were intrusted; it was authorized to draw upon the treasury, enforce secrecy, and to raise a special force to execute their commands.

Notwithstanding these varied duties the pen of Mr. Jay was again called into service, and in December he drafted an address of the people of New York to their constituents, which his son, Mr. William Jay, in his life of his illustrious sire, describes as the most animated and thrilling that ever flowed from his pen. It was signed by the President of the Convention and promulgated on the 23d December. This paper is marked by the severity and dignity of style which belonged to the time, and illustrated by references to biblical and classical history after the fashion of the day. In its compactness of thought and conciseness of expression it has scarcely an equal among the State papers of the period. This address was widely circulated in pamphlet form. Congress, on the 16th January, acknowledged its receipt, and informed the New York Convention that it contained sentiments highly and generally interesting to the inhabitants of the United States, to whose serious perusal and attention it was earnestly recommended, and ordered that it be translated into the German language and printed at the expense of the colonies.

The contemporaneous record of the proceedings of the Convention is extremely meagre, and recently printed diaries have added nothing to it. Those were days of action. Men lived apart from their families amid the dangers of war and disease, and found little time for correspondence except of a public nature, and of this the vicissitudes and migrations of the members both of the Continental Congress and the Convention have left few remains. Not half a dozen letters of Jay of this period have been printed; of Gouverneur Morris not so many. Of the constitution of the State of New York, Sparks says that there was a party in favor of postponing it, and that Jay was probably of that opinion; but we find nothing in the record or in any published correspondence to support this view. It is true that the dissensions in Pennsylvania with regard to their constitution were a source of alarm to Congress, and had led to a feeling in that body that the general interests of the country would have been promoted by a delay in the establishment by New York of the new form of State government. But these dilatory views were not laid before the Convention of New York until after its constitution had been adopted, and cannot therefore be held to have influenced its action. Chancellor Kent, in his discourse already referred to, states that the Constitution was in the handwriting of Jay, and that it was

reported by Duane, and that they, together with Gouverneur Morris and Robert R. Livingston, were probably among the most efficient professional members of the Convention in the producing of the instrument. Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck, an authority no less distinguished, asserted in his address before Columbia College in 1830 that Mr. Jay "drafted and in effect himself formed the instrument under which the State of New York lived for forty-five years, which still formed the basis of our present State government, and from which other States have since borrowed many of its more remarkable and original provisions."

Before entering upon a consideration of the instrument thus recommended to the Convention as the basis of the new jurisprudence of the State, it will be well to examine the form of government in the New York colony prior to the overthrow of the King's authority. Mr. O'Connor, in his address before the New York Historical Society upon "The Constitutions,"—in commemoration of the centennial anniversary of the adoption of the constitution of the State—wisely observed that undoubtedly the best and freest constitution for its own creators that any people had ever enjoyed before 1776 was that of England, and he added that even then "there still remained deeply seated in the American heart an almost boundless admiration of all English institutions that were either compatible with perfect equality and religious freedom or that it seemed possible to mould into harmony with them." History bears out the truth of this observation. Nowhere can stronger proof of it be found than in the concise and admirable declaration contained in the petition addressed to the King by the General Assembly of New York on the 18th October, 1764, just prior to the passage of the Stamp Act. This document stated:

"That His Majesty's royal predecessors, sensible that the subject by the laws of our happy constitution carries with him his allegiance to the most distant corners of the earth, and that the protection of his constitutional rights and privileges is the true reason of that allegiance, not only authorized the emigration of their subjects, but acquiesced in the transfer of those rights and privileges to this distant part of your dominions, to be enjoyed by them on the same tenure of subjection by which they held them at home.

"That hence so soon after the first planting of this colony as in the year 1683, a political frame was erected in the nearest possible resemblance to that of our mother country, of which the constituent parts were a governor and council in the royal appointment, and a representation of the people by their own free election.

“ That in these three branches was lodged the legislative authority of the colony, and particularly the power of taxing its inhabitants for the support of the Government. And in the uninterrupted enjoyment of this constitution has Your Majesty’s colony of New York continued from that period down to the present day.”

It will be observed how closely the Convention, in its resolution of the 16th August, adhered to the very words of this declaration of 1764 of the reciprocal rights and duties of the State and its citizens, and of the nature of allegiance and protection.

On the 13th March, 1777, the order of the day being read, the Convention proceeded to the consideration of the report of the committee, and it was read. It was again read by clauses; when, after the reading of the first clause, Mr. Morris displayed the independence and eccentricity of his character by demanding leave that each member who should dissent with his county on any section of the plan should have leave to enter his dissent and reasons therefor on the minutes, but his motion was overruled by a large majority. The instrument was then debated by clauses. The first section, declaring that no authority shall on any pretense whatever be exercised over the people or members of this State but such as shall be derived from and granted by them, was unanimously agreed to.

The section vesting the supreme legislative power in two separate and distinct bodies of men—the one the Assembly, the other the Senate—was subject of debate. Mr. Morris moved to amend the section so as to include the Governor, that he might have power to give assent or dissent to any law, but none to originate or amend. On motion of Mr. Duane the discussion was postponed till the next day, when Mr. Morris’s amendment was carried by a large majority. On the 1st April Mr. Jay moved a reconsideration of this vote, which was amended by a proposition of Robert R. Livingston, making the Governor, Judge and Chancellor a check upon every bill. This plan arranged for a review by them acting in Council of revision, with power to them to return the same to the Senate with their objection, when if two-thirds of them on reconsideration adhered to their vote it should be, with the objection, sent down to the General Assembly to be by them reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds become a law. A second paragraph provided against any unnecessary delay by declaring that any bill should become a law if not returned by the Council to the Senate within ten days, unless the Legislature should have adjourned in the meanwhile, when it should be returned within the first ten days of the



next session. This amendment was carried by a vote of 31 to 4, and the Council established. This it will be seen conferred but small power upon the Executive, an office which the abuses of the colonial Governors had brought into extreme distrust. A Governor to be chosen by a majority of the freeholders, to hold office for three years, to command the army and navy, to convene and prorogue the Legislature, and under certain restrictions to grant reprieves and pardons to persons convicted of crimes other than treason or murder, in which he had power of suspension of sentence until the Legislature should direct execution or grant further reprieve. A Lieutenant-Governor was provided for, to be elected at the same time as the Governor, who should be President of the Senate. The upper House to consist of twenty-four Senators, freeholders chosen by freeholders possessed of a freehold of the value of £100; to be elected for four years, and divided by lot into four classes, six in each class, who should go out annually in turn according to their numbers, so that the fourth part of the Senate be chosen annually. Their election was arranged to be by the freeholders of four great districts, the southern, middle, eastern and western, in proportion to their population. When this section was debated, endeavors were made on the one hand to reduce the districts to one, which would have elected the Senators by general vote, and on the other to increase them to fourteen, which would make the body more popular, but both amendments were rejected by a large majority. Other proposals of change met the same fate. It was also provided that the number of the Senate should never exceed one hundred. Here is noted the beginning of that difference of opinion as to the proper basis and extent of representation which culminated in the hot debates over the adoption of the United States Constitution and the triumph of the Federal party in 1789.

The lower house to consist of at least seventy members, to be annually elected by the freeholders of the several counties possessing a freehold to the amount of £20 or having rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of 40 shillings; this Assembly to choose its own Speaker and enjoy the same privileges "as the Assembly of New York *of right* formerly did"; the Assembly never to exceed three hundred members. The provision concerning those who had rented tenements was introduced by Robert R. Livingston and seconded by Gouverneur Morris. Both of these gentlemen represented great landed estates, with a large and increasing tenantry. On the final vote of 33, the only negatives, 8 in number, came from the representatives of the county of New York. An amendment offered by Mr. Morris, extending the franchise to all freemen of

the city of Albany, and all who were made freemen of the city of New York before the 14th October, 1775, which was incorporated, seems to have disposed of the objections to this clause.

The mode of voting was a matter of considerable debate, and indeed it had been for sometime a matter of dispute in the city of New York, where the popular party was strong. Among the curious handbills in the collection of the New York Historical Society are two which show the strength of the feeling which prevailed before the Revolution with regard to the open and secret ballot. One dated January 4, 1770, and signed by several of the most distinguished citizens, among whom Beekman, Alsop, Ludlow, Bache, Lawrence and Laight, calls a meeting at the Merchants' Coffee House to inform the city representatives in the Assembly that the reports circulated that "voters had been intimidated at elections were void of foundation," and that "they (the subscribers) were not to be prevented by any motives whatever from daring and choosing to speak their minds freely and openly, to do which at all times is their *birthright* as *Englishmen* and their glory as *Americans*." On the other hand, an advertisement appeared the next day informing those who were inclined to sign petitions to the Assembly, praying it to pass a law to elect the representatives by *ballot*, could find them at various public houses, the resort of the Liberty Boys, and that the petitions would be cared for by Walter Franklin and Isaac Sears, both leaders of the popular party. The feeling in favor of a secret ballot must have gained ground even with the conservative party, as the original draft of the constitution contained such a provision. When this section came up, however, the words "by ballot" were struck out on a motion of Gouverneur Morris by a vote of 18 to 12; but some days later Mr. Jay, with his usual tenacity, moved a substitute for the paragraph amended by Mr. Morris, which, finally adopted by a vote of 33 to 3, ordered that as soon as practicable after the war all elections should be by ballot, while it left it within the power of a two-thirds vote of the Legislature, at any time after a full and fair experiment of the vote by ballot, to return to the practice of the *viva-voce* vote. As a large land-holder Mr. Morris was loath to part with the influence which the open vote upon the English plan naturally exerted on his extensive tenantry. Those who have read his letter to Penn, describing the scene which occurred in New York in 1774 on the appointment of the Committee of Correspondence, will understand his disposition to control the electoral franchise. In that letter he expresses his fear of "mob government."

The judicial system cannot be better described than in the eloquent words of Mr. O'Connor on the occasion already alluded to. "Local courts and a probate judiciary were instituted, as well as a superintending common law tribunal carried the Supreme Court side by side with chancery to mitigate the rigor of its form and supply its deficiencies. All these were patterned after the English judicial system; nor was its crowning feature overlooked. The only State organism that bore any shadow of resemblance to the English House of Peers was the Senate; and there, in the closest imitation of our parent State, the constitution enthroned the supreme judicial power with final appellate jurisdiction in law and equity. Grace and majesty shone forth in the copy as in the original." The law was declared to be such parts of the common law of England and of the statute law of England and Great Britain, and of the acts of the colony as were in force the 19th April, 1775. It will be observed that the day of the first military attack of Great Britain upon American liberties at Lexington was here selected.

The question of religious toleration was a subject of difference of opinion and of sharp discussion. When the paragraph was read declaring that "the free toleration of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever hereafter be allowed within the State to all mankind," Mr. Jay moved to "except the professors of the religion of the Church of Rome until they should take oath that they verily believed that no Pope, priest or foreign authority hath power to absolve the subjects of the State from allegiance, and unless they renounce the false, wicked and damnable doctrine that the Pope has power to absolve men from sins." The journals recite that there was long debate thereon, but to the everlasting credit of the Convention and the State the amendment was rejected by a vote of 19 to 10, New York County, to her honor, casting 8 of her 10 votes against the intolerant measure. Robert R. Livingston the next day moved as a proviso "that this toleration shall not extend to justify the professors of any religion in disturbing the peace or violating the laws of this State," but the Convention would not hear to the change. Mr. Jay then offered a proviso "that the liberty of conscience hereby granted shall not be construed to encourage licentiousness or be used in such manner as to disturb or endanger the safety of the State." Morris was too clear-sighted not to see that this restriction was practically the same as that offered previously, and called the yeas and nays upon it, but the Convention in their regard for Jay decided that it was not the same in substance and adopted the amendment. At a later period in the debate,

on motion of Morris, some modification was made and the proviso altered to read; "that the liberty of conscience hereby granted shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the safety of the State." No religious belief could therefore be pleaded in defence of illegal actions.

The discussion of the article relating to the naturalization of persons coming into the State offered an occasion for the renewal of this debate in another form. The original paragraph left it in the discretion of the Legislature to naturalize in such manner as they should think proper, provided that all such of the persons, so to be by them naturalized as "being born beyond sea and out of the United States of America, who shall come to settle in and become subjects of the State," shall take an oath of allegiance to the State. This clause offering an opportunity to reach the restriction against Papists, defeated in the clause granting religious toleration, Mr. Jay, true to his Huguenot instincts, moved an additional proviso, that all such persons shall abjure and renounce all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate and State in all matters *ecclesiastic* as well as civil. Morris moved to strike out the words "and subjection," but was overruled, and indeed his alteration can hardly be considered to have any practical bearing. In considering the motives of each it must not be forgotten that under the English rule Papists had been not only under civil disabilities, but that they were also forbidden the exercise of their religion. The door was now to be thrown wide open. During the debate Mr. Jay moved a resolution "that nothing in the clauses should be construed to interfere with the connections between the Dutch congregations and the Classis and Synods of Holland, or to discontinue the innocent connections which non-Episcopalian congregations in this State have heretofore maintained with their respective mother churches in Europe, or to interfere in any of the rights of the Episcopalian churches now in this State, except such as involve a foreign subjection."

The Convention rejected the amendments by a large majority. Their determined purpose in no manner to recognize in the constitution any religious distinction was everywhere apparent. A paragraph, excluding all ministers of the gospel from office, civil or military, was adopted without debate. This is the first instance on record of complete religious toleration, and of an absolute separation of Church from State.

Trial by jury was declared to be forever inviolate. No acts of attainder to be passed after the war was terminated, and no acts should work "corruption of blood." This last was on Mr. Jay's motion.

Efforts were made to replace unanimity in the verdicts of juries by a three-fourths agreement, but were defeated by a large majority.

A militia service was ordained, and Quakers excused on payment of a sum of money, to be estimated by the State, in lieu of personal service.

A clause provided for the protection of Indians within the State limits. This also was due to the benevolent spirit of Mr. Jay.

The name of Jay is indissolubly connected with the abolition of slavery in this State, but to Gouverneur Morris belongs the honor of having been the first to introduce a recommendation "to the future Legislatures of the State to take the most effectual measures, consistent with the public safety and private property of individuals, for abolishing domestic slavery within the same, so that in future ages every human being who breathes the air of this State shall enjoy the privileges of a freeman." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 24 to 8. The next day a preamble, declaring it "inexpedient to proceed to the liberating of slaves within the State in the present situation thereof," was carried; but when the preamble and paragraph were read together, Mr. Robert R. Livingston moved the previous question, and the merciful recommendation proposed by Mr. Morris was defeated. Mr. Jay does not appear to have been present during the debate on this clause.

The day after (Sunday, the 20th April) the constitution or plan of government, as amended and completed, was read throughout, and was agreed to by every member present except Colonel Peter R. Livingston, of Albany, who desired his dissent to be entered on the minutes.

Such was the constitution which subsisted without material change until 1846. In it will be found the main features later adopted in the present Constitution of the United States by and for the people of the United States. A committee, composed of Robert R. Livingston, John Morin Scott, Abraham Yates, John Jay, and John Sloss Hobart, was immediately appointed to prepare and report a plan for organizing and establishing the government agreed to by the Convention.

On the 8th May provision was made for a Council of Safety of fifteen, who were invested with all the powers necessary for the safety and preservation of the State, until a meeting of the Legislature should be held. They were charged with the administration of the oath of office to the Governor as soon as he should be chosen, when he was at once to enter upon his executive power. The Sheriffs were directed to hold elections in the several counties, and return the poll-lists to the Council of Safety, who should administer the oaths of office, and the Legislature was summoned to meet at Kingston on the 1st July.


On the 13th May Philip Schuyler, Philip Livingston, James Duane, William Duer and Gouverneur Morris were chosen by the Convention as delegates to represent and give the vote of the State in the Congress of the United States, and the Convention dissolved.

It is admirable to observe the serene dignity preserved in the debates of this body from its beginning to its close, a period during which every county in the State was at some time invaded by the enemy. The stern stuff of which this representative body was composed, may be judged by the number of its members who were alternately in their seats or with their regiments in the field. Their first President, Brigadier-General Woodhull, lost his life in an effort to carry out an order of the Convention to save the stock in Suffolk county after the defeat of Long Island.

On the 9th July the poll-lists and ballots were examined, when it was found that the number of votes for Senators was in the western districts 7,017; in the middle districts, 6,162. The vote in the eastern district does not appear on the record. The inhabitants of this section, which was known as the New Hampshire Grants, were endeavoring to set up a separate State government, and had in many places declined to vote. The southern district, being in possession of the enemy, could not vote, but the ordinance of May 6th had provided for their representation by appointment.

There do not seem to have been any set nominations. Forty-one candidates were voted for in the western and twenty-seven in the middle districts. Only a fragment of the official returns of the vote for Governor remains. By it we learn that the candidates were George Clinton, John Morin Scott, Philip Schuyler, John Jay, Philip Livingston and Robert R. Livingston.

George Clinton was elected both Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Holding the commission of general, he was at this time in charge of Fort Montgomery, on the Hudson, upon which a sudden attack was, from information given by deserters, hourly expected. He wrote on the 11th accepting, though with marked reluctance, the trust imposed upon him. The duties of his post still detaining him, the Council of Safety on the 21st, not feeling justified in longer holding the powers vested in them, passed a resolution earnestly requesting him to appear before them and take the oath of office. The council having on the 16th summoned the Legislature to meet at Kingston on the 1st August, Clinton could make no further postponement, and on the 31st July he, in the rooms of the Council of Safety, took the oath prescribed, and



in the evening, in the presence of a large concourse of citizens, two companies of militia attending, he was by the President of the Council proclaimed Governor, General and Commander-in-Chief of all the militia and Admiral of the Navy of the State. We can imagine the thrilling scene, when the brave soldier, fresh from his command, which he still insisted on retaining notwithstanding his new honors, appeared before the people of the State of whom he was the favored son. His career, his long service in the council and the field fully justified the popular confidence. As has been said of him by one who knew him well, "he had a boldness and inflexibility of purpose and decision and simplicity of character which resembled those of the hardy sons of antiquity in the best days of Roman freedom, when the sages and heroes displayed the majestic port and stern defiance of the 'lords of human kind.'" John Holt, the patriotic printer, was ordered to strike off 500 copies of the proclamation, to which was affixed the novel phrase, "God save the people."

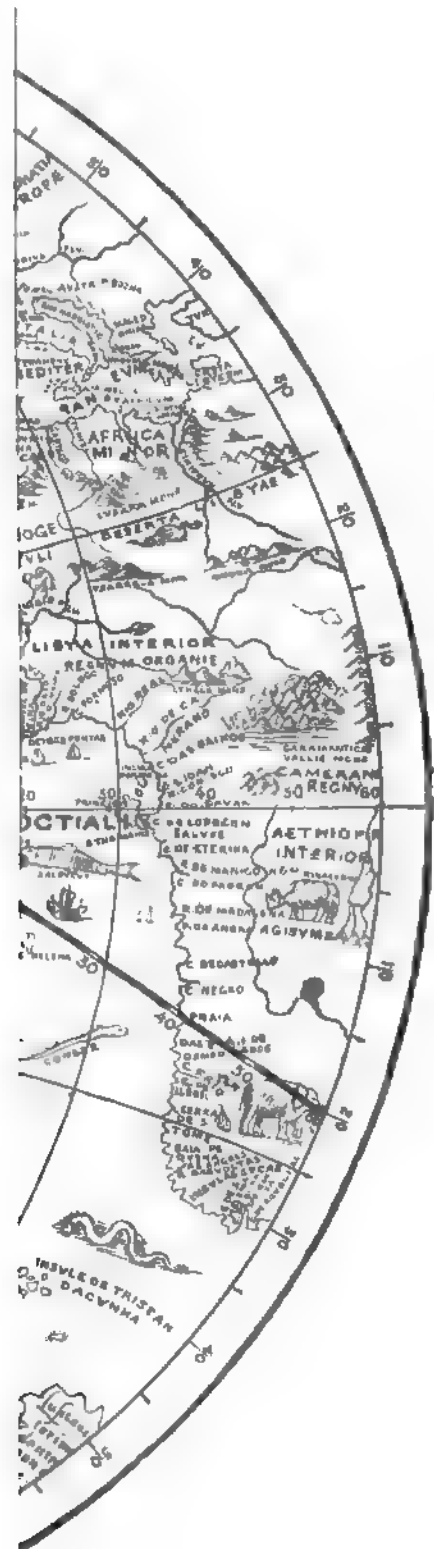
The Legislature did not meet again until the 9th of September, being prorogued from time to time by the Governor. In his first message Clinton gave as the reason for his delay the "invasion of the State on the northern and western frontier and the prospect of an attack by General Howe on the fortress in the Highlands."

The Court House, in which the Convention which adopted the constitution sat, was burned by the British during Vaughan's raid on the river counties, and no view of it is known to the writer. The Senate met for a short time in a building which, somewhat altered, is still standing on the corner of Clinton Avenue and North Front Street, Kingston. It was later occupied by General Armstrong of revolutionary fame, and is now in the possession of Frederick E. Westbrooke. It is known as the Senate House. In it the new government, however, met under favorable auspices. In the words of the Governor in his opening address, the cloud which hung over the State seemed to be in a great measure dispelled, and there were reasons to expect a happy issue of the campaign. The Mohawk Valley had been preserved by the bravery of the garrison of Fort Schuyler and the intrepidity of the gallant Herkimer. Stark had utterly routed the left wing of the British, and the rapid rally of the militia to the support of Gates was already threatening the early destruction of Burgoyne's army. The clouds which hung over the State still lowered for a time, but finally dissolved beneath the glorious sun which, bursting over the plains of Saratoga, cheered and illumined the continent.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS







## THE GLOBE OF VLPIUS

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the Italian people, were regarded in many respects as palmy days. At that flourishing period many of the sons of Italy proved themselves worthy of their noble origin; and as the ancient Romans built highways of marvelous magnitude upon the land, the modern Italians opened the distant paths of the sea. Columbus was inspired by the spirit of Cæsar, though while the one conquered with the astrolabe and compass, the other prevailed with the sword. America does not recognize the debt which she owes to the pent up cities of the Italian peninsula, whose inhabitants, inspired by an irrepressible ardor, went forth to transform what was a "Sea of Darkness" into a Sea of Light. The desire to abolish *Ultima Thule*, and make good the prophecy of Seneca, animated all classes of society. Even the monk in his cloister labored to furnish the sailor with the best aids that nautical and geographical science could supply. Andrea Bianco gave his charts with reminiscences of long-forgotten voyages, and Toscanelli added to other gifts conferred by him upon Columbus reasons for believing that the east could be reached by sailing west. At an early period the Genoese sent out expeditions upon the Atlantic (Gravier's "*Navigations Européennes*," etc., p. 5), but for the most part the Italian navigators engaged in the service of nations more favorably situated for the conduct of maritime enterprise. Amongst others, Marco Polo, Ordericus and Vertomanus distinguished themselves in the east, while in the year 1380 the Zeno Brothers were wrecked in the northern sea, Antonio Zeno himself, as the best authorities now admit, reaching Greenland and the coast of North America. It remained, however, for Columbus to impart a practical value to the labors of his predecessors, though Amerigo Vespucci was immortalized by the Monks of St. Dié, who gave his name to our continent, saying, that since the old continents were named after women, the new one should be called after a man.

While Columbus was active, John Cabot, the Venitian, and his son Sebastian, were pursuing the same absorbing objects, the elder Cabot, indeed, having seen the mainland of America before Columbus. Other Italians performed their part, Pigafetti sailing around the world in the

expedition of Magellan, of which he was the historiographer. Amongst those less known was the learned priest and mathematician, Albert De Prato, the friend and correspondent of Cardinal Wolsey. Verrazano shed permanent lustre upon his nation by his exploration of the north Atlantic coast. The first tourist to visit and describe this country was Benzoni, also an Italian; and the Venitian, Ramusio, taught our own great Hakluyt how to record and treasure up the achievements of explorers and navigators for the benefit of mankind. Purchas gives his quaint testimony on this point, exclaiming: "Happy Italy, that first, in the last Age of the World hath discovered the great Discoverers of the World." Yet what benefit has Italy derived from all these toils? The largest tribute received from America is found in the aspersion of her citizens, and, notably, those of her fairest and most enlightened Capital. Well may Purchas turn to present the obverse of the picture, and say: "Unhappie Italy, that still hath beaten the bush for others to catch the Bird, and hast inherited nothing in these Easterne and Western World." (V. 807.)

The present paper, however, is devoted, not to the Italian sailors, but to a work by one who sought to register the achievements of his compatriots in an enduring form. The Globe of Euphrosynus Vlpus, constructed in 1542, is now preserved in the museum of the New York Historical Society, having been found in Madrid by the late Buckingham Smith. This important and deeply interesting instrument was discovered in the collections of a Spanish dealer in 1859, and brought to New York the same year, after the death of its owner, being purchased for the society by the late John David Wolfe.

This globe is fifteen and one half inches in diameter, and is supported upon a worm-eaten stand of oak, the iron cross tipping the north pole, making the height of the instrument three feet and eight inches. The northern and southern hemispheres were constructed separately. They shut together like a spherical box, being held firmly by iron pins. Everything is done in accordance with the best science of the age, and proves that the globe was intended for careful use. The latitudes are found by the nicely graduated copper equator, upon which the names of the zodiacal signs are engraved; while the equatorial line of the globe itself has the longitude divided into sections covering five degrees each. Four distinct meridional lines divide the globe into quarters, while four more lines are faintly indicated. The latitudes are found by the aid of a brass meridian, the Tropic of Cancer being called *ÆSTIVVS*, and Capricorn, *HYEMALIS*. The Arctic and Antarctic circles are also faintly

indicated. A brass hour-circle enables the student to ascertain the difference of time between any two given points, while the graduated path of the Ecliptic is a prominent and indispensable aid. The author of the globe evidently intended to secure simplicity of arrangement throughout. The date of the globe is fixed by the following inscription:



The literal translation runs as follows: "Regions of the Terrestrial globe handed down by ancients, or discovered in our memory or that of our fathers. Delineated by Euphrosynus Vlpus, 1542."

Of Vlpus nothing is positively known. The name has no prominence amongst the map and globe makers of Italy. The resemblance of the globe to that planned by Mercator, 1541, taken with the fact that Mercator and the Italian, Moletius, were in a sense associated, might possibly lead us to inquire whether or not Moletius had any influence in connection with the production of the work of Vlpus. Hakluyt's reference to "an olde excellent globe in the Queen's privie gallery at Westminster," which "seemeth to be of Verarsanus makinge" (Maine Coll. s. 2. v. II. p. 114), is also of interest, for, like the globe of Vlpus,

it had "the Coaste described in Italian," and a "necke of lande in the latitude of 40." Possibly the Globe of Vlpus is the globe which is here described. Nevertheless, the globe is of Italian workmanship, and apparently made in Rome. It is dedicated to Cervinus:



This may be rendered: "Marcellus Cervino, Cardinal-Presbyter and Doctor of Divinity of the Holy Roman Church. Rome." The wheat or barley heads appear to have formed a device in the family arms, as they are given with his portrait, while the Deer form a proper allusion to his name.

The present representation of one hemisphere of the globe, without being a *fac simile*, is nevertheless sufficiently correct for historical purposes, and may be relied upon. The Old and New Worlds are represented as they were known at the time, the latitude of Florida, which was too high on the Verrazano Map, being given quite correctly, while the excessive easterly trend of the North American coast line on that map is corrected.

This work is of great historical interest, for the reason that it bears direct and independent testimony to the Voyage of Verrazano in 1524, certified first by the Letter of Verrazano to Francis I., confirmed by Carli, and attested by the Map of Hieronimo da Verrazano; this witness being followed by the author of the Discourse of the Dieppe

Captain, in 1539. Vlpius, in 1542, stands as the fifth witness to the voyage by the following inscription: "*Verrazana sive Nova Gallia a Verrazano Florentino comperto anno Sal. M. D.*;" which may be rendered: "Verrazana or New Gaul, discovered by Verrazano, the Florentine, in the year of Salvation, M. D." That this inscription was suggested by the Verrazano Map no one has ever questioned. The principal adverse critic of Verrazano frankly concedes that the Globe of Vlpius "affords indubitable evidence that the maker had consulted the map." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," p. 114.) Nevertheless attention has been called to the fact that, in an appendix to his work, the same critic refers to what is called an "authority," which says that the Map of Verrazano was originated sometime after 1550. If this were so, it would appear that the Verrazano Map was based upon the Globe of Vlpius in connection with certain maps, and that, instead of having influenced the production of other maps, it is itself a composition made up of early material. We are, therefore, obliged here to glance at a question which really answers itself.

The declaration is: "We are assured from Rome, on high authority, that this map appears to belong to a period subsequent to 1550, and is regarded by its custodians as only a copy at the best." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," Appendix.) Here are two statements; First, that the map appears to belong to a period subsequent to 1550—otherwise, that it originated then; Second, that, at the best, it is only a copy. With regard to the first proposition it may be said, that an examination of the map reveals the fact that it shows no exploration of a period later than 1529, while it affords a fair picture of discovery down to that year. If, therefore, this map was planned subsequent to 1550, the author must have intended to produce what would have the appearance of an early map, or otherwise, a fraud. But again, if this map was simply the fraudulent invention of an Italian during the last half of the sixteenth century, it is necessary to inquire how it happens that the draughtsman produced a map patterned after the map described by Hakluyt, as respects size and composition, for both answer to the description of "mightie large" map, and both have the Isthmus, together with the Italian names on the coast of North America.

That the two maps were of the same character, appears from other considerations; for, in whatsoever Hakluyt may have erred, he could not have referred any parchment to Verrazano that did not show decided signs of age. Hakluyt had a full acquaintance with the period of Verrazano, and had learned from Ramusio the approximate

time of his death, which, at the furthest, could not have taken place much later than 1530. He knew the precise character of the maps of 1529, and when he affirmed that the map was "*olde*," he believed that the character of the work justified the statement that it was presented by the Florentine Navigator to Henry VIII. He does not say that the globe was presented to that king, and therefore we can claim for the map alone that it existed some time near the year 1529. Such, then, being the facts, it is simply without reason to say that the Propaganda Map was designed subsequent to 1550, in the interest of a historical fraud. At that period the designs had been in existence a long time, and could not have been produced as part of a fraud. Whoever declares that this map belongs to the late period named must find his claim to be an authority absolutely denied.

Still, perhaps, it may be asked why the Propaganda Map could not have been framed subsequent to 1550, taking the Globe of Vlpnius, 1542, as a model, and with an honest intention. This could not have been the case, for the reason that the more recent explorations shown by Vlpnius are ignored. Any honest map-maker, projecting a new map, would give discoveries down to his time. If, therefore, the Propaganda Map was based upon the globe, the map as already declared, must be a fraud, and we are again confronted with the question, How did a fraudulent draughtsman frame a map like that in England, with its isthmus and western sea, which Lok in evident recognition of a legend corresponding with the legend of the Propaganda Map, called "Mare de Verrazano"? Again, it would also be necessary to inquire where Vlpnius obtained *his* plan. To argue the subject farther is needless, since it is so evident the two maps and two globes are indissolubly connected, the two existing mementoes of the Verrazano Voyage having their counterparts in the map and globe described by Hakluyt in England. The introduction of the "authority" from Rome is, therefore, unfortunate for the objector, since it suggests a line of defence for the Propaganda Map that otherwise might not have been presented. A paleographic commission may pronounce upon the date of the map, basing its opinion upon the character of the chirography; but whatever may be its conclusion, no material point in the Verrazano controversy will probably be affected, since, whether a copy or an original, its value remains, and cannot be lessened without the discovery of some evidence to prove that the copy was not well done. Under the circumstances, however, any commission that undertakes to declare that the map was fraudulently projected at a period subsequent to 1550 for acceptance as

a document of 1529 would stultify itself. The Map of Verrazano antedated the Globe of Vlpius, and the influence of the former upon cartology may not be questioned.


It will be observed that Vlpius does not give the exact date of the discovery by Verrazano, and the fact has led to the suggestion that Marcellus was not able to determine the year. That he tried to learn the exact date there is no proof. The explanation of the omission is sufficiently simple, for the Verrazano Map is undated.

It will doubtless prove of interest to note upon this map the line running from pole to pole and cutting through the border of South America. This is the line drawn by Pope Alexander VI., by which, in 1493, he gave away the New World to Spain. That nation, according to his decree, was entitled to lands discovered by them west of the line, while the Portuguese were to confine their new possessions to the region east of the line, inscribed, "*Terminus Hispanis et Lusitanis ab Alexandro VI. P. M. assignatus*," or, "The Boundary of Spain and Portugal assigned by Alexander VI., Supreme Pontiff."

This was done at a time when the Papal power was no shadow, yet the Holy See was often set at naught, and many were the bitter contests that sprang up between the rival powers. From Bernal Diaz we learn that Francis I., communicating with the Emperor of Spain, and speaking of the division made between Spain and Portugal, said "he should like them to show him our father Adam's will, that he might convince himself whether he had really constituted them the sole heirs of these countries." The "will" does not appear to have been produced, and certainly was never probated. Francis, therefore, took the liberty of sending Verrazano and Cartier to North America.

On the North American section of the globe various new points are indicated, and the advance of the Spaniards in New Mexico is noticeable. This part of the continent is called "Verrazana, sive Nova Gallia," while on the Verrazano Map is found, "Ivcatania." Purchas says (V. 807), that South America was called "Peruviana," and North America, "Mexicana;" which explains the action of Hieronimo da Verrazano, who employs the name of Yucatan in accordance with the same principle.

At the northwest, near Alaska, is "Tagv Provincia," the "Tangut" of Marco Polo (C. 58), the coast being joined to Asia. The peninsula of Lower California does not appear, though exploration had been extended to that region, as proved by Domingo del Castello, on his map of 1541. (Lorenzana "*Historia de Nueva España*," 1770, p. 328.)





Amongst the evidences of the Spanish advance is the name of "Civola" in New Mexico. This is a reference to the "Seven Cities of Cibola," which were credited with such vast wealth, it being declared that the houses were supported by massive pillars of crystal and gold. Modern explorers find it difficult to fix upon the sites of the ancient cities. (*Ternaux Compans*; with De Nagerus narrative, 1838; and Hakluyt III., 362.) The wealth of Cibola eventually became the subject of sport, as was the case respecting the whole continent, at first supposed to be a part of the East Indies, and remarkably auriferous. Hence Shakespere, in the Comedy of Errors, where he grossly describes the kitchen-wench, who was "spherical like a globe," so that one could "find out countries in her," makes Antipolus ask: "Where America, the Indies?" Dromio of Syracuse replies: "O, Sir, upon her nose, all o'er embellished with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain, who sent whole Armadas of Carracks to be ballast at her nose." (A. III. s. 2.)

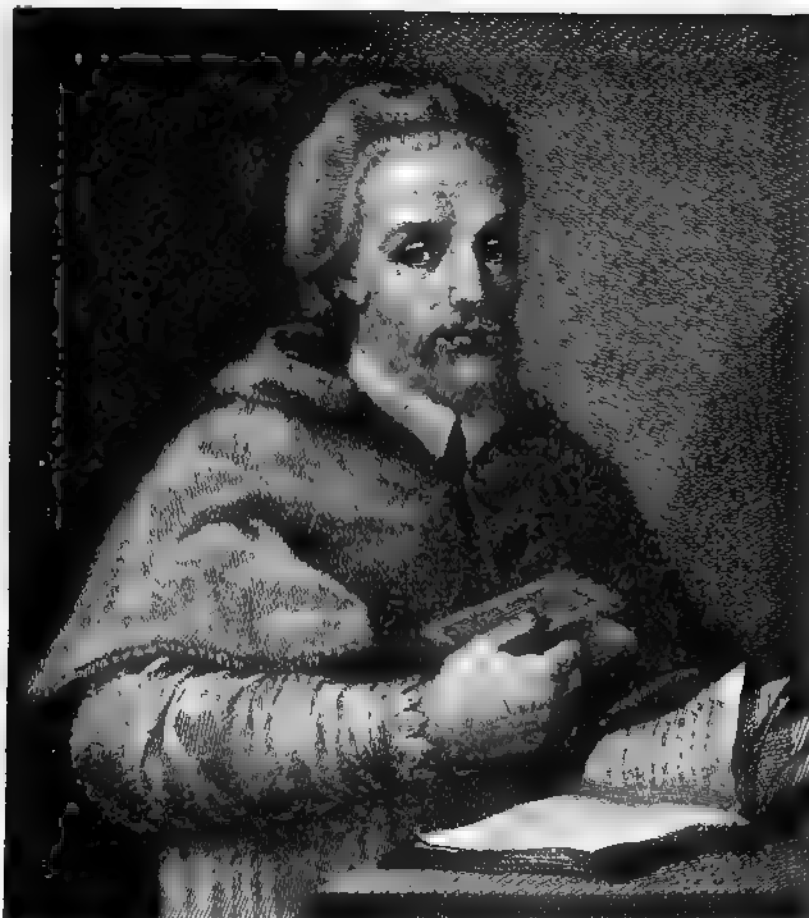
Nova Galitia, a region conquered by Gusman (Alcedo's "*Diccionario Geografico*," II. 177), is seen to the southward; and, in its proper place, in the middle of a lake, the city of Mexico may be recognized. South America is styled "Novvs Mvndus," and presents a very lively picture. From the Straits of Magellan to Chinca, just north of the Tropic of Capricorn, the coast is marked "Terra Incognita." Peru is called New Castile, and is said to be auriferous and fertile. "Gvito," or Quito, happens to be placed nearly in the centre of the continent, and close by we read, "*Domus olim ex solido auri*," or, The House formerly of solid gold. This may be a reference to El Dorado.

A large portion of the country is abandoned to "Anthropophagi" and "Canibales." Near Patagonia is the "Terra de giganti." The giants themselves are wanting, like Raleigh's men with heads in their breasts, notwithstanding we are told by Pigafetti and other voyagers that there was a plenty of giants in those days; yet, further north, the chameleon roost upon a broad-leaved plant, and still higher up, one of the tall ostriches, recently described by Darwin, is trying to exhibit himself, using as a pedestal the house formerly of solid gold.

In Brazil the aborigines appear in the scant wardrobe which they were accustomed to affect, and display, on the whole, what may be regarded as an animated disposition. A couple of Brazilians, broad ax in hand, are on the point of taking off a fellow being's head, while a third, with a knife, is artistically dressing a leg. Near by, two other amiable representatives of the tribe are engaged in turning a huge spit,







**MARCELLO II. CERVINI**  
**ORIGINARIO DI MONTE**  
**SENESE, SOGGETTO DI**  
**DOTTRINA, E**



**SOMMO PONTEFICE**  
**PULCIANO, E NOBILE**  
**SALMA PRUDENZA,**  
**BONTÀ FREGLATO.**

*Nacque il dì 6. Maggio MDI.*

*mori dopo 22. giorni di Pont.*

*ficato nel dì pmo. Maggio MDLV.*

*Dedicato al merito Singolare dell' Illmo; e Rmo. Monsignore Alexan-  
 dro De Conti Cerrini Patrizio Senese, Conte del Viro Arcivescovo  
 di Siena & c. Agnato del Sud. Pontefice.*

*Tirato da un Quadro esistente presso gl' Illmi. Sigg. Conti Cerrini di Siena.*  
*per l'Esposizione del 1884.*



upon which, comfortably trussed up, is another superfluous neighbor, whom the blazing fire is transmuting into an acceptable roast. The parrot, evidently an edified spectator, gazes placidly down from its perch in the tree. Such was life in *Novvs Mvndvs* in 1542. The Amazon and the La Platta Rivers appear, but Vlpus does not show any clear knowledge of the Orinoco seen by Pinzon.

No true indication of the terminus of the continent is given, but south of the Straits of Magellan is seen a vast continent spreading around the pole. This imaginary continent was referred to in classic times as "*Austrinis Pars*." (*Manilus "Astronomica,"* B. I. l. 234.) Its existence was considered probable, for the reason that it seemed to be required in order to maintain the balance of land and water. "*Regio Patalis*," a part of this continent, lies southwesterly from the Straits of Magellan, the name perhaps having been transferrred from the coast of Africa.

In the more easterly portion of this continent is written, "*Terra Australis adhuc incomperta*," being an unexplored region, while in passing around the border of this continent we come to "*Brasieeli*," a corruption of "Brazil," a name applied to an island in the Atlantic before the discovery of America. On the Globe of Schoner, 1520, it is called "*Brazilia Inferior*."

On a peninsula, a part of which appears in our representation of the globe, may be found the following inscription: "*Lusitani vltra promotorium bone spei i Calicutium tendentes hanc terra viderut, veru non accesserut, quaobrem neq nos certi quidq afferre potuimus*;" "The Portuguese, sailing beyond the Cape of Good Hope to Calcutta, saw this land but did not reach it, wherefore, neither have we been able to assert anything with certainty."

The Old World is depicted substantially as it appeared in the Ptolemies. With respect to the East Indies, a clear improvement is made upon the Verrazano Map. Vlpus, in common with Verrazano, exhibits the great lakes of Central Africa, recently rediscovered.

Near the bank of the Nile a robed ecclesiastic sits upon a canopied throne with a triple crown upon his brow and a triple cross in his hand. The figure is explained by the legend, "*Hic dñat psbit Johanes*," or "Here rules Presbyter John," usually called "Prester." Of human subjects he appears to have none, and his lordly supremacy seems to concern the sagacious elephant, the winged dragon, the scaly crocodile, the fierce rhinoceros, the unruly hippopotamus, and certain long-necked birds, one of which is engaged in some performance not described by

Herodotus. Prester John has been regarded as a king in Thibet, but the Portuguese claim that he was a convert to the Nestorian faith in Abyssinia. (Purchas, V. 734.)

In Asia may be seen a multitude of cities and provinces. Canton is figured as a collection of houses, near which is a bird, in company with a couple of goats with ears that reach to the ground. A tiger, a leopard and a giraffe exhaust the animal kingdom.

Upon the ocean all is life, animation and enterprise. Tall ships, laden with the wealth of "Ormus and of Ind," move bravely homeward with bellying sails, while light galleys glide gaily hither and thither around the borders of the newly found lands. The fish form a noticeable feature, and Leviathan displays his huge sides, even that

" Leviathan, which God of all His works  
Created hugest, that swim the ocean stream."

The Conger eel, without much regard to the proprieties, stretches complacently over several degrees of latitude, herein following the example of the gold fish (*Aurata*), which puffs itself up to half the size of the whale. The Kraken of Pontoppidan, or at least what resembles the sea-serpent of Nahant, appears in the Atlantic off South Africa, corrugating his hirsute back. Vlpius, like Mr. Waterhouse Hawkins, may have taken a scientific view of the subject; yet whatever may have been his opinion, he could not have expressed a poorer view than that of the writer in "*Nature*" (Sept. 5th, 1878), who resolves the sea-serpent into a flock of birds. The Whale (*Balena*) is not so well executed as the rest, and is attended by the Dolphin (*Orca*), also called Marsuin by the French. (Ramusio III, 419.)

The fish represented upon the globe are so well done that they might claim a full and separate treatment, evidently belonging to the earliest scientific delineations in Ichthyology. The first book on Fish perhaps was that of Paul Jovius (Rome, 1524), but it contains no illustrations. It is possible that no illustrated work appeared prior to 1542. Jovius sent out his work from the Vatican, with which he was connected. Ichthyological studies appear to have been pursued with diligence at Rome, where Salvinus published his book in 1554. The fish upon the globe bear a close resemblance to those of Rondelatus (Lugduni, 1554). On globes and maps prior to 1542 may be found a variety of uncouth marine monsters, but correct representations of fish are scarce.

Besides the historic groups of islands, there are many of lesser note, together with a few not found to-day. East of Cape St. Roque is "De Ferna Loronha," or Fernando de Noronha, discovered in 1506 by the

Portuguese navigator of that name. This lonely, harborless isle, with its remarkable peak (Scribner's *Monthly*, Feb., 1876), appears ready to be what it is now, the Sing Sing of Brazil; while St. Helena, discovered on the festival of that saint, 1501, is waiting to imprison one of the world's great disturbers. There is also "Insvle Tristan Dacvnha," found by the Portuguese, Dacuna, in 1506; and "Insvle Formose," while in the southern part of the Indian Ocean is "Insvle Grifonvm," or the Isle of Griffins.

Bermuda is prominent, having been laid down for the first time on Martyr's Map of 1511, and southward is "Catolica," possibly an alternate name for the "Island of the Seven Cities," which were reported in various places, the inhabitants being "good Catholics." Near this spot, on Ruysch's Map, 1508, is the word "Cata." An island which appears to be a duplicate of Cape Breton lies eastward of that region, and is called "Dobreta." It probably represents Sable Island. Northward is "S. Crvcis," not found to-day. Here we might pause to remark upon the ease with which islands that have no existence are found in the sea, and the corresponding difficulty of getting rid of them. Upon some of our best maps may be found such islands as "Jaquet Island," "Three Chimnies," "Mayda," "Amplimont," and "Green Rock." "Amplimont" is given in Bescherelle's Geographical Dictionary. On Colton's Atlas these islands lie in the track of navigation between France and Newfoundland. It is said that they originated with icebergs in the fog-banks, or possibly in the fog-banks themselves. It should be noticed, however, that this part of the ocean is volcanic, and that islands of considerable magnitude have risen from the sea at different times. The earliest eruption on record in the north Atlantic is that mentioned on the Map of Ruysch in the Ptolemy of 1508. Between Iceland and Greenland is the legend "*Insule hac 1456 anno Dno fvit totaliter combusta*;" or, "This island was entirely burned up, A. D. 1456." In Webster's work on St. Michael's Island may be found an account of the volcanic islands. Thomas Hickling, United States Consul, describes the formation of one named "Sabrina."

It would not, however, be proper to treat all these islands of Vlpius now missing in accordance with the volcanic theory. Amongst them is "Ins. viride," which may be regarded as a reminiscence of pre-Columbian voyages by the Portuguese and others to the fishing banks near Newfoundland, the largest being known as the "Grand Bank," while the lesser bear various names, amongst which is the "Green Bank." The latter shoal, known to be very rocky, was evidently taken by some map-maker for solid land, and laid down as an island. This



mistake is often made in our times. To a similar origin may be assigned "Jaquet Island," which came from the Jaquet Bank, a shoal near the edge of Grand Bank. "Mayda" is simply the "Maidas" of the early maps, while the "Three Chimnies," if not explained by some eruption, may have originated in such peculiarities of the bottom as that known as the "Whale Hole" on the bank of Newfoundland.

It would be a more difficult task, perhaps, to explain the origin of "S. Branda," or Brandon, which appears on the Globe of Vlpplus. It is true, as already indicated, that sailors often shape islands out of the fog. An instance is found in the *Isle de Fer*, a reflection of which, often noticed by sailors, and called the land of Butter (*Terre de beurre*), was gravely ceded by the Spanish Government to Louis Perdignon. A similar explanation has often been given to St. Brandon by writers who are inclined to make their labors light. When an eclipse of the moon is observed by certain savages, they begin to beat drums to drive the evil spirits away. Many enlightened persons, however, infer that shadows are formed by the intervention of something approaching the nature of a solid. It is not forcing philosophy to demand a more reasonable explanation than any hitherto offered of such islands as St. Brandon. The *Fata Morgana* is perhaps quite as unsatisfactory as the theory of Satanic delusion, sometimes resorted to for the purpose of explaining the mystery. St. Brandon's Island, without any great stretch of the imagination, might be referred to a burning insular peak, so far as the etymology may be concerned; while, again, as the Irish monks were abroad upon the sea at an early period, some of them may have landed upon an island that afterward disappeared. In the case of the monks, it would have received due embellishment, since they were as fond of the marvellous as certain classes are to-day.

Turning to the Greenland section of the globe, a gratifying improvement upon Verrazano's outline is found, showing that Vlpplus had consulted the maps of Ruysch, 1508, and Orontius Fines, 1531, though it will be well to remember in this connection that Behaim's Globe of 1492 shows land in the same direction. The Greenland section of Vlpplus also indicates that the knowledge in possession of the Zeno Family at Venice found some expression in Italy before the publication of the Zeno Voyage and Map in 1558. Vlpplus gives a clear denial to the Ptolemies respecting the situation of Greenland. The editor of the Ptolemy of 1482 knew of the Chronicle of Ivar Bardsen, and some of the names mentioned by him appear upon the editor's map; yet at the same time he assigns a false position to Greenland, which is made an

extension of Norway, while Iceland is laid down in the sea *west* of what is given as Greenland. Vlpus, on the contrary, and in accordance with the fact, places Iceland *east* of Greenland, though both are thrown too far towards Europe. The waters of Greenland are represented as navigated, and nothing is perhaps more susceptible of proof than the fact that communication was never lost with Greenland from the tenth century down to the present day. Vlpus, who seems to copy Ruysch's outline, leaves the space between Greenland and the west as unexplored, while Ruysch, on the other hand, makes Greenland, together with Newfoundland, part of Asia, Gog and Magog being in close proximity. It remained for the Zeno Map, published sixteen years after Vlpus, to show the position of Greenland more distinctly, and at the same time to reveal the sites of the eastern and western colonies of Greenland, so erroneously supposed in later times to have been situated on the opposite coasts of that country. (Northmen in Maine, p. 30.)

It will be necessary next to speak of the coast names on the North American Continent, though it has been indicated previously that certain of them show an agreement with the names on the Verrazano Map. Along the eastern border of the Gulf of Mexico, adjoining Florida, may be seen "Rio Del Gato," or the Cat River; "Rio de Los Angelos," or River of the Angels; "P. de. S. Iohan"; "Navidad," or Nativity; "Costa Verde," or the Green Coast; "Costa de Corsales," which could hardly mean the Coast of the Corsairs. Perhaps it was placed here in honor of Andrea Corsali, the Florentine navigator in the service of Emanuel, King of Portugal, though no record is found of any voyage made by him to this region. "B. de Los Baxos," or the Shoal Bay, completes the list of names on this part of the Gulf.

On the Atlantic coast the names commence near South Carolina with the "B. della ✚," Bay of the Cross. Next is "Valleombrosa," the Shady Valley," which, with the neighboring coast, covered with sedge or reeds (*Calami*), reminds us of Milton's lines:

"Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks  
In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades  
High over-arch'd, imbower, or scatter'd sedge."

"Punta del Olivio" is evidently the same as Verrazano's Cape "Olimpe." Then follow "Selvi di Cervi," the Deer Park of Verrazano, and "Calami," similar to the "Carnavarall" of the Spanish maps. This brings us to "Lvngavilla" and "G. di. S. Germano," both Verrazano names, the former being Longueville, near Dieppe, and the

latter St. Germaine-en-Laye, the splendid residence of Francis I. "R. del Sole," River of the Sun, if not for Solis, is followed by "Normanvilla," a French city near Longueville. "C. S. Iohan" indicates southern New Jersey. "Porto Reale" follows, when suddenly we reach the river intended for the Penobscot or Norombega, which, as on the Map of Allefonsce, is thrown too far south. The coast being drawn on a small scale, the outline is confused. At the southern entrance of the river is "S. Franc. C.," or the Cape of St. Francis, delineated by Allefonsce as the "Franciscan Cape." Next is "Refvgivm Promont." intended for the Cape of Refuge" of the Verrazano Map, which afforded Verrazano a land-locked harbor, to-day identified with Newport. It must be observed again, however, that the outline of Vlpius is confused. The next name is "Corte Maggiore," unless indeed "Maggiore" belongs with the succeeding inscription. The signification is obscure, like that of "Flora," though the latter occurs in several of the Ptolemies of the period, including Mattiolo's, 1548, and in Ramusio's Verrazano sketch. Finally, "Cavo de Brettoni" is reached, or Cape Breton, a name usually referred to the French, but which may have been given by the Portuguese. The form, it will be observed, is Portuguese. "Cimeri," on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is a word whose use is not plain. The reading *may* be "cdmeri," and thus refer to the "Cosin de mer annano," or Oceanus of Schoner, 1520, signifying the Ocean Cape. With "Terra Laboratoris" we reach, not Labrador, the Portuguese "Land of the Laborers," but New Foundland. By mistake, "Laboratoris" is applied to New Foundland, as later to Cape Breton, the inland waters of which are to-day called "Bras d'or," previously lengthened from "Brador," which, according to the fancy of some one, signified "the Arm of Gold." Thus easily are names emptied of their original signification. The coast line to "C. Frio," the Cold Cape of the Portuguese, represents New Foundland, one part of which is marked "Terra Corterealis." "C. Branco" is the White Cape, and "C. de Bona Vista" afforded a good view. Yet, whatever name may be given to New Foundland by the old cartographers, that of "Bacallaos" always adheres, being derived from *Baculum*, a stick, often used to keep fish spread open when drying. "Baia dos Moros," at the Straits of Belle Isle, signifies Codfish Bay. "G. Datrometa" is a misspelling of "G. da Tormento," or the Gulf of Torment, found on Reinel and other charts, apparently referring to the stormy weather. "Ilhado" follows, and "R. da Braco" may signify the Shallow River. "C. Primero" is the first cape, "G. do plaçel" is the Gulf of the Sand Bank,

and "Dos Demonios," or the Island of the Demons, is often found. Greenland lies adjoining, being called "Groestlandia." It is separated from Labrador by the sea. As in several other maps, the name is repeated on an island lying westward as "Grovelat." The greater portion of the region around the Pole is shown as land, but north of Asia is an immense lake, "Mare Glaciale," found on the Nancy Globe.

Only two of the names between the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of St. Lawrence remain to-day. The French were nevertheless ambitious, and would have founded New France on the central portion of our coast if circumstances had proved more favorable. Trivial incidents sometimes turned them aside. But for a head wind when off Cape Cod, sailing southward in 1605, Champlain might have reached the Hudson, and instead of planting Port Royal in Nova Scotia, he might have established its foundations on Manhattan Island, in the region where Port Royal ("Porto Reale") was laid down by Vlpnius. This would have made the greatest city in America a French city, and, possibly, changed the destiny of the continent.

It will be seen that Vlpnius gives to France only that to which she was entitled. As far northward as the coast of the Carolinas, the territory is considered Spanish, while thence to the Gulf of St. Lawrence it is French, the rest being Portuguese, as allowed by the general use of Portuguese names. In 1542, when Cartier set out upon his expedition to colonize on the St. Lawrence, it was clearly understood at Rome what the French claimed. At the same time the globe, as pointed out, bears the line of Pope Alexander, by which the most of the New World was given to Spain. These facts, however, are consistent with one another, even on the supposition that the globe was made at the Vatican under the direction of the Cardinal-Presbyter Cervinus. That person, though loyal to the Papal throne, which he was destined to occupy, was not over friendly to Spain, having three years before refused a pension of ten thousand piastres from Charles V., who wished to win his support. Therefore, while recognizing the decree of Alexander, he might have been fair with the French, and thus conceded what they had accomplished in the New World by the aid of his countryman, Verrazano. However this may be, the French are recognized, and the most of the region now occupied by the United States was claimed for France as New Gaul. Cluverius (*Introductio ad Geographium*, ed. 1629) also speaks of New France as Gaul ("*Nova Francia Gallis.*") Did he know of the Globe of Vlpnius? Cartier's voyage of 1534 is not men-

tioned, as he made no discoveries, but the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which he entered, is left open. Ribero on his map indeed closes the Gulf, yet it was well known to the French at a very early period.

The open sea and isthmus on the Globe of Vlpnius form a topic of special interest, but as it has been discussed already in connection with the Map of Verrazano, it will suffice here to add a few facts by way of illustration. The sea and isthmus were copied from Verrazano, and the existence of a body of water in close proximity to the Atlantic was generally believed. Often it was represented as lying further to the south, and hence some suppose that what was referred to may have been the Bay of Mexico. Again, the sea was supposed to lie near the St. Lawrence River, a belief that led the French to attempt the colonization of that rude and inhospitable country, in preference to the sunny and fertile regions explored farther southward by Verrazano. The Spaniards, on the same principle, as previously noted, proposed to fortify and colonize the Straits of Magellan. The St. Lawrence was supposed to lead directly into the "Sea of China." When Champlain went to Canada in 1608, he declared that he would not return until he reached the sea.

In 1612 he made a seventeen days' journey into the wilderness from Montreal to find the sea upon whose shore Vignan professed to have seen the wreck of an English ship. This man, who marched before Champlain through the tangled forests, has been called an impostor, and, with a musket leveled at his head, Vignan confessed himself one; yet no doubt he was as much deceived as Champlain, having acted upon the trusted relation of another, a course which he supposed would succeed, and bring him great credit. De Bry (*Brevis Narratio*, Pt. 2, 1591) represents the sea in his map, while the Virginia colonists entertained a similar idea. As late as 1651 the western sea was represented within about two hundred miles of the Atlantic coast, as appears from a map of that year, found in some copies of "The Discovery of Nevv Brittain." This error had its day, and then died; though not without manifesting a remarkable vitality. The belief was shared by Vlpnius in common with Verrazano, the latter being as positive on the subject as Frobisher himself, both having committed the belief to maps.

Before drawing to a close, it may be desirable to give a brief sketch of the life of Marcellus. The portrait is a reduction in *fac simile* of that found in the work entitled, "*Uomini Illustri Toscani*," etc. Apart from all connection with the globe, it will be prized by collectors for its great


rarity. It is to Marcellus II. that we are indebted, in no small degree, for what, upon the whole, may be regarded as the most skillfully made of the ancient globes now known.

Marcellus Cervinus de Spanniocchi was the son of Riciardo Cervinus and Cassandra Benci, being born May 6th, 1501, at Montesano, a city of southern Italy, situated about seventy miles southeast of Naples. The family was originally of Montepulciano, near Siena. For that reason Pope Marcellus takes his place among the Sienese. His father was Apostolic Receiver for the March of Ancona. The early studies of Marcellus were conducted at Siena. Upon going to Rome he was appointed Secretary to Pope Julius III. In 1538 he served at the Court of Charles V. as Papal Ablegate. December 19th, 1539, he was created Cardinal. He also received the Bishopric of Neo Castro. December 15th, 1540, he was made titular Bishop of Reggio, Jacques Lainez performing the actual duty; and February 29th, 1544, Bishop of Gubbio.

Marcellus was present at the Diet of Spire, and April 30th, 1545, was made one of the three Presidents of the Council of Trent. April 5th, 1555, he was unanimously elected Pontiff, and the following day he was crowned. A violent stroke of apoplexy put an end to his life April 30th, after a reign of twenty-two days. If Marcellus had lived, he would have taken rank amongst the greatest of the Popes. Protestants praise him, and the worst enemies of Rome are obliged to concede his worth. His example was indeed unique; for the reformation of the clergy which, as Ranke observes, others talked about, he exhibited in his own person. He was zealous for a pure administration throughout the Church. Though, like his father, possessing certain astrological tastes, he was sincerely devoted to pure science, literature and criticism. He advocated the reformation of the calendar, in accordance with a plan devised by his father. At the time the impression went abroad that the world was to suffer from an universal deluge, a belief which, it is said, drove Clement VII. to the high grounds of Tivoli, Marcellus, then but little known, wrote a treatise to dissipate the notion. Amongst his elegant Latin poems is one "*De Somnio Scipionis*." His disposition was somewhat severe, and he wished to inaugurate strong measures against the Lutherans and Calvinists; being desirous, also, of reassembling the Council of Trent. His severity even led him to propose the abolition of music in the Church; but when at Easter, Palestrina, then Chapel Master of the Vatican, composed a Mass for six voices, its effect was so great that the Pontiff burst into tears. He at once abandoned his purpose, and the Mass has since been known as the Mass of Pope

Marcellus II. The tastes of this Pontiff were elegant. He was himself an accomplished draughtsman, and a good sculptor. He loved to surround himself with learned and scientific men. Being fond of history and antiquities, it is presumable that he was interested in geography. At the time when the Globe of Vlpplus was made, 1542, he was wholly devoted to studious pursuits, being also charged with the care of the Vatican Library. He was distinguished for his height, though his figure was spare. His eyes were black, and the expression of his countenance, according to his portrait and written testimony, was pleasing and agreeable. It is recorded that, while possessing gaiety of disposition, he seldom laughed. Two medals, described by D'Artaud, were struck in his honor. (*"Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains."*)

This account of the Life of Pope Marcellus quashes the last indictment drawn against Verrazano, where it is declared: "Even the Globe of Euphrosynus Vlpplus, a name otherwise unknown, is represented to have been constructed for Marcellus, who had been archbishop of Florence. They are all the testimony of Florence in her own behalf." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," p. 150.) As it happens, however, Cervinus was never Archbishop of Florence, and held no office in that city, which for generations attempted no recognition of Verrazano, it not being known that a copy of the Navigator's Letter existed in the archives. The Globe of Vlpplus, no more than the Map of Verrazano, is associated with any fraud. The charge is based upon a misconception of the facts, and must be abandoned. The instrument in question is a Roman production, the design of which may yet be traced to Marcellus himself, who was known for his ability and skill in this kind of work. Nevertheless, by whomsoever it may have been designed, this ancient globe has come to us from the Eternal City, finding a permanent resting place at last, not without a certain fine justice, in the great metropolis which looks out upon the splendid harbor visited and described by him whose name is so prominently engraved upon the portion representing the New World. If the history of the globe could be written, it would be found to possess the charms of romance. This may be the very globe that, as Hakluyt said, "*seemeth to be of Verrasanus making,*" and which Queen Elizabeth was accustomed to consult in the gallery at Westminster. If so, by what means did it reach England? It certainly went to Spain, and there, the instrument upon which perhaps more than one Pope read the decree of his predecessor, Alexander, was finally banished to the realm of worthless antiquities. Yet it is a rare souvenir of the past. It embodies many of the great aspirations of the sixteenth century. It



stands connected with its maritime enterprise and adventure, and with its naval and geographical romance. It forms an epitome of the world from the beginning to 1542. Especially does it prove to the student how the exploration of our continent tried the courage, tested the endurance, baffled the skill and dissipated the fortunes of some of the noblest of men.

B. F. DE COSTA



THE GLOBE OF VLPIUS—1542



## OREGON

### THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE NAME

Captain Jonathan Carver, the relation of whose "Travels throughout the Interior Parts of North America" was first published in 1778, mentions "the River OREGAN (on another page Oregon), or the River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Straits of Annian." No earlier authority for this name in either form has been discovered. Three or four explanations of it have been offered, no one of which is supported by a particle of historical evidence, or by intrinsic probability. The derivation from "Orejones," a nickname given by the Spanish to the Incas of Peru, and afterwards to Indians of Brazil and to others in Coahuila—because they perforated and distended the lobes of their ears—scarcely deserves consideration. There is no nation on the Columbia River or its affluents to which such an epithet is peculiarly appropriate; but if there were any such "big eared" tribe in that region, and if we could overlook the extreme improbability of the transfer of such a nickname from the people to the river, and of its conversion from plural to singular—and if the corruption of "Orejones" to "Oregon" (Spanish *j* to English *g* hard) can be supposed possible—yet how could such a name come to Carver's knowledge among the Sioux and Algonkins of the Northwest? Certainly not from *Indians*, for in no instance have Indians been known to adopt geographical or tribal names given by Europeans, or derived from a foreign language.

Equally fanciful is the explanation—first offered, I believe, in Darby's *Gazeteer*, 1827—which derives the name from the Spanish *orégano*, "wild marjoram." In the first place, the plant referred to, commonly called "sage brush" or "wormwood," is *not* an *Origanum* (Spanish *orégano*), but an *Artemisia*; in the second place, this plant, though abundant on the plains, does not grow near the Pacific coast; and finally, there is no evidence that the Columbia River or the Oregon country was known to the Spanish at the date of Carver's travels, or that Spaniards ever used the name "Oregon" or "Oregon" for either river or country.

The name is not Spanish, nor was it, as Mr. Robert Greenhow believed, "invented by Carver." It comes from an Indian language,

with which Carver had been for many years somewhat familiar, and it is the accurate *translation* into that language of the name by which, as Carver had reasons for believing, "the Great River of the West" was designated by the tribes that lived near it. It is the Mohegan *wauregan*, the Abnaki *ourighen*, the Delaware *wulicxen*, the Massachusetts *wunne-gan*, signifying in all dialects "good," "fair," "fine." In a river name it denotes sometimes a fair and beautiful—more often a gentle, easily navigable—stream, unbroken by falls. The Iroquois *Oheéyo* has the same meaning. The English corrupted the one name to "Alleghany," the other to "Ohio." "*Olighin* (or *Aleghin*) *sipou*," as it is written by La Metairie, the companion of La Salle, was the Algonkin name of the river which the Senecas called "*Oheéyo gähunda*," and both names were translated by the French in "la belle Rivière."

Fifteen years before Carver began his travels Le Page du Pratz published (in the *Journal Oeconomique*, September, 1751) a story told him by a Yazoo Indian, named Moncacht-apé, of his discovery of a river that flowed westward to the "Great Water," through the country of a nation called "Otters" (*les Loutres*). The river was broad and rapid, and its waters were so fine and clear that these Indians named it in their language "la belle Rivière." An English translation of this story appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1753. It was reproduced by Le Page du Pratz in 1758 in his *Histoire de la Louisiane* (vol. iii, pp. 102-130), which was translated into English in 1763. The "Belle Rivière" of the West and the "Nation des Loutres" appear on Bailly d'Engel's map of North America, 1764. The relation of Moncacht-apé seemed to confirm information previously obtained from northern Indians concerning the "River of the West." D'Anville, on his map of North America, published in 1746, laid down a river issuing from the Lake of the Woods, designating it as "Grande Rivière qui court à l'Ouest, découverte depuis peu de temps par le Sauvage *Ochagac*." A rude map traced by this Ochagac (or Ochagach) indicated a route to this river through the country of the Sioux—the "Naudowessies" of Carver. These facts must have been well known to Carver when he set out in 1766, hoping to find his way to the headwaters of the River of the West, and to follow its course to the Pacific Ocean or the "Straits of Annian." The Indians through whose countries he traveled all spoke either Sioux or Algonkin dialects. When questioning them about the "Fair River" of the West, he must necessarily translate its name into an Algonkin or a Sioux language. Neither of his interpreters (one was a Mohawk, the other a French

Canadian) understood the Sioux, but the *Algonkin* designation of a "Fair River"—*Waurégan*, *Ourighen*, or *Alleghany*, according to local dialect—must have been well known to them and to Carver himself.

He did not succeed in opening a way to the Pacific, or even in discovering the "Heads of the River of the West," but he *did* succeed in giving to the *undiscovered* river, and to the vast territory it was supposed to traverse, and finally to a State in the American Union an excellent name, which he did not "invent," but which he honestly accepted as the equivalent of that by which the "Nation of Otters" designated in their unknown language their "Belle Rivière."

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL

## THE TREATY OF PEACE

1783

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM  
JAY AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—  
No. I

JUDGE JAY TO MR. ADAMS

BEDFORD, WESTCHESTER CO., N. Y., }  
10 August, 1832. }

SIR :

In the motives which prompt this letter, and in the long and uninterrupted friendship that subsisted between our Fathers, you will I trust find an apology for the liberty I take in addressing you. I am now engaged in preparing for the press a memoir of my Father's life. In this work the negotiation of —83 will, of course, hold a prominent place. I find from a letter of Judge Peters, who was in Congress in —82 and —83, that an attempt was made in that body to pass a vote of censure on my Father for having violated his instructions in that negotiation. My Father also on several occasions mentioned the fact, yet both the public and secret Journals of Congress are silent on the subject. In what manner the attempt was made, and how it was defeated, I am ignorant. I suppose, but have never understood, that Mr. Adams was included in the proposed vote of censure. Thinking it probable that you may be acquainted with the particulars of this affair, permit me to ask the favor of you to give me such information respecting it, as in your opinion it may not be improper to communicate.

You are doubtless aware of the recent

efforts which have been made to exalt the reputation of Dr. Franklin, at the expense of his colleagues. A thorough and patient investigation of the transactions connected with the negotiations of —82 and —83, as far as I have been able to discover them and likewise of the communications to Congress from the French Ministers at Philadelphia, contained in the secret journals of Congress, has resulted in impressing on my own mind an entire conviction that the views taken by Messrs. Adams and Jay of the policy of the French Court, were well founded. I have found, in an old newspaper, an extract from a letter addressed by Count Montmorin, French Ambassador at Madrid, while my Father was at that Court, to Count Vergennes, that has a bearing on this subject. In it Montmorin tells Vergennes that "His most Christian Majesty could not afford his Catholic Majesty a greater proof of his attachment, than in employing his influence in the United States to divert their views from the navigation of the Mississippi." The letter has every appearance of authenticity, but how and by what authority it became public I do not know.

It is not improbable, from the peculiar opportunities you have enjoyed, that you may have derived information respecting both this document and also the real intentions of the French Cabinet, from sources not accessible to me. I am, however, very sensible that the nature of these sources may have been such as to limit your communications.

But should propriety permit you to afford me any aid in explaining and vindicating the course pursued by our

Parents in negotiating the treaty of peace, I need not say that the favour would be very gratefully received by

Sir,

Your very respectful and obedt servt,

WILLIAM JAY

To John Quincy Adams,

Late President of the United States.

—  
No. II

MR. ADAMS TO JUDGE JAY

QUINCY, 18 August, 1832.

SIR :

I learn with great satisfaction from your letter of the 10th inst, that you are occupied in preparing for the Press a Memoir of your father's life. The affectionate respect entertained for him by my father to the last period of his own life was witnessed by me through a long series of years, and has ever been cordially participated in by myself.

The recent efforts to which you allude to exalt the reputation of Dr. Franklin at the expense of that of his colleagues, excited my surprise until I perceived the motives and impulses in which they originated. They were the more unjust in regard to your father, as he and Dr. Franklin, were as I have understood, always upon terms of mutual good understanding. Dr. Franklin was a great favorite at the Court of Versailles, and particularly more in favour with the Count de Vergennes, a very equivocal character in public morals, though perhaps well adapted to the rotten condition of the French Monarchy at the close of the reign of Louis the 15th, and during that of his Successor, until the moment preceeding his fall.

The Political system of Vergennes towards *our* Country at the commencement of our Revolution is disclosed in some remarks of Mr. Turgot upon a memoir of the Count in April, 1776, upon the Question what course France and Spain should take on that occasion. He thought the *Policy* of France was neutrality, her *interest* that the Insurrection should be *suppressed*; because if Great Britain should put us down, she would be too much weakened by the necessary exertions to keep us down to be dangerous to France.

Even this policy he did not honestly pursue; but while professing neutrality he did give clandestine assistance to keep the struggle up, and the surrender of Burgoyne, brought him to another conclusion. He then bound us to France by a Treaty of Commerce and an eventual treaty of Alliance. The object of these Treaties he further declared in another memoir in March, 1784, had been to curb the ambition and pride of England, and to *prevent the American Revolution from turning to the disadvantage of France.*

During the War of the Revolution, and at the negotiations for Peace, Vergennes was against us upon the Fisheries, upon the Western Boundary, upon the indemnities to the Tories, and upon the navigation of the Mississippi. This, your father and mine well knew, and therefore did not communicate to the Count de Vergennes the progress of their negotiations with Mr. Oswald for Peace, but only the substance of the Treaty when concluded. That Treaty, however, was not to take effect until the Peace between Great Britain and France

should also be concluded. This the Count de Vergennes was negotiating with Mr. Fitzherbert, without communicating the progress of it to the American Commissioners. Doctor Franklin did not separate from his colleagues, in withholding the details of the negotiation from the knowledge of the French Court, but he appears to have acquiesced in it with some reluctance, and was far more *confiding* in the friendship of France than she merited.

I have, since receiving your letter, looked over my father's papers of 1783, but find nothing relating to the attempt in Congress to pass a vote of censure upon the Commissioners who negotiated the Peace. I presume, however, that you have a copy of the Diplomatic Correspondence recently published by Congress, and somewhat incorrectly edited by Mr. Sparks, I mean by the notes with which it is impoverished from the hand of the Editor. But in the tenth volume of that compilation, page 129, there is a letter from the then Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Robert R. Livingston, dated 25 March, 1783, in which he censures severely enough the Commissioners for their distrust of the Court of Versailles. That Letter he sent without submitting it to Congress, but he had submitted the previously received despatches, Letters and Journals of the Commissioners, giving the account of *their* Treaty, before the Peace between Great Britain and France had been concluded. The documents from the Commissioners, he says, had been read in Congress, then referred back to him for a Report, and thereupon he had written to Congress a Letter, upon the consideration of which *motions*

*were made and debated a whole day.* Then his Letter and the motions were committed and a Report brought in, which had been two days under consideration, when the arrival of a vessel from Cadiz, with Letters from Count d'Estaing and the Marquis de La Fayette, announced the conclusion of the Peace, after which many members thought it would be improper to proceed in the Report, and (says he) "in that State it remains without any express decision. From this you will draw your own inferences. I make no apology for the part I have taken in this business."

From the secret Journals of Congress it appears that the letters from La Fayette and d'Estaing, announcing the Peace, were received by Congress on the 24th of March, only the day before this Letter from Mr. Livingston to the Commissioners was written. They had immediately superseded all further debate on the Report. From the temper of his letter to the Commissioners, which he says he intended to have submitted, but which he did not submit to Congress, from the reserved manner with which he speaks of the debates, motions and reports which had been left undecided, and from his disclaimer of *apology*, for the part he had taken in the business, it is to be inferred that he had recommended a vote of censure, but whether it extended to all the Commissioners, or had a saving clause for Dr. Franklin, I am unable to say; very certainly it included your father and mine. The reply of the Commissioners to Mr. Livingston, dated 27 July, 1783, page 193, of the same volume, and signed by Dr. Franklin, as well as by our fathers,

was an extinguisher to Mr. Livingston's objections.

WILLIAM JAY, Esqr.,

Bedford, Westchester Co., N. Y.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my  
best Respects and wishes,

J. Q. ADAMS

P. S. I take the liberty of enclosing to you a copy of an Eulogy upon Mr. Monroe, delivered by me shortly after his decease. It is now somewhat out of season, but as there are references in it on more than one occasion to incidents in the life of your honored father, I venture to ask your acceptance of it.

J. Q. A.

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No. III

JUDGE JAY TO MR. ADAMS

BEDFORD, 23d August, 1832.

Sir:

Permit me to return you my acknowledgements for your prompt and very obliging reply to my letter of the 10th inst.

Your conjectures respecting the proposed vote of censure on the Am. Commissioners are, I have no doubt, well founded, and explain the obscurity in which that subject has been involved.

The attempts that have been made in the notes to the Dip. Correspondence in the N. Am. Review, in the Boston Newspapers and in the Life of Govr. Morris to convict Messrs. Adams and Jay of harbouring false and ungenerous suspicions of the intentions of Count de Vergennes, evinced an unusual degree of zeal and pertinacity, and indicate, I think, other than apparent motives.

Owing to some irregularity of the

mails, I have been deprived of the pleasure of receiving the Eulogy on Mr. Monroe wh. you were so good as to send me.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your very respectful and obliged Serv't,

WILLIAM JAY.

John Q. Adams,

Late Prest. of the U. States.

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No. IV

MR. ADAMS TO JUDGE JAY

Quincy, 20th Oct., 1832.

Dear Sir:

At the time when I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 23d of August, I had at hand no copy of my Eulogy upon the Life and Character of James Monroe which I could offer you in the place of that which by some accident must have failed in the conveyance.

Having since then some additional copies, I now enclose one of them, and add to it a copy of an address delivered by me to the Inhabitants of this Town on the 4th of July of the last year. The subjects of both these essays being so intimately connected with important incidents in the life of your father, will I hope apologise to you for asking your acceptance of them at so late a day. It was after the delivery of them both that I first learnt your intention to publish a biographical memoir of your illustrious father; retaining for his memory that affectionate regard which I had from my own childhood felt, and been taught to cherish for himself while he lived, the Destinies, or, to speak more correctly, the dispositions of Providence have traced the path of my own life at dis-

tances so remote from those of his children that I have almost been deprived of the satisfaction of a personal acquaintance with them, and particularly with yourself. These are the circumstances which occasion the lapse of time since the publication of the enclosed discourses before my offering of copies of them to you.

Wordly Wisdom was Doctor Franklin's God. An immense disproportion, if not the whole, of his virtues was concentrated in *Prudence*. His Justice was Prudence. His Fortitude was Prudence. His Temperance, what he had of it, was Prudence. His Philosophy was essentially that of Epicurus, perhaps in its least exceptionable form. The quaint sayings of Poor Richard's Almanac contain his whole system of morals.

There is a question among the Classical Commentators upon Juvenal whether one of his celebrated lines should be read

Nullum Numen abest si sit Prudentia,

or

Nullum Numen adest ni sit Prudentia.

Dr. Franklin's Life was a practical exemplification of the first of these readings. It was prosperous throughout a long Career. The virtue of Prudence carried him through more than four score years of successful achievements, and has left him a name among the most splendid of his Age and Country. It was in him united with a quick perception and a powerful activity of judgment. But he lived for this world, as if there was no other; and of the motive to action, traceable to the possibilities of a future state, he knew little or nothing.

There is a moral Philosophy of a higher order than that of Dr. Franklin.

In the conclusion of the Preliminaries of Peace with Great Britain in November, 1782, Doctor Franklin concurred with his colleagues by signing the Treaty without previous communication of its contents to the Count de Vergennes. To have separated from his colleagues would have been *imprudent*; yet, if the withholding of the information from the French Government had been a breach of good faith, a man, to whom Prudence did not embrace the whole duty of man, would have refused to sign and abided by the consequences. Franklin signed with his colleagues, but his Prudence gave Vergennes to understand that the withholding of the contents of the Treaty had not been with his approbation. Nor did he suffer his friends in Congress to be ignorant of his private opinions, and hence the effort in Congress to pass a vote of censure upon their Commissioners, and the petulant letter of their Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

The victorious reply of the Commissioners to that letter Dr. Franklin also signed. In the official Correspondence to the last he concurs with his colleagues. But he, like another of our most eminent Statesmen, had a language official, and a language *confidential*. If the vote of censure had passed in Congress, it would have been ostensibly as hard upon him as upon the rest, but his Prudence would have secured the means of turning it to his own account with Vergennes.

Of your father, I think it never was said that *he* had a language official and a language confidential. His Prudence



was scarcely less than that of Dr. Franklin, but it had another foundation.

I am, with great Respect,

Dear Sir,

Your friend and Servt,

J. Q. ADAMS

William Jay, Esqr., Bedford,  
New York.

The character of his other colleague he perfectly understood and appreciated,

I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your very Obedt and respectful Servt,

WILLIAM JAY

John Q. Adams,

Late Prest. of the U. States.

No. V

JUDGE JAY TO MR. ADAMS

BEDFORD, 27th Octr., 1832.

Sir :

It is not without hesitation that I do myself the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your interesting letter of the 20th inst., and of the pamphlets accompanying it, lest I should seem unnecessarily to trespass upon your time and patience ; and yet I am unwilling by my silence to afford you reason to think that your polite attentions to myself, and your expressions of regard for my Father, have failed to produce their proper impression.

The pamphlets contain many excellent and useful sentiments, and the oration especially is admirably adapted to the present crisis. It recalled to my mind an expression of Genl Washington's in a letter to my Father : "The Monster—State Sovereignty." In a former letter you alluded to the friendship of Mr. Adams for my Father. I can bear witness that it was sincerely reciprocated. He seems always to have felt and cherished his obligations to Mr. Adams for the manly and generous support he gave him in —82, and in his old age still spoke of it with warmth and gratitude.

A DIPLOMATIC ROUND ROBIN

March 26, (1786)  
½ past 2—Dolly's.

One among our many follies  
Was calling in for Steaks at Dolly's  
Whereby we've lost—and feel like Sinners  
That we have missed much better dinners  
Nor do we think that us 'tis hard on  
Most humbly thus to beg your pardon  
And promise that another time  
We'll give our *reason* not our *rhime*  
So we've agreed—our Nem : Con : vote is  
That we thus jointly give you notice  
For as our rule is to be clever  
We hold it better late than never

RICHARD PETERS TH. JEFFERSON  
W. M. STEPHENS SMITH

This amusing trifle, signed by men whom we are taught to revere as grave and reverend seniors, is in the possession of Charles Bruff, of Brooklyn, to whom we are indebted for its reproduction.

Mr. Jefferson, then our Minister to France, had been a short time before called by a private letter of Mr. Adams, then our Minister at London, to consult upon the terms of treaties with Portugal and Algiers. This letter was carried by Mr. Smith, then Adams' Secretary of Legation, and later the husband of his only daughter. Jefferson returned with

1/2 past 2 — Dolly's —

One among our many Follies  
Was calling in for Steaks at Dolly's  
Whereby we've lost — & feel like sinners  
That we have missed much better dinners  
Nor do we think that us 'tis hard on  
Most humbly thus to beg your pardon  
And promise that another time  
We'll give our reasons not our rhyme



him to London, where they met Richard Peters, well known in revolutionary history as Secretary to the Board of War, later as Judge of the U. S. Court in Pennsylvania, and celebrated for his dry wit and humor.

It seems that these convivial spirits had engaged to dine with Mr. Adams on the evening of Saturday, the 25th of March, but were led astray by the attractions of Dolly's chop-house, long famous for its good cheer. There, at half-past two o'clock on Sunday morning, the rhyme, of which we give a facsimile, was written. It is supposed to be in the hand-writing of Col. Smith, but to have been dictated by Mr. Peters. It is addressed to "His Excellency John Adams, &c., &c., &c., corner Brooks Street, Grosvenor Square."

It is amusing to read in the diary of John Adams that he dined with Richard Peters and a distinguished company at the table of the Bishop of St. Asaph's that same Sunday evening. The names of Jefferson and Smith do not appear in the list of the guests. We notice their absence without comment. The reader may draw his own conclusions.

EDITOR

#### EARLY PROPOSAL TO ANNEX THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

State of Georgia, Frontier of the Creek  
Nation, 1st March, 1787.

May it please your Excellency,

Having waited thus far in expectation of permission to join the Spanish troops in South America, and having expressed to your Excellency an ardent inclina-

tion to obtain the mere honor of serving in any Spanish regiment as a volunteer; which requisitions as they were not complied with in due time, I beg leave to decline the acceptance of any rank or degree in the service of his Catholic Majesty. The annals of history must have informed your Excellency, that many nations have had abundant reason to deplore the impolicy of those whom they had invested with the powers of government, in slighting the proffered services of men (however young like myself) whose bent, study and inclination naturally led to *tactical pursuits* and to war, and who afterwards arrived to the highest pinnacle of eminence and glory; at the woful experience of such countries and States as had rejected those early overtures of service in their armies. Not to talk of the Achaian league, or the Athenian, Spartan or Theban story, modern history is replete with such proofs; and your Excellency cannot but recollect (however in-applicable perhaps the instances may hereafter prove to a young and insignificant soldier of fortune,) what France had suffered from a rejected *Eugene*; and that *Saxe* whose services had been refused by an English court, had afterwards fertilized the plains of the Netherlands with the blood and carcasses of the slaughtered Britons. But to the point. Being a soldier of fortune, as I profess, and having studied from my infancy the science of arms, *practical* war is now my pursuit, as a profession most congenial with my principles and disposition; and thousands of Americans (officers in the late war) pant for an opportunity to serve this country. The banks of the Ohio and

Mississippi, are actually alive with the first American characters of this stamp, and called upon from thence by my heroic brethren of the army, honor, virtue and the bias of an ancient intercourse, and former habits incline me to assist them. From the Natches to the Kaskaskies, from Pittsburg to St. Mary's river, they are prepared to pour forth with the greatest ease 50,000 veterans in arms in defence of their *commercial* rights, throughout the navigable rivers of the southern parts of this empire. The grain is actually germinating, sown by the pride, avarice, and folly of a certain extern power, which the pure air of liberty working at the root, and the laws of nature, superior to the narrow policy of any foreign court, must finally and very speedily raise into a host of myrmidons, the children of Æacus; the sons of the earth; irresistible in this land, at least by any force that may obstruct their pretensions or assail them.

The important drama, may it please your Excellency, is now approaching; a new drama, in which the tragedians of the *west* are to appear in the military buskin—and I am invited to act as a character of some consequence among them. Time will tell how decisively *my part* shall be performed. Of this I am sure, that I shall exhibit to my utmost the part of a soldier. A very inconsiderable time must inevitably call forth to trial, the mighty energy of the Ohio and Mississippi; and incidents and events are gradually teeming into birth, which will shortly open a spacious field for a daring spirit to explore.

May it please your Excellency, the States of Georgia, Franklin, and Ken-

tucky, confederated; the counties of Bourbon, &c., on the Natches; the settlements on Cumberland, Kaskaskies, and the Wabash, and the government of Pittsburg, Westmoreland, &c., abound with the seeds of war; nor will any obstruction from New Orleans to the Balise, impede the overwhelming inundation preparing to pour down along the waters of the Mississippi, into the Bay of Mexico. The torrent will be irresistible; the crop is actually in the ground; harvest is ready for the hook, and the hook for the harvest, the reaper has introduced his sickle, combustibles are laid into a pile, nay, the very brand is already applied, and the fire only requires to be fanned. The permission of Congress will not be solicited on this occasion. In Congress this people are not represented. I am now on my way to the *western* waters, where people too long confined to unnatural boundaries, are ready to float with the current of the Mississippi into the sea, and with irresistible irruption and impetuosity to burst over every artificial barrier and mound which may obstruct their free passage into the ocean. The Americans are amphibious animals. They cannot be confined to the land alone. Tillage and commerce are their elements. Both, or neither will they enjoy. Both they will have or perish.

I have the honor to remain, with the utmost deference, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN, Late Captain  
4th regiment American light dragoons.

P. S. In the alternative of peace or war, I shall ever entertain the highest

respect for your Excellency, and should be happy in the continuance of a *candid* correspondence. In this case, inclose my address to Major Thomas Washington of Georgia, who is acquainted with my routes.

To his Excellency [Don Diego Gardoqui], the Spanish Minister at New York.

*The New York Packet, Friday, August 17, 1787.*

### NOTES

METAL OBJECTS FROM INDIAN TUMULI IN GEORGIA.—Reprinted from the Smithsonian Report for 1877, is an interesting article, by Professor Charles Rau, entitled Observations on a gold ornament from a mound in Florida. His estimate of the age and origin of this relic appears entirely correct. As we well know, objects of European manufacture are not infrequently found in the grave-mounds of this region, once known by the general name of Florida, but they usually appertain to secondary interments upon the crests and along the slopes of tumuli, or are obtained from Indian graves of comparatively recent date.

Occasionally occur instances where such relics evidently belonged to and formed a part of the original sepulture which the heap of earth, rock, or shell was designed to perpetuate. To an example of this sort do I refer on page 131 of my *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*. That the custom of mound-building was observed even within the historic period is capable of easy demonstration.

Last winter while opening a shell-mound on the Colonel's Island, lying

near the mouth of Midway river, on the Georgia coast, I found in the heart of the structure and intermingled with the bones of several skeletons, a Portuguese coin, bearing the date 1732—the year prior to the settlement of the colony under Oglethorpe. It is in good preservation, presents the image and superscription of Joannes V, and was manifestly associated with the primal inhumation.

About three years ago, from a small grave-mound near the Savannah river, in Columbia County in this State, was taken a gold coin interred with the deceased in whose honor this earth-pile had been erected. It is a piece of Cob money. Aside from the particular interest it possesses in the eye of the American Archæologist, because of its association with the primitive customs of the peoples, once cormorant here, who perpetuated, even after contact with Europeans, their habit of interring with the dead articles of use and ornament, it is of no inconsiderable value to the numismatologist. Both these coins lie before me as I write.

Cherokee graves in Upper Georgia, and the burial places of the Creeks in the middle portions of the State, often yield an abundant supply of European beads, silver ornaments, and trinkets of foreign manufacture.

But I have wandered from the object I had in view when I took up my pen. It was to call attention to a gold ornament, of primitive manufacture, which was obtained from an Indian grave in Duke's Creek Valley, one of the tributaries of Nacoochee valley in Cherokee, Georgia. It is a little less than an inch

in length, is rather cylindrical in shape, tapering to a blunt point, is about a quarter of an inch broad, and the eighth of an inch in thickness. At the upper corner it was perforated apparently by means of a triangularly shaped flint implement. The aperture decreases on both sides towards the centre. At the inception the diameter of the perforation is a little less than the eighth of an inch; at the centre, about the sixteenth of an inch.

But little labor was bestowed upon this object, save in drilling the hole. In it we behold a natural mass or nugget of gold, perforated at the larger end for the purpose of suspension. This nugget has a smooth, attrited appearance.

Gold objects of primitive manufacture are here exceedingly rare so far as my observation and information extend. Everything of this sort, therefore, is interesting and worthy of note.

With the exception of a few gold beads—some of them drilled nuggets, and others small masses of native gold hammered out and then rolled—found in the Etowah Valley, this is the only gold object of primitive manufacture and use, obtained within the limits of this State, of which I have any personal knowledge.

The Spaniards, as is well known, were grievously disappointed at the lack of this metal on the persons and in the habitations of the Florida Tribes. The famed mountains of Apalatchy, spouting streams of gold, were sought but never found. Their treasures, like the spring of perpetual youth, remained undiscovered.

Nuggets of native silver have been

taken from a grave-mound in Lincoln County, Georgia, but they bore no traces of labor, and seem to have been valued and preserved by the natives because of their beauty and rarity.

I do not believe that the North American Indians, with perhaps a few exceptions, understood the treatment of metals by fire. Of iron they made comparatively little use, and then rubbed the native ore into the desired shape. As far as my observation goes, in the fabrication of utensils, weapons, and ornaments from copper, they regarded the ore as a malleable stone and hammered it into the required forms.

In like manner did they deal with gold nuggets.

I have never seen a silver object of primitive manufacture.

CHARLES C. JONES, JR.

*Augusta, Ga.*

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DESCRIPTION OF FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA, 1790.—*Extract of a letter dated October 1st.*—Nature seems to have pointed out this place as the most proper spot for the seat of Government in the State. Our centrality, perhaps not strictly so much so in a geographical view, as in point of population and trade, is unquestionable. Fayetteville is situated on the best branch of Cape Fear River, with an easy shallow navigation the whole distance to Wilmington, about one hundred miles, from whence is only twenty-five miles to the sea. The inhabitants are extremely anxious that this object should be attained, as in no town of the State are the manners of the people so civilized and becoming, or any place where there is a greater plenty of provi-

sions, or where such a numerous representation as ours could be so well accommodated—here is no gouging, and comparatively speaking, but little swindling; what there is, is in a certain notorious house at the west end of the town, kept by a set of infamous fellows, whom, in a little time, we hope to whip off into Virginia, or South Carolina. The trade of Fayetteville is increasing rapidly, and we have a continual acquisition of new comers, attracted, no doubt, by the superior advantages we enjoy. W. K.

THE OLD HESSIANS.—Many of them deserted from the British, as is well known, and became good friends of liberty and the American cause, soon after reaching our shores.

Two of these "foreign mercenaries," as they were called, and often with an unfair degree of odium, whose very respectable descendants now dwell in this city or contiguously, have recently been named to us, viz., John Henry Fredericks and John Christian Brockner, both born on the year 1756. The former was a University student, and was impressed into the service, in Hamburg. He lived in this city, where he died January 12, 1821. One of his daughters, an aged maiden lady, lives now in Brooklyn, L. I., with a nephew, whose venerable father, Mr. Jacob Brinkerhoff, a native New Yorker, and noted for his attachment to the Reformed Church and its old Holland vernacular, married her sister. John Jacob Astor came over in the same ship with Mr. Fredericks, and as they were fellow-soldiers also, at least for a season, so they were great friends through life.

Mr. Astor used often to go to the other's house in this city to smoke and chat with him. John Christian Brockner died in 1857, in his 95th year, leaving four sons, one of whom, Washington, is now living in New York. His father, after leaving the British, fought for the Americans as a volunteer, in several battles, one of which was that of Monmouth, and also as a scout up the Hudson, among the "Cow-boys." He is also said to have frozen one of his feet in a winter campaign. The old man had a great admiration for General Washington, and, at Tarrytown, near which he married and lived the early part of his life *post bellum*, he used to tell General Storms of the great kindness of the Commander-in-chief, to the soldiers when sick in their tents. His birth place in the old father-land, was Frankfort-on-the-Main, and he too was impressed for the army. He was a shoemaker by trade, and was a traveling journeyman at the time. We are told that Brockner, with five or six others, one of whom was probably Fredericks, deserted in this city and concealed themselves in a swamp, near where Canal street now is. Also that the former had some experience in one of these revolutionary New York Bastiles, the "Sugar-Houses."

New York must speak tenderly of those old Germans who, in becoming our foes in the great struggle of our Revolution, had very little responsibility in the matter, and some of whom, both personally and in their descendants, have since been so valuable an element in our citizenship. As the British were evacuating New York, in 1783, Semon,



a Hessian, was the first to hoist the American flag from a private house, which was No. 13 Chatham street. The venerable Judge Ulshœfer is a son of a Hessian soldier. And we have a descendant of another in one of our Presbyterian pulpits, while another of a similar posterity is a Professor in the University in this city. W. H.

MADISON'S NIGHT CAP.—To preserve the tops of masts of the Shipping laid up for some years past, on account of the war, it has been common to cover them with an inverted tar-barrel. A sailor yesterday, says the Boston Daily Advertiser, who ascended to remove one of these coverings, exclaimed as he accomplished his object, "Off comes Madison's Night-cap,"—*N. Y. Weekly Museum*, Feb. 25, 1815. PETERSFIELD.

RIGHT OF POSSESSION.—*Spanish River Road*, Sep. 15, 1711. Being informed by several Officers, who had been there, that a Cross was erected on the Shoar, with the names of the French Sea Officers who had been here, which I look'd upon as a Claim of Right they pretend to for the King, their Master, the Island having been always in the times of Peace used in Common, both by the English and French, for lading Coals, which are extraordinary good here, and taken out of the Clifts with Iron Crows only, and no other Labour. I thought it not amiss, therefore, to leave something of that kind to declare the Queen's Right to this Place; and having a Board made by the Carpenter, and painted, I sent him ashore to fix it upon a Tree in some eminent Place, where it might most

easily be seen, which was after the form of a square surmounted by a cross, with the inscription following:

IN NOMINE  
PATRIS FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI  
AMEN.  
OMNIBUS IN CHRISTO FIDELIBUS SALUTEM  
ANNO DEI GRATIA  
MAG. BRITANNIE  
FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REGINA  
TOTIUSQUE AMERICAE SEPTENTRIONALIS  
DOMINA, FIDEI DEFENSOR, &c.  
IN  
CUJUS HARUM INSULARUM VULGO  
CAPE BRETON  
PROPRIETATIS  
ET DOMINII  
TESTIMONIUM  
HOC  
EREXIT MONUMENTUM  
SUÆ MAJESTATIS SERVUS  
ET SUBDITUS FIDELISSIMUS  
D. HOVENDEN WALKER EQUES AURATUS  
OMNIUM IN AMERICA NAVIUM REGALIUM  
PRÆFECTUS ET THALASSIARCHA  
MENSE SEPTEMBRIS  
ANNO SALUTIS  
MDCCXI

—*Account of Admiral Walker's Expedition to Canada*, 1711. J. A. S.

THE EMPEROR OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—They write from Paris, that two American Princes are arrived there, whose Skins are figured with unintelligible Hieroglyphick Characters, as Marks of Distinction; one of them is the Son of a King, and the other an Emperor, on the Banks of the Mississippi. Their Domesticks wear a Jacket, Petticoat, a Red Mantel and a White Scarff about their Waste, Pendants in their Ears, and Turbans on their Heads.—*London Newspaper*, July, 1772. W. K.

HARD MONEY FOR NEW ENGLAND.—The expenses incurred by the New England colonies in the reduction of Louisburg were, after considerable delay, reimbursed by order of Parliament. It amounted to £183,649 sterling, or \$800,000, and arrived in the form of six hundred and fifty-three thousand ounces of silver and ten tons of copper. The

money was landed on Long Wharf, placed in wagons, and carried through the streets of Boston, with much rejoicing. It was divided between the four colonies, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut; Massachusetts, including Maine, receiving most of it. The paper currency of Massachusetts, which was previously at the rate of seven or eight to one of silver, was after redeemed at a rate of about one fifth less than the current value.

MIDAS.

LETTER OF MAJOR GENERAL HEATH.  
—The following letter is believed to have never been in print before, and may be of interest to the readers of this Magazine.

'Headquarters, Continental Village,  
Sept. 28th, 1781.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 25th did not come to hand till the last evening. I thank you for the intelligence you have again communicated. I have not a sufficient knowledge of the country where you are, or of its vicinity, to determine precisely what posts are the most advantageous for your regiment to occupy.

Governor Livingston supposed your present station the most eligible to prevent the incursions of the enemy, and to suppress illicit trade.

The force on Staten Island was then but small, the present force of the enemy, and probability of their intending an incursion into the State may make a change in your position necessary, both as it respects your own detachment or checking the enemy. You must therefore act as circumstances may require,

and prudence and policy point out as most eligible.

Please therefore to conduct conformably—that is, as circumstances may require. I have ordered a detachment of regular troops to cross Kings ferry, and advance as far as Ramapough. They will not advance further, unless a movement of the enemy into Jersey should require it, in which case they will advance rapidly to the aid of the militia. The troops are under the command of Colonel Commandant Swift, and have a light field piece with them. Please give them early notice if the enemy should attempt to cross the island. If the movement should be considerable, more force with a general officer will march to your assistance.

Please continue to advise me of the motions and designs of the enemy as far as come to your knowledge."

I am with great regard

Dear Sir,

Your Ob'd't Serv't

W. HEATH.

"Colonel Seely." M. General."

In connection with the above, I give the following extract from Major General Heath's Memoirs, page 311, under date of Sept. 28th, 1781: "Apprehending that the enemy might have intentions of crossing over from Staten Island to the Jerseys, a detachment of 300 infantry, with light artillery, under the command of Col. Swift, were ordered to cross the ferry the next morning, and move as far as Ramapough, to be at hand to aid the militia, in case the enemy should land at the Jerseys."

C. J. BARNES.

Chicago, Ill.

ONE AND INSEPARABLE.—Died June 9th, 1830, at Marie, near Quebec, Nouvelle Beauce, Jacques Gagne, and Magdaline Morin, his wife, both 77 years old. These two persons were born the same day, baptized the same day, made their first communion the same day, died and were buried the same day.—*Commercial Advertiser*, June 30th, 1830. W. K.

A MEDICAL CURIOSITY.—Whereas of late years there has been advanced for a certainty, by a certain Quack Doctor, a foreigner, that a certain cure may be had for a consumption, where any of the same family had before that time died with the same disease; directing to have the bodies of such as had died to be dug up; and further said, that out of the breast or vitals might be found a sprout or vine fresh and growing, which, together with the remains of the vitals being consumed in the fire, would be an effectual cure to the same family: And such direction so far gained credit, that in one instance the experiment was thoroughly made in Wilmington, on the first day of June instant, two bodies were dug up which belonged to the family of Mr. Isaac Johnson of that place, they both died with the consumption, one had been buried one year and eleven months, the other one year, a third of the family then sick. On full examination of the then small remains by two doctors then present, *vis*: doctors Grant and West, not the least discovery could be made; and to prevent misrepresentations of the facts, I being an eye witness, that under the coffin was sundry small sprouts about one inch in length, then fresh, but

most likely was the produce of sorrel seeds which fell under the coffin when put in the earth. And that the bodies of the dead may rest quiet in their graves without such interruption, I think the public ought to be aware of being led away by such an imposture. Moses Holmes. — *Connecticut Courant*, June, 1784. W. K.

A FACT THAT WOULD BE DOUBTED IN OUR DAY.—A grocer of this city, in retailing out a cask of hogs fat, weighing 112 lbs. that was brought from Carolina last fall, found towards the bottom of the cask a living Hen; which was taken out, and is now alive and in good condition—an egg with a soft shell was also found in the cask.—*Time Piece*, New York, June 30, 1797. PETERSFIELD.

SIR PETER WARREN.—The generosity and public spirit of this gallant officer was shown by the manner in which he disposed of the commission granted him by the British Government upon the expenditures made in New England for the Cape Breton expedition. A part of it he devoted to the purchase in England of two large black horses for the improvement of Colonial Stock. The remainder he at first proposed to expend in the encouragement of the Protestant School in Ireland. This sum, seven hundred pounds, he later proposed to give to the building of a town hall in Cambridge, but by the advice of his companion-in-arms, Sir William Pepperrell, appropriated it to the education of the Indians. The donation was made to the mission at Stockbridge. The Rev. Dr. Edwards is said to have suggested the change to Pepperrell. STOCKBRIDGE.

**WALTER RUTHERFURD'S TOAST.**—*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*—The toast given by the President of St. Andrew's Society of New York, at the festival meeting of that body on St. Andrew's day, November 30th, was "*Lady Glenachie's Garters.*" Some weak people have been scandalized at this toast. It is perfectly innocent, however, in its meaning and application. Lady Glenachie (or Glenorchie) was a Scottish lady of a very benevolent and Christian disposition. Among other institutions set on foot by this amiable character, was a charitable house for the instruction of poor girls in needle work, knitting, weaving, etc. In the latter branch was a garter manufactory, interwoven with every pair of which were the words, "*Lady Glenachie's Garters.*"—*The Time Piece*, December 6, 1797. W. K.

**GLADSTONE ON AMERICAN OX TAILS.**—In his recent article in the *North American Review* entitled "*Kin beyond Sea*," Mr. Gladstone pleads incompetency as his reason for avoiding discussion of topics of present interest in America. None of your readers will doubt his lack of accurate information in regard to this country after reading the following extract from a remarkable speech made by that eminent statesman at a late inspection of the Kensington School of Cookery in London.

Mr. Gladstone said: "I think a great deal of our cooking is most admirable, and that we have had no reason to complain at all; but comparing country with country, there is no doubt that some countries are very much more economical than others. I am afraid it is the

truth that we are the most wasteful people on earth. I remember once hearing a curious story worth telling of the Americans. I heard from a person who travelled in America *that one day in the yard of his hotel he saw a great heap of ox tails. They were thrown away as any refuse would be thrown away*, and I was surprised at that, and I began to imagine, 'Oh, oh! then there is one country that is more wasteful than we are, and that is America.' That is the conclusion I was disposed to draw, but afterward I heard the explanation, which is a very curious one. The American habit of throwing away ox tails is an old English habit, which they carried with them from this country when the American settlements were formed. But you all know that at the time of the French Revolution a great number of priests and others came over as refugees, and were kindly received in this country. They spread their views all over the country, and I am told that these priests, long after the American settlements had been formed—indeed, after America had been separated from us politically—brought over the habit of making soup from ox tails, and taught it to the English people. Probably the way would be this: They would see ox tails thrown away, and being people to whom the saving of every farthing was important, they would buy the ox tails and make soup for themselves. The people would imitate them, with the consequence that we get in that shape a most excellent soup, for there can scarcely be more excellent soup than ox tail, and that is the very reason why in one point we are more economical than Americans." **ADVOCATE.**

A DISHONEST SKIPPER.—*Rhode Island*, Nov. 2, 1750. By a Vessel from North Carolina we have Advice, that some Time last Month two sloops were hired by some Spaniards to carry to the Havanna the Effects sav'd out of a Ship lately stranded on that Coast; accordingly they took on Board a large Quantity of Dollars and Cochineal, and when the Spaniards were on Shore, slipp'd their Cables, and went off; one of which Vessels got ashore on the Bar, and was taken, the other got clear off. She had on board 150,000 Dollars, and near the same Value in Cochineal. A Launch was fitted out, and came up with her; but the Fellows on Board the Sloop (being twelve in Number) appear'd upon Deck with their Small Arms, and swore they would fire if they attempted to board them: On which they left them to pursue their Course.

*Boston*, Nov. 12, 1750. A Spanish Gentleman belonging to a large and rich Ship of his Nation, that was lately cast away on the Coast of Carolina, is just arriv'd in Town, to endeavour to find out and recover the Money and other Effects saved out of the Wreck, and shipp'd on board a Sloop, whereof one Zebulon Wade, of Scituate, was Master, who agreed to carry the said Money, &c., to the Havannah, but clandestinely ran away with the Sloop. 'Tis said he took on board one Hundred and fifty Thousand Dollars in Silver, and the Value of one Hundred Thousand in Cochineal. If the Position of the Planets may be depended on, the said Sloop is now in one of the Rivers or Creeks of this Country, and may soon be recovered: But as we dare not presume so far upon our Skill in Astrology

as to predict that all the Money &c. will be recover'd, and that the Master and his Accomplices will be apprehended; for a Man with such a Number of Dollars about him may be said to have powerful Friends. The other Sloop that attempted to get off and was stopp'd, we fear is lock'd fast to the Spanish Ship in Ocacock Inlet, entirely unrigg'd, and all the Men under Confinement. [Dean's History of Scituate, page 371, states that Zebulon, son of Joseph Wade, married, 1774, Mercy Norton, of Edgartown.] W. K.

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OLD TIME CONFIDENCE IN THE MILITIA.—The young ladies of the Borough of York, Pennsylvania, high noon, (the glorious God of day pouring down upon them an unusual splendour) dressed in robes of white, presented a standard to their Brothers and Young Lovers in arms:— This was a spectacle which drew tears from the eyes of assembled thousands, and which Celestial Beings, from their happy residences might view with holy rapture. The following is the young ladies' address:

"Gentlemen: In presenting to you this standard, we confide to your sacred Keeping, our Honor, our Virtue, and our Holy Faith.

"If you expect ever to obtain our love, be assured that can only be obtained by bravely defending the Liberties, the independence, and the religion of your country."—*The Daily Advertiser, New York*, Aug. 1, 1798. PETERSFIELD.

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FIRST AMERICAN EDITIONS OF ENGLISH CLASSICS.—Shakespeare was published in Philadelphia (by Bioren & Madan) in 1795. Chesterfield's Letters

were published in Boston in 1779. Burns' Poems were published in New York in 1788, and in the same year an edition was published in Philadelphia. Milton's Poems were not published in America until 1853.

Some of your bibliographical correspondents will perhaps add to this brief list of first American editions of English classics, giving in each instance the place of publication, and where possible the name of the publisher. D.

### QUERIES

**THE ROYAL PORTRAITS IN THE FIRST CONGRESS.**—When the old Federal Hall on the corner of Wall and Broad Streets was occupied by the first Congress under the Constitution, we have been told that the Chamber of Representatives was graced by portraits of Louis XVI., and Marie Antoinette, which had been presented to the Republic by the King himself as a souvenir of the friendly aid extended by France in our struggle for Independence. The removal of these pictures from the Halls of Congress may perhaps be accounted for by the changes effected by the French Revolution, one of which was emphasized by the complaint of M. Genet, the Minister of the French Republic, that the presence of the Bust of Louis XVI. in the President's house was an insult to France. But the question has been occasionally asked, and never I believe answered, What were these historic portraits, and by whom were they painted, and what has become of them? And these questions, and especially the last, I respectfully beg leave to submit

to the Editor and readers of the Magazine of American History. HISTORICUS.

**THE COLUMBIAD.**—Can any of your readers give a description of a volume printed at New York, in 1798, entitled "Columbiad. An Epic Poem in Twelve Books," illustrated by copper plates?

COLLECTOR.

**CHEROKEE MEDAL.**—In the opening chapter of Mr. W. Blades' numismata *Typographia* (*Printer's Register*, London, July, 1878) a reference is made to a medal presented to George Guest, inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet, "Struck at Washington" and "presented at Philadelphia" in 1823. Was such a medal ever presented, and are not these dates and places erroneous? Mr. B. also says Guest died in 1828. J. S.

**CAPT. SMITH ON THE STAGE.**—Stith says in his history of Virginia (p. 112,) that Capt. John Smith "lived to see himself brought upon the stage, and the chief Dangers, and the most interesting Passages of his Life, racked, as he complains, and misrepresented in low Tragadies." What were the titles of these plays in which he figured?

Brougham in our day has revived this excellent historical personage in his burlesque, "Pocahontas, or Ye Gentle Savage." DRAMATICUS.

**IOWA AND SAC MISSION PRESS.**—In Cotton's *Typographical Gazetteer*, second series (Oxford, 1866), 378, reference is made to a primer and some elementary books, in English and the native tongue, printed at the Ioway and Sac Mission Press, Indian Territory, 1843. Where

was this Mission Press located, and what books were printed thereat? J. S.

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ANCESTORS OF ROBERT FULTON.—Can any one give the history of the ancestors of Robert Fulton, the Inventor? The name of his father was Robert, the maiden name of his mother, Mary Smith. They lived in Lancaster County, Penn., where families of the name of Fulton had been among the earliest Scotch-Irish settlers. What relation did he bear to these? A minute genealogy of the family is greatly desired. J. C. A.

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GREEK COLONY IN FLORIDA.—Among the petty odds and ends of American history, little known but meriting research, is the fact that a small Greek Colony was once planted on the coast of East Florida, at a place which I think was then named New Smyrna. The only account of it which I ever met with in print was contained in a work on Louisiana, written by a Mr. Darby in the early part of this century; but the statement was a meagre one, and is very imperfectly remembered by me, as it was read in my boyhood, and nearly sixty years ago. As well as I can recollect the colony was planted a short time before Florida passed temporarily from the hands of Spain to that of Great Britain, and, while the province was held by the latter, the settlement was broken up in consequence of a collision between the Greek immigrants and the Government authorities. I cannot call to mind the nature of the dispute or disobedience; but I have the impression that the writer thought the colonists were badly treated. They dispersed, a part of them returning

to their native country, and the rest scattering through the towns of the South. I have heard that Mr. Dimitry, who was, thirty years ago, a wealthy merchant of New Orleans, was descended from one of these Greek colonists; and there may be other descendants still in Florida.

This is, so far as I know, the only attempt ever made to plant the Hellenic race in the New World, and if the Editor of the Magazine to which this is addressed, or any of his correspondents, can give a more detailed history of it than my memory affords, it would, I think, be read with some interest.

R. M. P.

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LAFAYETTE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST ARNOLD.—In the paper delivered before the Maryland Historical Society by Mr. John Austin Stevens, Jan. 14, 1878, and printed by them under the above title, mention is made of the march of Lafayette from head of Elk to Baltimore after his withdrawal from Annapolis.

By what route was this march made, on what day did he cross the Susquehannah ferry and was the ferry at the mouth of that river or the upper ferry where Port Deposit is now situated on Bald river ferry, still higher up the river?

*Elkton, Maryland.*

G. J.

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NEWSPAPERS PRINTED AT UTICA, NEW YORK.—I desire to know 1st: Was there ever a "Utica Patrol" after 1803? 2d: If ever, by whom published and how long? 3d: Was it united with "The Patriot," when, and by whom? 4th: If there was not a separate "Patrol;" when did "Patriot and Patrol" begin and who published it. C. K. S.

**MONUMENT TO CAPT. BURROWS OF PORTLAND, ME.**—Matthew L. Davis of New York, lately, when on a journey in the Province of Maine, caused a handsome monument to be erected over the grave of Captain William Burrows, who commanded the brig *Enterprize*, and was killed in the action with the Boxer. He lies by the side of the British captain Blythe, who was also killed, and over whose grave a monument was erected by the surviving officer of the Boxer.—*Utica Patriot*, Oct. 17, 1815.

Silas E. Burrows, a relative of the brave captain of the *Enterprize*, erected a monument to his memory.—*Willis' History of Portland*, page 759.

Can these two statements be reconciled? Were there two monuments over the hero?

PETERSFIELD.

## REPLIES

**FIRST LINEN AND CALICO PRINTING IN AMERICA.**—(II. 754.) It appears by the following advertisement in Leed's American Almanac for 1713, that calico stamping or printing was then practised at Philadelphia.

"In the Front Street in Philadelphia lives one John Whitesake, who Kallanders and Presses all sorts of Cloth, Silks, Sattins, Camblets, Druggets, Crapes, Stuffs and Tickins. He Glazes Linnins and Calico's, Taks Spots out of Camblet, &c. Makes Buckram Prints Linnens, Carpet and Counterpains, which will hold their Colour in washing. Old Cloths, Curtains, &c., (taken in pieces scoured or dyed) he makes as Glossy as New ones; All at Reasonable Rates."

PETERSFIELD.

Mr. H. M. Selden of Hadlyme, a member of the old Selden family of Connecticut, has a very curious and interesting piece of work that was made by his grandmother, Ruth Kirby, who lived at "Middletown Upper Houses," near Cromwell. It is a cotton bed-quilt made in 1776—one hundred and two years ago. She carded, spun and wove the cotton herself by hand, and it is a very soft piece of cloth. After the weaving she had it stamped, and a great attraction to it is this printing, which was of course done also by hand with blocks cut by hand. Two patterns are shown, each stamp appearing alternately on the cloth. The designs are noticeably free and graceful. Figures in the dress of that time, men wearing the cocked hats, are seen. There are deer, cattle, sheep, birds and other creatures, several kinds of trees with their proper foliage, and a house and a church. The house has the dormer windows, and is an ordinary looking building, but the church with its rounded tower is not like anything one would have been likely to see in this country at that period. That, and the fact that one of the figures is carrying a load on his head, and also, perhaps, the appearance of deer among the domestic animals, suggest a foreign artist as the designer, and yet, says the *Courant*, there are reasons for thinking that this work may have been done by the grandfather of the Rev. Leonard W. Bacon.

HARTFORD.

**PARENTAGE OF JACOB LEISLER.**—(II. 494.) "Johannes Henricus Leislerus Jacobi Victoriani filius, etc. Was our Jacob a brother of this John Henry and



a son of Jacob Victorian. (I) The identity of the surnames."

The author in the hurry of translation, makes a slip. There is no such identity. *Jacobi Victoriani filius*, is the son of *James* Victorian not *Jacob*.

E. C. B.

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BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.—(II. 408, 569, 758.) General de Peyster's explanation in your December number is not satisfactory. I think his best course is frankly to acknowledge his error in view of the documentary evidence against his statement. As he places no confidence in the official report of Sir Henry Clinton, I venture to introduce the testimony of Gen. Washington in behalf of our brave New Jersey troops; and that he may have an opportunity to examine the points at issue, I beg you to print in the Magazine the following paragraphs.

I. *From General de Peyster*. "So promptly, indeed, did Clinton move, that the American detachments sent to destroy bridges, etc., could not complete their work well or on time to avert his march."

II. *From Sir Henry Clinton*. "A strong corps of the enemy having, upon our approach, abandoned the difficult pass of Mount Holly, the army proceeded without any interruption from them, except what was occasioned by their *having destroyed every bridge on our road*. As the country is much intersected with marshy rivulets, the obstructions we met with were frequent, and the excessive heat of the season rendered the labour of repairing the bridges severely felt."

III. *From Gen. Washington*. Extract from General Orders, dated Head Quarters, Freehold, June 29, 1778. "General Dickenson, and the Militia of this State, are also thanked for their nobleness in opposing the enemy in their march from Philadelphia, *and for the aid which they have given in harrassing and impeding their motions, so as to allow the Continental troops to come up with them.*"

Facts are stubborn things.

TRENTON.

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The gallant behavior of the yeomanry of New Jersey during the retreat of the British from Philadelphia, in the summer of 1778, was, I supposed, acknowledged by all American writers until I read the contributions in your Magazine of J. W. de P. As a duty to the memory of those who served in that memorable campaign, I copy the following letter from The New Jersey Gazette, of July 8, 1778, printed by that sturdy patriot, Isaac Collins, at Trenton.

*Extract from a gentleman at Camp, dated English-Town, June 29, 1778.*—"I have for two weeks past been with the militia of this State, under the command of Major-General Dickinson. It truly affords me the most heartfelt pleasure to see in what numbers and how suddenly, my brave countrymen poured in from every quarter, to the defense of our glorious cause. During the whole time they underwent the greatest fatigues, severe and long marches, without a murmur. In every skirmish they behaved with the greatest spirit, and appearing always confident of the courage and prudence of their General, they obeyed his orders of every kind with the utmost

cheerfulness and alacrity. At the draw-bridge near Bordentown, when General Dickinson with great propriety had ordered some lines to be thrown up, they appeared anxiously to desire the arrival of the enemy. The Continental troops and great part of the militia had, however, been withdrawn, except those of Colonels Philips and Shreve, who were previously detached to guard a ford one mile further up the creek, and only the three regiments of Colonels Freelinghuyssen, Van Dike and Webster remained, when a party of the enemy appeared, and with great zeal began to repair the bridge, which had been cut down—Upon the very news of their approach, the troops rushed down with the greatest impetuosity, and a small party from one of the regiments which happened to be considerably advanced, caused them to retire, after having killed four and wounded several others. In the morning the lines were again manned, but the enemy thought proper to change their rout. This conduct of the militia saved, in my opinion, Trenton and the country adjacent from rapine and desolation. In short, their conduct during the whole time, gave me the most pleasing ideas of the strong love of liberty which is natural to the human soul. Surely whilst the farmers of the country are induced by the mere fondness of freedom to leave all their domestic concerns, at this season of the year, and undergo the hardships of a soldier's life; to suffer the several fatigues, and with pleasure to face every danger—I say, whilst this continues to be the spirit of Americans—Americans must and will be free."

*Newark, N. Y.*

S. J.

J. W. de P. in his reply to Trenton, quotes Sir Henry Clinton as marching from Monmouth at 10 P. M., on the night of the 27th *by the light of the moon*, and discredits Washington's statement that Clinton moved about 12 P. M. when the moon had set. The question of the light of Clinton's moon is readily settled by the Almanac, which tells us that on the night of 27 June, 1778, there was a new moon, which set at 10:32 P. M.

T. H. M.

Major-General de Peyster is unfortunate in his critical answer to Trenton's vindication of the heroic action of the Jerseymen who swarmed about Sir Henry Clinton and his army, harassing them and impeding their retreat through New Jersey, in June, 1778.

In order to illustrate the difficulty of reconciling contradictory accounts of past events, the critic contrasts the statements of Washington and Clinton respecting the night march of the latter after the battle of Monmouth and says very emphatically of Clinton—"I believe *him*." The implied doubt of Washington's veracity is mitigated by the suggestion that his informants were mistaken. Gen. de Peyster's confidence in the British General seems also to be sustained by some military critics.

Now it is well known to persons who have made a study of the portion of American History involved in this discussion that the moon was but four days old on the 28th June, 1778, and its setting was a few minutes past ten o'clock. Its light, therefore, could hardly have helped the retreat, and the only advantage Clinton could take of it, was not

to be lighted on his way by its rays, but to escape in the dark, after the moon was below the horizon. Sir Henry's "moon-light flittings" were the theme of many a jest during his subsequent services in America. R. C.

SIR PETER WARREN.—(II. 680.) In the sketch of Sir William Pepperell, the first American Baronet, it is said that "Warren in his turn was made a Baronet," for the defeat of de la Jonquierè. This is an error; Warren was knighted but never created baronet. L.

A CURIOUS ENGLISH COIN.—(II. 699.) The legend on the coin described by your correspondent reads as follows: *Magni Britannia, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei, Defensor, Brunsvicensis, et Luxemburgensis Dux, Sacri, Romani Imperii Archithesaurius et Elector.*

Translated thus; "King of Great Britain France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, duke of Brunswick and Luxemburg, Elector and Arch-Treasurer of the sacred Roman Empire." Gold guineas were issued in this reign from 1760 to 1774. E. DONNELLY, M. D.

*Pittsburgh, Pa.*

A similar reply has been received from  
WILLIAM HARDEN.  
*Savannah, Ga.*

VOLTAIRE AND LAFAYETTE.—(II. 696.) In a note to the extract of de Crève-Cœur's account of the meeting of Voltaire and the Marquise de Lafayette, J. A. S. says the allusion of Voltaire to Lafayette's distinction in America must

have been to his conduct at Monmouth. This is evidently an error, as Voltaire died 30th May, 1778, and the battle of Monmouth was not fought till 28th June, 1778. SUBSCRIBER.

Subscriber is correct in his criticism. The distinction gained by Lafayette was at the battle of the Brandywine, September 11, 1777, the year previous to that in which the incident mentioned occurred. EDITOR.

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#### BOOKS WANTED.

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*We beg to inform our subscribers that hereafter we shall devote so much of this column as may be necessary to a department of BOOKS WANTED. Through this medium collectors will be enabled to communicate with each other, and thus perhaps acquire books for which they have sought elsewhere in vain, or dispose of books for which they may have no further use. Collectors desiring to avail themselves of this column will please give their addresses in full, so that those who wish to communicate with them can do so directly, and not through us.*

J. HOPE SUTOR, Lock Box 1088, Zanesville, O.,  
Has for sale or exchange for historical works, a copy of Knight's Shakespeare, Virtue & Yost's Edition, 2 vols., 4to, illustrated and handsomely bound.

J. SABIN & SONS, 84 Nassau Street, N. Y. City.  
Burke's Virginia, 4 vols., 8vo, *uncut*.  
Beverly's Virginia, *uncut*.  
(Peters, S.) History of Connecticut, London edition, *uncut*.  
Brereton's Virginia, 4to.  
Bullock's Virginia, 4to.  
Hamor's Virginia, 4to, original edition.  
Weymouth's Voyage to Virginia, 4to.  
Hariot's Virginia, London, 1588, 4to.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**MEMOIRS OF THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** Volume III. The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn, including a new and circumstantial account of the Battle of Long Island and the loss of New York, with a view of events to the close of the year, containing Maps, Portraits and Original Documents. By HENRY P. JOHNSTON. 8vo (two parts, pp. 300—209). Published by the LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1878.

This admirable volume is the result of long investigation, pursued with judgment, zeal and unflagging industry by its painstaking author. Only those accustomed to studies of this character are aware of the difficulties which attend the collection and comparison of the extensive material necessary, even after the lapse of a century, securely to establish what would appear to be simple historic facts.

A mist has hung for a long period over the history of our State and city during the revolution. The long hostile occupation of the city, the change of its population at the close of the war and the engrossing demands upon the activity of every citizen, resulting from its rapid progress in wealth and numbers, are sufficient reason, if not excuse, for the long neglect of the past. But for the individual efforts of a few zealots, and the continuous efforts of the New York and Long Island Historical Societies, even the meagre records that remain would not have been preserved. The landmarks are rapidly disappearing in the changes of surface and opening of streets; and even in the laying out of our parks, where every historic rock or road line would be a pleasing reminiscence, no regard is paid to any such consideration.

Mr. Johnston has correctly divided his volume into two parts; the first of which recites the campaign, the second the documents which support his interpretation of its incidents. There are six admirable maps, plans and draughts, for which every student will be grateful, and four portraits of the colonels of the regiments engaged at Long Island.

Those familiar with the Lee papers will remember his commission from Washington in January, 1776, to prepare for the defence of New York against the attack which was feared at that point from the expedition known to be in preparation in England. This was the opening of the campaign, and naturally begins the narrative, the stirring scenes of which were consecutively the arrival of the British under Sir

William and Admiral Howe; their occupation of the harbor and Staten Island; the adhesion of New York to the declaration of independence under the guns of the enemy; the landing of the imposing army, the flower of England's forces; the battle of Long Island, and the masterly retreat of Washington; the capture of New York; the check of the arrogant enemy at the heights of Harlem; the attempt of Howe to turn the American flank, and Washington's second extrication from the toils laid for him; the battle of White Plains, and the fall of Fort Washington. Here the story properly closes, but Mr. Johnston, with natural patriotism, not content to drop his curtain on a scene of uninterrupted disaster, avails of the full sum of privilege his title affords him, and closes the drama with the brilliant achievements of Trenton and Princeton.

During the entire year, from January, when Washington was preparing to leave his camp before Boston, until December, when driven almost to desperation, he turned upon his pursuers from behind his fastnesses in New Jersey, New York was the pivotal point of interest.

Mr. Johnston has here recited in a connected form the accounts preserved in the standard histories, with many additional particulars obtained from new material supplied by the descendants of officers and soldiers who took part in the campaign. These go far to clearing up the hitherto doubtful points in regard to operations on the Brooklyn side, and also throw light on the movements upon New York Island.

We particularly note the careful attention he has paid to the battle of Harlem, the significance and importance of which was made known by the public celebration of its centennial by the New York Historical Society.

We hope that the good work, of which this is a pleasing example, may tempt other young gentlemen to similar efforts in the field of history at the principal centers of revolutionary operations.

**CARTAS DE INDIAS PUBLICATAS POR PRIMERA VEZ EL MINISTERIO DE FOMENTO.** Folio pp., text, 877; index, 10. Fac similes A to Z. Plates, xxii. Maps, iv. Imprenta de MANUEL G. HERNANDEZ, Madrid. 1877.

This magnificent contribution to the geography and history of the Indies was prepared by royal command of the 18th November, 1876, under the instructions of the Count de Toreno, Minister of the Interior (de Fomento). It was dedicated to the young monarch on his accession to the throne of his ancestors, and is a happy

promise that under the reign of Alfonso XII "letters, arts and industry, the chief elements of wealth and happiness, may again prosper in Spain, as in the days of its highest grandeur." Such are the words of the intelligent minister who conceived the idea of this monumental work.

The selection and publication of the letters, all of which are now printed for the first time, were confided to Senores Justo Zaragoza, Director-General of Public Instruction, Vicente Barrantes, Francisco Gonzalez de Vera, Márcos Jiménez de la Espada and José Maria Escudero de la Peña, secretary of the commission. The letters are divided into sections. That entitled Cristobal Colon includes those of the Discoverer, of Amerigo Vespucci, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Bernal Diaz del Castillo, seven in number. The section entitled New Spain includes sixty-five documents, from provincials and friars, viceroys and alcaldes, concerning the religious orders, church dignitaries, viceroys, governors, caciques, laws and regulations, and private matters in the new governments of the Spanish Indies. Guatemala and Chiapa are treated of in seven letters; Peru, under the rule of Christobal Vaca de Castro and Pedro de la Gasca, in seventeen; Rio de la Plata, under the rule of Domingo Martinez de Iruia, in twelve. In all one hundred and eight original documents. The fac-similes, on tinted paper, are admirable specimens of the calligraphy of the period, in neat and quaint precision. The pages of plates supply the signatures and seals of many of the remarkable characters of this stirring age—of Colon, las Casas, Bernal Diaz, Vespucci, de Soto, Ximenez, de la Cruz and others. The maps are: I, of the outlines of the continent of Australia; II, of the rivers of the Amazon, Esequivo or Dulce and Orinoco and the adjacent countries; III, of the Antilles, the Gulf of Mexico, its coasts, and those of North America; IV, of the Straits of Magellan and Le Maire.

In the prologue to the volume the members of the commission report to the Minister that they have chiefly selected from the documents recently procured for the national historical archives those written by those most distinguished in the discovery and conquest in the New World, and having reference to facts least known, without regard to the effect their publication might have upon the fame of some of the distinguished heroes. Quoting the remark of an eminent writer (not Spanish), that the discovery of the Indies must be considered without dispute as the most important event in the history of the human race, and expressing the belief that this assertion may well dispense with any attempt to justify the actions of those men who were governed and controlled by the irresistible force of circumstances, they claim that until recently their great deeds have never been examined or judged with

a purpose to present them, according to the modern documentary method, in their true light.

Besides the careful editing of the letters under the divisions above described, the commission resolved to illustrate the text with ample notes, a geographical vocabulary, biographical sketches and a brief glossary; all of which greatly enhance the value of the work to the student in foreign lands. Particular attention is invited to the peculiar and appropriate character and tint of the admirable paper which is used in the work, as well as the execution of the chromolithographic maps, by the Geographical Institute, and to the plates which were produced by processes new in Spanish bookmaking, all of which are creditable in the extreme to the bureau from which they emanated.

Above all, the commission hold up to public praise the merits of the enlightened minister, to whose initiative this splendid volume is due. A few copies have been sent by the Spanish Government to institutions of learning and public libraries in the United States. The New York Historical Society was designated as the depository for the State of New York. We shall return to the contents of this volume in another form, and endeavor to lay before our readers the value of the new information therein contained.

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POTTERY AND PORCELAIN OF ALL TIMES AND NATIONS, WITH TABLES OF FACTORY AND ARTISTS' MARKS FOR THE USE OF COLLECTORS. By WILLIAM C. PRIME, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 531. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York. 1878.

The most original, and the best of our thinkers, Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his late striking lecture on the Fortune of the Republic, prophesied that among the other favored aims of mankind, not only every useful but every elegant art will find their home in America. The useful arts have received here every protection and favor of government, but the progress of those which may be justly termed elegant depends in a country, by its newness essentially given to that which is practical, upon individual labor. The growth of our private institutions for the study of the arts, and the exhibitions to promote that study, show that private enterprise, in a nation where the power of the individual is so great under free institutions, is not unequal to reach the high future which Mr. Emerson predicts. In this superb volume, which the Harpers have published in the highest style of the printing art, with abundant illustrations in all known variety of practical engraving, will be found the beginning of a literature until now unknown with us. In Mr. Prime's book the lovers of pottery and porcelain

and collectors of beautiful specimens of this now recognised branch of art will find abundant material for study and thought. Beginning with the history of the Ancient Pottery of Egypt, Assyria, the Holy Land, Greece and Rome, and passing through that of Modern Pottery of the Saracens and European nations, and continuing through that of the porcelain of China, Japan, India and Europe, he carries us to the pottery and porcelain of England; our American collectors will take special interest in all that relates to his section upon Holland. It is impossible in our limits to more than note these sections. Part V. is especially devoted to the pottery and porcelain of America; this he divides into three sections: 1st, on ancient American pottery; 2d, on pottery and porcelain of the United States, and 3d, on American collections. In the first, by the illustrations in the text, he shows such a relationship between specimens of the potteries found in Peru, Central America, Mexico, and thence northward to Missouri, that no reasonable doubt can exist of a community in the art. In the second, he treats of the progress of the art after the settlement of America by Europeans; in this we find little but an imitation in a crude way of the most ordinary kind of European earthenware, yet while nothing original was here produced, the general upturning of public and private fortunes in Europe, consequent on the French revolution, sent to this country numerous and valuable specimens of the best work of the most famous factories of the continental kingdoms. In the third section of this part of his book he has what he calls, in his own words, "a free talk" with American collectors of the Ceramic art; to this we invite the attention of our American collectors. In it they will find a list of the prices obtained at the great sales of Sèvres and Wedgwood wares of late years.

The last chapter is devoted to an account of marks on pottery and porcelain in their three classes of factory marks, artists' marks and dates, all of which are illustrated by fac-similes.

A thorough index closes this admirable volume. It is needless here, when the results of Mr. Prime's excellent volume are patent in the acclimation of the Ceramic art in America by the increasing interest of both amateurs and practical workers, to say more. Mr. Prime has and will hold the honor of being first in the literature of American Ceramic art.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE. Twenty-sixth meeting, held at Nashville, Tenn., August, 1877. 8vo, pp. 400. Published by the permanent Secretary (FREDERICK W. PUTNAM), Salem, Mass. 1878.

The essentially scientific nature of these reports takes them beyond the pale of our review but the present volume contains three papers of general concern to the student of American archaeology and anthropology. The address of Professor Daniel Wilson, Chairman of the subsection of Anthropology, is peculiarly interesting. The system of Agassiz is here succinctly stated to have favored the idea of various American centres within which the diverse varieties of American man originated, and from which they were distributed over the entire continent. The recent progress of science has effected a total revolution in reference to this question. The idea of a plurality of origin and of distinct races of men has now given way to a belief in a more comprehensive unity, which embraces all men in a descent from a center common to them with other animals. The analogies of language on both continents seem to indicate a direct relationship and intercourse between the inhabitants, and the highway to the Pacific as familiar to both. Passing to Archaeology we find an account of the recent discoveries in the Delaware drift, in which, near Trenton, rude stone implements were found by Dr. Abbott, and believed by him to have been fashioned by man during the glacial period.

Mr. Henry Gillman contributed a study concerning the artificial perforation of the craniums in ancient mounds in Michigan. This curious custom of perforating the top of the head after death is a puzzle to modern observers; the balance of probability leaning to the belief that it was intended as a mark of honor. The skeletons, the skulls of which are found thus perforated, are generally in a standing position, invariably of adults and probably of the male sex.

The interesting paper by Colonel Garret Mallery, U. S. Army, on the former and present number of our Indians, was noticed in our November number.

#### RECHERCHES SUR LES NAVIGATIONS

EUROPÉENS FAITES AU MOYEN AGE AUX COTES ACCIDENTALES D'AFRIQUE EN DEHORS DES NAVIGATIONS PORTUGAISES DU XVI. SIECLE. Par GABRIEL GRAVIER, Officier d'Académie, etc. Paris: E. MARTINET. 1878.

This very valuable production was brought out at the last Geographical Congress, and presents in a compact form the studies of one whose abilities and zeal qualify him to follow in the steps of Viscount Santarem. While seeking to do justice to other nations, his chief aim has been to prove that the Normans showed the Portuguese the way to the Cape of Good Hope. With an abundance of notes and references, this work will be found an admirable guide to the subject, which is too broad for discussion here.

CHARLOTTE CUSHMAN; HER LETTERS AND MEMORIES OF HER LIFE. Edited by her friend, EMMA STEBBINS. 8vo, pp. 308. [The Riverside Press, Cambridge.] HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston. 1878.

It by no means follows that a brilliant or great character finds a biographer to do justice to its distinguished traits. Few men would be satisfied with their portraits as drawn by those to whom the task usually falls. Every Johnson does not find a Boswell, nor every Scott a Lockhart to draw in minute touches and with loving hand the traits of the master or friend.

The star of Charlotte Cushman, whose life was a series of successes and triumphs, has followed her. She could not have selected a more appropriate intellect and nature on which to rely for an appreciation of her strong peculiar qualities than that of the lady who on the title-page terms herself her friend.

In one sentence in the earlier pages of the book Miss Stebbins strikes the key-note of the character of the great actress. "All her lifelong her friendships were of the nature of passions." This impassioned, fervid nature, added to a magnificent physique, was the secret of her striking successes in tragic or highly melodramatic parts. Who that has seen can ever forget the strength of her Lady Macbeth, or the wild savageness of her Meg Merrilles—and yet not pleasant memories are these. Among actresses she filled the place of Forrest among the actors. Powerful, original, striking, admirable were both; but neither a representative of the highest culture or refinement.

The English school is at best a coarse school. It is doubtful whether even the greatest of the actors of the elder time would have satisfied the exacting, critical judgment of our day. Both Forrest and Cushman were of this school. We are fain to believe, though induced to take little on trust in matters of taste, which every age judges for itself, that Fanny Kemble united refinement with power. The conjunction is rare. Refinement was not a quality of Charlotte Cushman's acting. She stood, however, confessedly at the very head of American actresses. The biographer has omitted nothing which can throw light upon her training and method. She had an acquisitive and retentive memory. Her inspiration was never fettered by any side mental effort. Her introduction to the stage was with the performance of a part, which may be termed the crowning success of a female tragedian on the English stage—Lady Macbeth. This was in New Orleans in 1835. In 1842 she filled an engagement with Macready. Forrest, strange to say, receives but one and that a casual mention in the whole volume.

Miss Stebbins met the actress at Rome in 1850-7,

and the friendship of the two artists seems to have continued without interruption. Her daily life; her devotion to her art, which she believed superior to and comprehensive of all others; her sufferings under powerful disease; her life at her Newport villa; her farewell to the stage in New York, the occasion of a great ovation, all find their place in this complete volume. The story is chiefly told in the letters of Miss Cushman herself; Miss Stebbins, with delicate tact, standing modestly in the shadow of the artist's robe. To her friends, Charlotte Cushman was something more than human; her tread confessed her origin divine. A kindred spirit of her own sex described her death as the dropping of a curtain upon a vanished majesty. She was of her day.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY. Presented to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, September, 1878. Vol. II, No. 2. Printed by order of the Trustees. Cambridge. 1878.

In the opening remarks of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, the learned and distinguished Chairman of the Board of Trustees, may be found an account of the origin of this great gift of our American philanthropist. In its ten years of existence the museum has amply justified the liberal foundation. The building in Cambridge was opened on the 18th February, 1878. It is constructed of dark red brick, with brown stone trimmings, and granite steps and underpinnings, and is eighty-seven feet by forty-four. Mr. Frederick W. Putnam is the present Curator.

The report gives a detailed account of the progress of the institution, the additions to the museum and library during the year, and includes several interesting archæologic papers; notably one on the implements found in the glacial-drift of New Jersey, by C. C. Abbott, and one by the Curator on the explorations in Tennessee. The papers are abundantly illustrated by engravings in the text.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD. Devoted to the interests of American Genealogy and Biography. Issued quarterly. October. IX. 4. Published for the Society. New York City.

In this number of the Record Mr. Purple continues his contributions to the history of the ancient families of New York. Additions are given from the records of the Reformed Dutch and the first Presbyterian church, and from the records of Rahway and Plainfield.

**THE ANNALS OF THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE AND EARLY WESTERN HISTORY.** Conducted by Dr. E. L. DRAKE. Volume I, No. V. August. A. D. HAYNES, Nashville, Tenn. 1878.

The purpose of this young monthly periodical is, in the words of the editor, to promulgate the record of Confederate achievement. It will no doubt serve to preserve many details of the history of those who took part in the struggle for the lost cause. A repository of this kind will have enduring value.

The present number contains some notes on Kirby Smith's Kentucky Campaign. A reply of Jefferson Davis to Colonel Colyar, which reveals the entire want of accord between the concurrent branches of the Confederate Government. Mr. Davis is just beginning to open his eyes to the causes of his failure. A diary of a private in the Forty-first Tennessee, and an article on the Evacuation of Nashville complete this number of the Annals. Afterwards we have some sketches of early western history; the number closing with the soldiers' war-bag, a collection of stories of Confederate prowess. We wish Dr. Drake all possible success in his enterprise.

**CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES AMÉRICANISTES. COMPTE-RENDU DE LA PREMIÈRE SESSION, NANCY, 1875.** 2 vol. 8vo. (pp. 481 et 478.) MAISONNEUVE & CIE., Paris. 1875.

On the 25th August, 1874, the Société Américaine de France, with Ed. Madier de Montjau, President, and Emile Burnouf, Secretary, invited an International Congress of Americanists to meet at Nancy, in July, 1875. The first article of the Statutes declares that "The International Congress of Americanists has for its object to contribute to the progress of ethnographical, linguistic and historical studies relating to the two Americas, especially concerning the period anterior to Christopher Columbus, and to bring into communication with each other, persons interested in such studies."

The Congress met in the Ducal Palace. In its four days session a large variety of interesting papers were communicated. They make up the two volumes now under notice. Among the North American papers the reader will find: 1st volume, The Dighton Rock, by M. G. Gravier; Grave Creek Inscription, by M. Lévy Bing; the Indians of the United States, by M. de Semallé; an Iroquois Manuscript, by M. Léon de Rosny; the Moundbuilders, by M. Joly; 2d volume, The Cheyenne Language and the Quichua, the Dérivé-Dindjés, by R. P. Petitot; The Quaker Society, by M. Maguin;

The Creek and Chippeway, by M. Lucien Adam; The Newark Inscription, by M. Henry HARRISSE; America in Remote Ages, by Mr. Francis A. Allen; An Asiatic Immigration, by R. B. Petitot; Pre-historic Canada, by M. le Métayer-Masselin.

The Congress passed a resolution to admit all persons who should make application to the Secretary of the Central Committee at Luxembourg for a *member's* ticket, and pay the sum of twelve francs, which would also entitle him to a copy of all of its publications.

**CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES AMÉRICANISTES.**

Compte-rendu de la seconde session, Luxembourg, 1877. 2 vols. 8vo. (pp. 539 et 471.) MAISONNEUVE & CIE., Paris. 1878.

These two volumes contain a report of the transactions and papers at the second session of the Congress held at Luxembourg in September.

Neither the plan or limits of our department of Literary Notices permit us a critical review of the proceedings of these interesting sessions. We must confine ourselves to the simple mention of such of the papers as directly concern students of the history of the North American Continent.

In the first volume we find The Mound-Builders of America, by Robert S. Robertson. Osteologic evidence of the ancient Mounds of Michigan, by Henri Gillman; America in remote ages, or the origins of Primitive Civilization in the New World, by F. A. Allen; The Mound-Builders, by W. D. Peet; to what race did The Mound-Builders belong? by Mr. Force; The European Colonies of Markland, and of Escociland up to the sixteenth century, and their existing remains in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by E. Beauvois; The Course of the Mississippi, by Gabriel Garnier; Chronological marks of the history of the Mound-Builders, by M. Stronck; Americus Vespucius, by Dr. Schoelter; The Eries or Kakeaks and their destruction by the Senecas, a tribe of the Five Nations, by Abbé Schmitz; The Voyage of Verrazzano, by M. Desimoni.

In the second volume, The Rockford Stone, by M. Moody; a critical examination of sixteen American Languages, by M. Lucien Adam; Principles of the Crees Language, by R. P. Rémas; The Stone Age at the Philadelphia Exhibition, by M. Emile Guirnet; a Rock-retreat in Pennsylvania, by M. S. S. Haldemann; The primitive dwelling place of the Esquimaux, by M. H. Rink; The early antiquities of Man in America proved by the Flint stones, by M. Leon Engling; The Antiquities of Greenland, by M. Valdeман Schmit; a portrait of Christopher Columbus, by M. Rinck.

The Congress adjourned to meet at Brussels on the 23d September, 1879. Among the sub-



jects named to make part of the 'order of the day' at this third session are: What is known of Norumbega, Colonization of the Mouths of the Mississippi, Progress of American Cartography during the Sixteenth Century, Character of the designs upon Stone Objects found at Behring's Straits, Antiquities of the several states of the Dominion of Canada, Traditions of the White Man and of the Sign of the Cross, Tertiary Man in America, Natives of Acadia at the time of the arrival of the first French explorers, Mounds west of the Missouri and in the Brittanian possessions of North America, Grammatical Differences between the Esquimaux and other North American languages.

The first day will be devoted to discussions of pre-Columbian history of America and the history of the Discovery of the New World; second to Archaeology; the third to Anthropology and Ethnography; the fourth to Linguistics and Paleogeography.

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**MONETARY AND INDUSTRIAL FALLACIES. A DIALOGUE.** 8vo. pp. 248. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston. 1878.

Attention has already been called to the work on Political Economy in the use of money by the same author (J. B. Howe). The dialogue was intended to form a part of it; this ancient form of instruction being adopted because of the advantages it presents for the meeting of opposite arguments. The same general criticism applied to the former work may equally be applied to this. Political economy is not a new science; not yet an abstruse one. Banking makes a small part of political economy, and the rules by which it is governed vary with the character of the population and the nature of the production or industry it is organized to serve. Manufacturing and mining districts require a different treatment from strictly commercial cities. The secret of successful banking is in the repeated turn of capital upon short credits. Of course the even ratio of reserve to liabilities which Adam Smith prescribes must be maintained, but there is no strength like the rapid return of discounted capital.

While upon the subject we commend to careful reading a profound article in the *Revue des deux Mondes* of August 15, 1878, on the production and consumption of gold and silver, where the immutable principles of sound finance are stated with French precision. The French are the only great financiers, and their management both of national and local finances is a marvel of correct application of true principles. Here M. Laveyleye states clearly the one axiom of national finance, that a circulation is strong only as it is strong in gold and silver, which alone are money. The reader will also

find some views on the conduct of the United States on the silver question, which differing from those of the majority of our best financial minds will, in their defence of the *honesty*, if not the policy of the silver bill, gratify his national pride.

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**THE SETTLEMENT OF BURLINGTON.**

An Oration delivered in that city December 6, 1877, by HENRY ARMITT BROWN, in commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of its settlement by the passengers of the good ship Kent, who landed at Raccoon Creek, August 16, O. S., and laid out the town on Chygoe's Island "towards ye latter part of ye 8th month," 1677. Published by resolution of the citizens. 8vo, pp. 68. Burlington, N. J. 1878.

An instructive and charmingly written sketch of this ancient peaceful village, past "which the centuries have flown so softly that she has hardly heard the rustle of their wings." The talented orator, whose future was of such bright promise, has, unfortunately for our literature, passed to an early grave.

West Jersey was settled by two companies of Friends, disciples of George Fox; the one from London, the other from Yorkshire. They embarked in the Kent, and received the parting blessing of King Charles II., who was pleasuring in his barge in the Thames. The merry king was no doubt delighted to be rid of such dismal company. The old church of St. Mary's was founded in the reign of Queen Anne. Before its door Whitfield preached, and in the adjoining graveyard lie the remains of Elias Boudinot, the President of Congress, and of Attorney-General Bradford of revolutionary fame. Burlington was also the home of the gallant Lawrence of the Chesapeake, and of later worthies, who have reached distinction in the liberal professions and practical walks of life.

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**RHODE ISLAND SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI. THE ANNUAL MEETING IN THE STATE HOUSE AND COMMEMORATIVE DINNER AT THE NARRAGANSET HOTEL, PROVIDENCE, R. I., ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1878.** 8vo, pp. 8. J. A. & R. A. REID, printers, Providence, R. I.

A reprint from the newspaper press of the proceedings at the annual meeting and commemorative dinner of this ancient society. We have already noticed its recent reorganization, with Hon. Nathaniel Greene of Newport as its President.

**THE MONETARY SITUATION. AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY REQUEST OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION AT ITS MEETING IN CINCINNATI, May 21, 1878, by S. DANA HORTON, with an appendix. 8vo. pp. 58. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati.**

There is a great deal of excellent thought and reasoning in these few pages, to the conclusions of which Mr. Laveyleye's article just quoted by us on the production and consumption of the precious metals gives strong weight. Both believe in the absolute necessity of a bimetallic standard. Mr. Horton believes with Mr. Cernuschi and Mr. Laveyleye, that silver must be restored as the currencies of England and Germany. Beyond this Mr. Horton appears to believe in the waiting process. The policy adopted by Mr. Chase of making the greenback a legal tender is condemned in these pages as unnecessary and unwise. That policy was determined—indeed, forced upon the department—by the conduct of bank officers who, disappointed that their institutions were not permitted to extend their own irresponsible issues, *threw out the treasury notes*, which were not the legal tender, declining to receive them except at a discount, if at all. In self-defence the Government made their acceptance obligatory. It is idle to say that with our enormous expenditure, specie payment could have been maintained during the war. There was not coin enough in the country to maintain one-half of the paper currency at par—indeed, the best European observers doubt our ability now. It is unprecedented in the history of finance that any nation has been able to maintain the parity of paper with coin, unless the metal be largely in excess of the paper. A great deal of passion has been wasted over the silver question. It has its bright sides. Let us move slowly in these momentous matters.

**TOPICAL COURSE OF STUDY FOR THE COMMON SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES.**

By R. C. STONE. Part I—Topical Course for Elementary Schools. Part II—Topical Course for High Schools. 16mo, pp. 114. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York and Chicago. 1878.

The superiority of the American system of popular education over that of England or the Continent has been universally acknowledged since the remarkable displays in the educational departments at the Philadelphia and Paris Expositions. To this superiority the practical ingenuity applied to instruction has largely contributed. This topical course of study, the preface informs us, is a compilation from the courses of study of our most successful schools,

and the best thoughts of leading educators. It enables the pupil to make use of *any* and *all* text books bearing on the given topics, and also includes all other relevant information within his reach. It promotes a symmetrical growth of knowledge, which is the first essential of a successful school system.

**THE PENNYPACKER REUNION, OCTOBER 4, 1877. 8vo, pp. 52. BAIN & PENNYPACKER, printers, Philadelphia.**

This is an account of a Reunion of the descendants of Heinrich and Eve Pannebocker, which was held in picnic style at Pennypacker's Mills in the village of Schwenksville, Penn., on the 4th October, 1877, the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Germantown, with which the village is associated. Six hundred and ninety-eight invitations were extended. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania was represented, and many public men participated in the celebration. A sketch of the family was read. From it we learn that the first emigrant of the name—Heinrich—was of Dutch origin and came to America prior to the year 1702. He belonged to the sect of Mennonite Quakers to whom William Penn offered great inducements to make his colony their place of refuge. Arrived in Pennsylvania, he made considerable land purchases, amounting in the aggregate to three thousand four hundred and sixty-two acres. He married about 1705. In war, the record of the family has been striking. Notwithstanding their Mennonite spirit, several were engaged in the revolutionary army; and they took their part in the War of 1812 and that with Mexico. General Galusha Pennypacker won his rank at the attack on Fort Fisher, at the age of twenty-two, the youngest general officer in the U. S. service.

**LIFE AND ITS RECORD IN THIS GENERATION.** An Anniversary Address delivered before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, April 11, 1878, by SAMUEL OSGOOD. 8vo, pp. 17. Printed for the Society. New York. 1878.

We have already called attention to this instructive address. Dr. Osgood recalls the services done to literature, science and art by a galaxy of illustrious men, of whom Cooper, Irving, McVickar, Anthon, Alexander and Bethune represented New York culture, and Bryant, Bancroft, Dewey, Channing and Morse that of New England. In the present sketch, which we are glad to see in this separate form, is added a warm tribute to Bryant, who has now passed into history, as Homer in Greece, Virgil in Italy, Shakespeare in England, as the National Poet of America.

**THE CERAMIC ART. A COMPENDIUM OF THE HISTORY AND MANUFACTURE OF POTTERY AND PORCELAIN.** By JENNIE T. YOUNG, with 464 illustrations. 8vo, pp. 487. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York. 1878.

In this volume the author announces her purpose to bring the results of recent research to bear upon some of the unsolved problems of "the science of Ceramics," and to condense the wide literature on the subject into one comprehensive history. Her titles are divided into books, reciting I, the nomenclature and methods; II, the Orient, with an early account of the art; III, Europe; IV, America. This last is divided into chapters upon South America, Central America, the Mound Builders, Indian pottery, and the United States. In the Mound Builders and Indian pottery we find an excellent digest of the knowledge on the subject. In the last chapter on the United States is an account of the potters of the present day, and an opinion of the brilliant future in store for the Ceramic art of America, based upon the rapidity of its recent progress and its present high excellence. Here will be found a description of the rich and inexhaustible beds of fine kaolin, or clay, in the deposits of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri and Indiana, of common white-ware clay in New Jersey, of abundant felspar in Maine, Connecticut and Maryland, and of equally abundant quartz or silica in Pennsylvania and Maryland, while we are informed that every section of the United States, from the Rocky Mountains to the State of Maine, has raw material in great variety as yet untouched. This promises well for our American factories, while it is remarked that English clay is still imported, for want of a proper preparation of the native clay. This volume also closes with an excellent index, an indispensable addition to works of this character. This admirably printed volume, bound in the inexpensive and beautiful style of American art, with which nothing from foreign publishers, either English or Continental, can at all compare, comes from the press of the Harpers,

**THE ART INTERCHANGE. A HOUSEHOLD JOURNAL.** Published at No. 84 East Nineteenth street, New York.

This little paper is devoted to the interests of the Society of the Decorative Art, whose exhibitions are doing great service in the popularizing of good taste in matters of household use and ornament. Among its contributors we observe the well-known names of Mr. William C. Prime, Mr. Louis Tiffany, Mr. Russell Sturgis and General de Cesnola. We hope it may receive the support it deserves.

Among the recent triumphs of American in-

dustry we notice, upon exhibition in the pottery collection, some ware contributed by Miss MacLaughlin, of Cincinnati, the glazing upon which is said to be of hardness and finish equal to the best of Limoges workmanship. If this prove to be the fact, a new industry is opening for American manufacture.

**THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN.** A quarterly journal, devoted to early American History, Ethnology and Archæology. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PRET. Vol. I, No. 2. July and August. Published by BROOKS, SCHINKEL & CO. Cleveland, Ohio. 1878.

Mr. Edwin A. Barber opens the second number of this periodical with a comparison of the Pueblo Pottery with the Egyptian and Grecian Ceramics, an article well illustrated with text engravings. He invites attention to the close resemblance of the forms of vessels made by ancient Pueblo races to some of the ancient Greek and Egyptian vases; especially disclaiming, however, the intention of advancing any hypothesis of race origin of the American peoples. Following this are short articles on the traditions of the Deluge among the tribes of the Northwest. There seem to be two traditions of a general destruction of life by water—one of a deluge by a falling rain, the other by a rising tide. Mr. Gatschet contributes a sketch of the Klamath language, and the editor an excellent analytic account of the location of Indian tribes from the pages of historians and travelers.

**AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS AND BULLETIN OF AMERICAN NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.** Quarterly. October. Vol. XIII, No. 2. Published by the Boston Numismatic Society. 1878.

In this number we find a continuation of the list of centennial medals, which is the most important part of this number. Another on Masonic medals, also a continuation, has a special interest to the members of the order.

**MASONIC MONTHLY; A MAGAZINE** devoted to the interests of the Masonic Fraternity in General and of the Pacific Coast in Particular. Vol. I, No. 6. September. J. W. KINSLEY, publisher. San Francisco, California.

In this special publication may be found an account of the movement of the mysterious order on the Pacific coast. There is a list of California lodges, two hundred and fifty in number.

## THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

Thirteenth year. October. STRAHAN & Co.  
London, 1878. November, 1878.

In the October number we find an article which well deserves the attention of American readers. It is entitled *England and America as manufacturing competitors*, by Mr. James Henderson, who recently made a personal visit to some of the manufacturing districts of North America. Mr. Henderson does not believe that because the American manufacturer may find it to his advantage to ship goods to England at the present moment, it naturally follows that we are capable of permanent competition in an open market with our English rivals. While he acknowledges that North America possesses such unbounded natural wealth and resources that it would be rash to place a limit on her capabilities in a remote future, he finds in the evil influence of unsound restrictive commercial legislation a potent disqualification for successful competition.

The advantages of the American cotton spinner over his British competitor he estimates to be, *first*, more convenient access to the raw material; *second*, important natural advantages in the shape of water; *third*, a better educated and superior class of working people. Per contra, the advantages of the English cotton manufacturer are, *first*, the lower rates of interest upon capital; *second*, the lower cost of buildings and machinery and mill furnishings; *third*, lower wages when trade is in a normal condition; which is rendered possible by the lower cost of living in England; *fourth*, a sounder system of taxation; *fifth*, lower rates for fuel and for light; *sixth*, more convenient and ready access to the markets of consumers. The balance of advantage he considers to be on the side of the English manufacturer, and he does not look with alarm upon American competition in textile fabric. It is consoling to the American, however, to know from such a source that all of the English advantages can be overcome by a change in our legislation, while the superiority nature give us is immutable and eternal.

## THE AMERICAN COLLEGES AND THE

AMERICAN PUBLIC (new edition), WITH AFTER-THOUGHTS ON COLLEGE AND SCHOOL EDUCATION. By NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. 16mo, pp. 403. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. New York.

The first large edition of this work has been for many years the authority on the subject whereof it treats. A second is now submitted by the learned author, with the addition of several new papers. Dr. Porter disclaims the idea of exhaustive treatment of any of the subjects in these essays, but holds them out as suggestions.

The book was originally written to meet the public demand upon the colleges of the United States to answer for their trust. This distrust of our colleges and of their systems of education was a consequence of the assaults upon the great schools and universities of England in the war against the too great prominence given to classics in the lecture room. Of late years the reaction has carried us too far. Both history and language are derivative, and without the Latin we of English descent cannot understand the meaning of our vocabulary, and without the Greek the purpose of the new words introduced by common accord into modern languages to keep pace with the requirements of progressive science.

The closing chapters are devoted to the Ideal American University and the Co-education of the Sexes. Both are as yet in their tentative stages.

## ORIGINES ET FONDATION DU PLUS

ANCIEN ÉVÊCHÉ DU NOUVEAU MONDE, LE  
DIOCÈSE DE GRÉNLANDE, 986-1176. Par E.  
BEAUVOIS. Paris, E. DUFASSÉ. 1878.

We have read this work with very great interest, and find it pervaded by a thoroughly historic spirit, and by historic methods, from beginning to end. The author has made a very careful study of the Saga literature, and has a perfect command of his subject, which, with due respect to the indefatigable editors of *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmarker*, has never before found so able a presentation. M. Beauvois shows as clearly as need be, that from the discovery of Greenland, at the end of the tenth century, to Post-Columbian times, there was never a lack of communication between the two countries, and that the Permanent Bishopric, founded and represented by Arnold, was practically continued to the sixteenth century. This memoir is taken from the proceedings of the Society of History, Archaeology and Literature of Beaune, and demonstrates that French scholarship is thoroughly alive to the importance of a critical study of every subject connected with early America.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS. Vol. VI, No. 5. November. Edited by Rev. J. WILLIAM JONES, D.D. Richmond Virginia.

In this number the notable articles are General Longstreet's reply to General S. D. Lee's claim to have established the artillery in position at Manassas on the occasion of the second battle there; the reports of Admiral Buchanan and Commander J. D. Johnston on the naval fight in Mobile Bay.

**SECOND EDITION OF THE MONEY QUESTION—THE PAST AND FUTURE ASPECT OF THE LEGAL-TENDER PAPER-MONEY SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.** A History of Banks and Banking on both Continents. Also a description of National Banks and the gold basis system; the Effect of resumption of Specie Payment, and unrobes the inter-convertible bond of its mysteries. By WILLIAM A. BERKEY. 8vo, pp. 392. Grand Rapids, Michigan. 1878.

This is another of the arguments in favor of paper money, which we distinctly desire to have separated from the word greenback. We know of no better currency than a greenback issue by the United States, made by a reserve of coin in the Treasury interchangeable with gold and silver; but no currency is or can be money. The drift of the present volume may be seen from the statement of the author, that the specie basis of Great Britain has centralized the wealth of the kingdom, and reduced the industrial classes to poverty. On the contrary, he claims that France is freely supplied with paper, to take the place of coin when it is scarce. The converse is so notoriously true that it need only be stated. In England the proportion of coin to paper is five of coin to two of paper. In France twelve of coin to five and one-half of paper. It is the large specie basis of France that preserves her from money perturbations. It is the small specie basis of England which subjects her to them. The strength of a financial system is in its base, and the only base is coin.

We believe with Mr. Berkey that the real issue for the American people to decide is not between specie and paper money, but between the bank currency system and the legal-paper money system. But until the paper money of the country, whether greenbacks or bank notes, we care not which, shall be largely reduced, and coin take its place in circulation, any discussion of the ultimate future of greenbacks or bank paper is unprofitable and futile.

**MONEY IS POWER — A SCIENTIFIC, HISTORIC, AND PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE SUBJECT OF FINANCE,** with over sixty Statistical Tables illustrative of the history and pointing the arguments embraced in the work. Also a Review of Authors. By R. W. JONES. 16mo, pp. 374. BRYAN, BRAND & Co. St. Louis. 1878.

The purpose of the author in this volume is to present the statistical facts and monetary history, collected in the course of an investigation

of the subject of money, in a useful and systematic form. In his deduction Mr. Jones adopts what is currently termed the greenback view. He believes the financial distresses of the country to have been caused by the contraction of the currency since the war, and that the resumption act continues the evil, and fastens upon the country what he terms the destructive policy of contraction. In point of fact, however, the circulating medium of the country is sufficient for all demands upon it, as is evident from the fact that gold is not yet floating from hand to hand. The withdrawal of fifty millions of paper, whether of greenbacks or National Bank notes, it is immaterial which, would in our opinion be followed by a flowing into the circulating medium of an equal amount of coin to fill the vacuum, precisely as the smaller silver pieces flowed in to take the place of the retired fractional paper. This injection of gold into the circulating medium can now be continued without perturbation, and a solid money basis, similar to those of France and England, be established for credit and business. The resumption act, as interpreted by Mr. Secretary Sherman, "will keep the promise to our ear and break it to our hope." No greenback redeemed should be re-issued. Of course Mr. Sherman cannot thus deplete his treasury by the redemption of the greenbacks without a corresponding filling up. This can only happen by a surplus of revenue, which is not probable, or an issue of a funding bond, which should be the first business of Congress.

**ALLOCUTION FAITE A LA SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE DANS SA SÉANCE DU 21 NOVEMBRE, 1877.** Sur la 2de Session du Congrès International des Américanistes. Par GABRIEL GRAVIER, Membre de la Société. Rouen. 1877.

This Allocution, by M. Gravier, author of the work entitled "Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands au Xè Siècle," recently crowned by the Paris Geographical Society, will prove a timely publication for those who are unable to go through the two volumes devoted to the recent Congress at Luxembourg. M. Gravier, in a clear, comprehensive manner, exhibits the work done, and brings forward into prominence the most notable acts, at the same time indicating something of the programme for the coming Brussels Congress, which will take up amongst other subjects those of "Verrazano" and "Norombega." It is to be hoped that the Congress next autumn may be duly represented by able and accomplished Americans, and that it may be furnished by American authors with copies of their recent works, that investigators abroad may be fully informed of what is transpiring here.

## THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

Edited by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE. November-December. No. 265. D. APPLETON & Co. New York. 1878.

This is universally admitted to be the most brilliant number of this excellent periodical. The leading article, from the pen of the accomplished statesman, Horatio Seymour, treats of the Government of the United States, and the problems that confront it in the near-by future. The increase of our population at the rate of more than a million and a half last year is the first and most startling fact it has to deal with. And here Mr. Seymour asks if our systems of State or General Government are fitted to meet such a change? In his reply to this question, he shows that the safety of our institutions lies in the fact that the spirit and genius of our political system tend to check the power of majorities; the converse of which is generally believed both at home and abroad. Any controversial discussion of distribution of power between the General and State Governments is carefully avoided.

The American system of government springing from the individual is commended in glowing words. "Under it our country has attained its power, its prosperity and its magnificent proportions. Look at it upon the map of the world. It is as broad as all Europe. Mark its boundaries! The greatest chain of fresh-water lakes upon the globe bathes its northern limits; the Atlantic and Pacific wash its eastern and western shores, and its southern borders rest upon the great Mediterranean Sea of Mexico. Our policy of government meets every local want of this vast region; it gives energy, enterprise and freedom to every community, no matter how remote or small; and this is done so readily and so peaceably that the process resembles the great and beneficent operation of nature." Brave and timely words, now that it has become the fashion to decry American institutions, and belittle American character. To the honor of Governor Seymour be it said, that in the hours of darkness and distrust, when men walk about the streets, crying woe! woe! woe! he has not despaired of the republic. Of such stuff were the men who laid the foundation of American freedom, and by such, of whatever party, under the blessing of heaven, it shall be maintained.

Among other elaborate and excellent papers, we call special attention to one by James Parton on Antipathy to the Negro, in which he discusses the relative feeling of the white to the negro and of the negro to the white, existing under the systems of slavery and freedom. He notes that color repugnance is usually observed to be strongest in the meanest. Prejudice is as inherent to ignorance as superstition. Better knowledge, Mr. Parton beautifully says, makes

better feeling, and all over the world begins to soften the prejudice of ages. Finally he congratulates the South on the possession of the negro, through whose assistance alone will the grand agriculture thrive, which cannot flourish unless there is a class to labor and individuals to contrive.

Hurling the negro into politics Mr. Parton holds to be the cruellest stroke ever dealt since he was snatched from his native land. The United States Government had only the choice between protecting the negro by the bayonet or the ballot box. Both experiments have failed. Nor was the success of either possible without an entire remodelling of the territorial divisions of the subjugated States.

## AMERICAN COLLEGES—THEIR STUDENTS AND WORK.

By CHARLES F. THWING. Small 8vo., pp. 159. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York. 1878.

This treatise opens in a most confident and hopeful manner, and we are of opinion that the author is not astray in his assertion "that the most delightful feature of the history of college education in America is the constant expansion of the curriculum." In the old colony days the reading of the classics and an insight into theology were the essential results of a college education. The best of the institutions was little more than a high school. To-day Harvard and Yale and the lesser colleges in their wake have spread into universities, at which any branch of study can be pursued with profit.

Mr. Thwing's book gives an account of the present status of instruction, morals, health and scholarship in our several colleges.

## AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND

CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. By ADAM SMITH, LL.D., F. R. S. 16mo, pp. 780. R. WORTHINGTON. New York. 1878.

We are glad to see that the demand for this standard authority, the very text-book of political economy, has called out a new edition, and that it is published at a price which brings it within easy reach. In a country like our own, where the vote of the most ignorant individual has as much weight as that of the most intelligent, it is of first consequence to spread among the masses sound doctrines; and we undertake to say that there is no farmer or manufacturer in this country who would not profit by a reading of Adam Smith's famous book, the strong common-sense lessons of which, put in a style of wonderful clearness, carry conviction in their very statement. We have but to test the thousand fallacies concerning the nature of money by his plain reasoning to detect the false from the true.

**WESTERLY (RHODE ISLAND) AND ITS WITNESSES FOR TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS, 1626-1876.** Including Charlestown, Hopkinton, and Richmond, until their separate organization, with the principal points of their subsequent history. By Rev. FREDERIC DENISON, A. M. 8vo, pp. 314. J. A. & R. A. REID. 1878.

This well-edited and handsomely printed volume treats of the townships occupying the southwestern corner of the State of Rhode Island. Until its issue the chief authority upon the personal and local history of Rhode Island has been the Hon. Willkins Updike's History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, into which, with true antiquarian verve, he inscribed the traditions of the settlement. In the preparation of the present volume Mr. Denison had the good fortune to fall upon the records of the Presbyterian Church. Westerly had her witnesses in the historic scene of the revolution. Governor Ward went from Westerly to represent Rhode Island in the Continental Congress. Doctor Joshua Babcock was one of the most eminent men of his day; he was the personal friend of Franklin, who always made his home a resting place on his official tours. There is a separate chapter on graves and graveyards. Some excellent illustrations add to the interest of the volume. Our one regret is that there is no index, a great omission in a work of this character, the main value of which is for reference.

**GENEALOGY OF THE LEFFERTS FAMILY, 1650-1878.** By TEUNIS G. BERGEN. 8vo, pp. 172. JOEL MUNSSELL. Albany. 1878.

This is a well-arranged and printed account of a well-known family, descended from Leffert Pieter van Haughwout, who emigrated in 1660 from Holland, and settled in Midwout (Flatbush), Long Island, upon land now occupied by successors in the fifth generation, among whom John Lefferts of Flatbush and the wife of J. Carson Brevoort. A full-name index, simply and admirably arranged, bears witness to the judgment and thoroughness of the editor.

**GENEALOGICAL NOTES, PART SECOND.** Illustrated by Coats of Arms and Fac-similes. By LAWRENCE BUCKLEY THOMAS. 4to, pp. 54. (With an appendix of fac-similes.) LAWRENCE B. THOMAS. Baltimore. 1878.

In our April number (II, 255) a notice appeared of the first part of this elaborate work. This second part relates to the same subject, the Thomas family and those connected with it, and

contains merely such corrections and additions as had been received at the date of its publication.

**AMERICAN ORNITHOLOGY, OR THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIRDS OF THE UNITED STATES.** Illustrated with plates engraved from drawings from nature. By ALEXANDER WILSON and CHARLES LUCIAN BONAPARTE. Popular edition. 8vo (three volumes in one), pp. 214, cxxxii and 390, 426. PORTER & COATES. Philadelphia.

This is, as its title imports, a popular edition of this famous work on American birds. Wilson was a Scotchman by birth, who emigrated to this country in 1794, and by the advice of Bartram the tourist turned his attention to ornithology, in the pursuit of which study he made extensive pedestrian tours over the then unsettled country. Prevailing upon Bradford, the Philadelphia publisher, to undertake the enterprise, he printed the first volume of his collections in 1808. Years were spent by him in obtaining subscribers to meet the expense of the vast undertaking and in the increase of his store of knowledge. He published seven volumes, and left behind him material for two more, which were edited after his death in 1813. The work was later continued with similar enthusiasm by Charles Lucien Bonaparte. The enterprising publishers have done a good work in placing within popular reach this inexpensive and handy volume.

**DER DEUTSCHE ERINNERUNGEN AUS DEM PIONIER-LEBEN DER DEUTSCHEN IN AMERIKA.** Band 10, Heft 7. September.

This monthly continues to give the record of the early American settlers of German origin, and notices of the careers of the most successful and distinguished in the various walks of life.

**LIFE OF ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.** By RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON and WILLIAM HAND BROWNE. 8vo, pp. 619. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia. 1878.

The manuscript of the biography of this eminent statesman was submitted to his perusal and carefully read by him. It therefore carries with it the authority of an autobiography. Mr. Stephens is not only a man of mark in public life, but an attractive character to a large circle of friends and acquaintances. He is descended from one Alexander Stevens, an English Jacobite, who fled to this country after the failure of the rising of forty-five, and after some service in the Braddock campaign, settled at the junction of the Juniata and Susquehanna rivers.

His grandson, the subject of the memoir before us, was the son of Andrew B. and Margaret, his wife, one of a Pennsylvania branch of a North of Ireland family of the name of Grier. He was born in 1812 on the banks of Kettle Creek in Wilkes county, Georgia, to which spot his grandfather had removed. With a limited education, obtained at one of the old field-schools and at the Locust Grove Academy, a Roman Catholic institution, he was sent by a friend to the Academy at Washington, Georgia. Here he received profound religious impressions, and at one time intended to enter the ministry. Later he changed his plan, and after a course of teaching began his studies for the bar at Crawfordville, a small Georgia town. His first public address was a Fourth of July speech, in which he distinctly avowed the political principles he has since consistently sustained—the sovereignty of the States and their right of individual secession. In 1836 he was elected to the State Legislature, and again elected in 1840, joining, though with many misgivings, in the movement which overthrew Van Buren, and placed General Harrison in the Presidential Chair. In 1841 he declined a reelection to the Legislature, and was chosen to the State Senate in the fall; the declaration of the principles of the Georgia Whigs in 1842 was from his pen. He was at once acknowledged as one of the leaders of his party, and in 1843, when but thirty-one years of age, was chosen representative to the United States Congress. In the campaign of 1860 he favored the election of Mr. Douglas. When Lincoln was elected and secession had begun, he was persuaded to go to the convention called to take action for Georgia, and cast his vote against the withdrawal of Georgia from the Union, defending the right, but not believing in the expediency of secession. Still his views carried him with his State, and he was elected to the Provisional Government at Montgomery, and unanimously elected Vice President of the Confederacy. Here we must leave this interesting volume. His subsequent career is matter of well-known history. His social character is well known. He is one of the most companionable of men, the most fascinating and agreeable of companions. Like Lincoln, he combines in his temperament a morbid proneness to meditation, with genial and sometimes mirthful moods. He has always been an original and independent thinker, one of those who diffuses, but rarely reflects intellectual light.

**A MEMOIR OF WILLIAM HENRY GUEST.** By FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, LL.D., F. R. H. S. 8vo, pp. 36. New York. 1878.

This is a grateful tribute from Mr. de Peyster, the Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Leak and Watts Orphan House, in the city of

New York, to the memory of its excellent and lamented superintendent.

It comes with a peculiar grace from the pen of this gentleman, who is immediately connected with the family of Robert Watts, the legatee and devisee of John George Leake, to whose liberality New York is indebted for this useful charitable institution.

**STUDENT'S TOPICAL HISTORY-CHART FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME,** including Results of the Latest Chronological Research, arranged with spaces for Summary that pupils may prepare and review their own chart in connection with the study of any history. By I. P. WHITCOMB, Principal of Young Ladies' Seminary, Brooklyn, N. Y. A. S. BARNES & CO. New York, Chicago and New Orleans. 1878.

There is no doubt of the practical use in instruction of these tabulated forms. The eye is the great medium by which knowledge is acquired. To the great majority of minds that which is heard is soon forgotten, that which is committed to memory leaves no certain impression even, but that which is seen remains stamped upon the retina for a long period. The advantage of charts prepared in this manner is that the student, having the benefit of careful arrangement of the main facts of history, can supplement them by the additional facts ascertained by his own investigation, and by a well-known mnemotechnic law fasten them both upon his memory, the one recalling the other. The chart before us seems to be well adapted to this process of study.

**THE WHITE HORSE OF WOOTTON.**

A Story of Life, Sport and Adventure in the Midland Counties of England and on the Frontier of America. By CHARLES J. FOSTER. 8vo, pp. 421. PORTER & COATES. Philadelphia.

This spirited story opens in the woods of Wootton, in which the white horse is introduced by apparition. In the next chapter a red horse in flesh and blood comes upon the scene, mounted by the hero of the tale, Tom Scarlet of Grange.

It is not long before Mr. Scarlet is safely landed in America, and crossing the prairies which skirt the Santa Fe trail. Here we find also the white horse in the flesh; both man and beast passing through adventures which even in their extravagance are not impossible on our American frontiers.



## NO DYNASTY IN NORTH AMERICA—

THE WEST BETWEEN SALT WATERS; HUDSON BAY A FREE BASIN LIKE THE GULF OF MEXICO; HUDSON STRAIT A FREE GATE LIKE THE STRAIT OF FLORIDA; MANITOBA, LIKE LOUISIANA, A MARITIME STATE; NORTH AMERICA FOR CITIZENS, NOT FOR SUBJECTS; THE WEST AND ITS WAYS OUT TO THE COAST AND IN FROM THE OCEAN. Miscellany. By THOMAS S. FERNON. 8vo, pp. 89. For sale at BRENTANO'S LITERARY EMPORIUM. New York. 1878.

The comprehensive title sufficiently indicates the purpose of the author of this politico-economic tract. He looks to the annexation of the British American States, and points out the advantages which will come from Hudson Bay as a distributing basin in summer time. A great deal of unnecessary field is traversed in this argument, which would have been more clear if its limits had been narrowed.

## LESCAISSES D'ÉPARGNES AUX ÉTATS

UNIS. Par M. JOHN P. TOWNSEND. 8vo, pp. 24. A. CHAIX & CIE. Paris. 1878.

This is a memoir read before the International Scientific Congress of Provident Institution, which met in the Palace of the Trocadero, Paris, 4th July, 1878. It was translated from the text of Mr. Townsend, well known as the Vice President of the Bowery Savings Bank, by the Secretary of the Congress (M. de Malarce). It conveys in a brilliant and lucid manner the present condition of our savings institutions. From it we learn that there were 626 savings banks in the United States; in eight States, containing nine millions of inhabitants, that the deposits reached the sum of \$783,264,256 from 2,184,264 individuals, an average of 358 dollars for each individual.

A general law of the United States, which would require the investment of fifty per cent. of the deposits in United States securities, would give security to these institutions, and make a proper resting place for so much of the Government indebtedness.

## ROBINSON'S EPITOME OF LITERA-

TURE. Monthly. Published by F. W. ROBINSON & Co. Philadelphia. 1878.

This excellent periodical deserves its name as a careful record of literature as it appears. In the number before us we find also an article of considerable interest on the Private Libraries of Philadelphia; the subject of the present paper concluding the account of the collection of Mr. Henry C. Lea.

## IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM CULLEN

BRYANT, BORN 1794, DIED 1878. 4to, pp. 72. EVENING POST OFFICE. New York. 1878.

In a cheap and convenient form, this volume presents the articles printed in the New York Evening Post soon after the death of the great poet, who was for so many years the chief editor of that paper. It appropriately begins with *Thanatopsis*, his earliest, and closes with *The Flood of Years*, his latest work. It is prefaced by a photograph.

## THE NATIONAL GUARDSMAN. A

Journal devoted to the interests of the National Guard of the United States. CHARLES A. COFFIN, Publisher, 85 and 87 John street, New York.

This monthly is the first publication we have noticed that is entirely devoted to the militia of the country. As everything that relates to this branch of the service, which has played an important part in our history from the colonial to the present time, is of value, we are glad to see a regular publication of this character in a shape that can be preserved for reference by students of military affairs. To the industry and judgment of its enthusiastic publisher, Mr. Charles A. Coffin, the well-known printer, the public is indebted for the conception of this periodical, which we are rejoiced to hear is an established success.

COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. V. Fifth series. 8vo, pp. 532. Published by the Society. Boston. 1878.

This volume contains the first section of the *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674 to 1729*, comprising the part from 1674 to 1800; a period of remarkable interest in the history of the Commonwealth. An introduction supplies a genealogy of the Sewall family and of those allied to it. The volume is prefaced by a fine engraved portrait of Judge Sewall, from what is supposed to be an original picture, and is supplemented by an exhaustive and well-digested index. This publication has been long looked forward to with interest as a repository of authentic information as to the manners and customs of the Puritans of New England, a race of which he may justly be called the last legitimate representative. Our readers are familiar with the admirable essay upon this diary by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, prepared from the advance sheets of this volume, and printed in our number of November, 1877. The publication of the diary will be continued by the Society.

**OUR MERCHANT MARINE—A VOICE FOR AMERICAN COMMERCE.** By CHARLES D. HILL. Third edition, revised. 16mo, pp. 64.

D. APPLETON & Co. New York. 1877.

This is a powerful plea from a gentleman, whose voice is well entitled to a national hearing from his peculiar advantages to speak of the subject whereof he treats, in favor of reasonable subsidies to foster an American marine. The facts and figures presented show in what manner the United States have lost, and are still rapidly losing, their position as a maritime power. By a judicious system of government aid, Great Britain has interwoven the world with the network of her steam marine, and acquired a hold on the markets of the South American States which it will take us a long time to weaken.

**THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF COMMODORE JOSIAH TATNALL.** By CHARLES C. JONES. 8vo, pp. 255. Appendix, pp. 4.

MORNING NEWS PRINTING HOUSE. Savannah. 1878.

This memoir of a gallant seaman, whom his companions in arms in the lost cause delight to honor, was written at the request of his family, and bears the weight of authority. The Commodore belonged to a Georgia family, who descended from an emigrant from England to South Carolina in the beginning of the last century. Josiah was born at Bonaventure, the family estate, in 1795. His mother was the daughter of Edward Fenwick of South Carolina. He was commissioned midshipman in the United States Navy in 1812, served with distinction under Decatur against the Algerines; in the Mexican war on the coast service, and at Canton in the joint attack of the American and English forces on the forts in 1859. When Georgia left the Union he went out with her, and entered the Confederate service. In 1862 he succeeded Buchanan in command of the Virginia, and blew her up to escape capture. After the war he resided for some time in Nova Scotia, but returned to Savannah, where he died in 1871. The personal incidents of his career are well narrated in this volume, which will remain an enduring testimony and an historic record of events, which grow in interest as time rolls by.

**THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.** No. 3 of Volume II.

In this number of this excellent Magazine we find several interesting articles. The leader by Professor Oswald Seidensticker of the University of Pennsylvania gives an account of William

Penn's travels in Holland and Germany in 1677, which throws considerable light on the state of religious thought on the European continent. Penn paid little attention to nature or art in his travels, but neglected no individual who could further his schemes of colonization or aid the cause of the Friends. He even interviewed Peter the Great, the Russian Czar, in behalf of the Friends, but whether his winning manners touched the callous heart of the wise but unsentimental prince we do not learn. The military operations near Philadelphia in 1777-78 are described in a letter from Tom Paine to Dr. Franklin. This is followed by a paper on the Stamp Act in New York and Virginia, by Charles R. Hildeburn, from the Swift papers in his possession.

A fine steel-plate engraving of Francis Hopkinson, from a painting by himself, prefaces the number, as an illustration of a sketch of Hopkinson, one of the centennial collections of biographies.

**AN ORATION BEFORE THE HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF NEWBURY, ESSEX COUNTY, MASS., September 11, 1878, commemorative of the Settlement of Newbury, A. D. 1635.** By GEORGE D. WILDES, D.D. 8vo, pp. 27. T. WHITAKER. New York. 1878.

The reader need not look to this oration for any historic reminiscences of the town of Newbury. That field, the author tells us, was fully covered by its patient and judicious historian, Joshua Coffin. The orator discoursed upon subjects of general historic interest, from Runnymede to Plymouth Rock, and closed with an eloquent apostrophe to his tempting theme, "Old Newbury."

**ILLUSTRATED GUIDE AND SOUVENIR OF DETROIT.** With new Map. 16mo, pp. 67. SILAS FARMER & Co. Detroit, Michigan.

This prettily illustrated little volume will be found a handy and instructive companion by visitors to the lake city.

**THE AMERICAN PORTRAIT GALLERY, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.** 4to (in numbers). J. C. BUTTRE. New York. 1879.

In this gallery our well known engraver is doing a good work by presenting portraits and biographical sketches of some of the most prominent Americans in various walks of life. The text is carefully prepared, and the portraits, among which we particularly notice as excellent those of John Russell Bartlett and the late Evert A. Duyckinck, are of general interest.

**HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WHALE FISHERY FROM ITS EARLIEST INCEPTION TO THE YEAR 1876.** By ALEXANDES STARBUCK. 8vo, pp. 767. Plates, vi. Published by the author. Waltham, Mass. 1878.

In the introduction to this volume we learn that its preparation was undertaken at the request of Professor Spencer F. Baird, United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, whose labors in the preservation and propagation of this important element of our food and commerce have been so signally successful from Maine to Oregon. The Report gives an account of the celebrated whaling posts of Nantucket, Long Island, Cape Cod, Salem, Boston, Rhode Island, and Martha's Vineyard, from 1700 to 1750; of the same, and New Bedford and Williamsburgh from 1750 to 1784, a period when foreign wars diminished the whaling fleet, but give ample employment to the hardy seamen who manned it. Little was left of it in 1784, and the record from that year to 1812 is one of varying and uncertain life. The peace of 1815, which established sailors' rights, gave an instant impulse, and in 1820 Nantucket alone had a fleet of seventy-two ships, with an aggregate of 20,449 tons, besides smaller craft. During the civil war in 1865 the Shenandoah made havoc in the Pacific with the peaceful fleet, pursuing her captures into Behring's Straits. But this was not without its compensation to the Union cause, as thousands of men, driven from their employment, enlisted in the United States Navy, and at Mobile, New Orleans and on the blockading squadrons applied the *lex talionis* with merciless severity.

In 1871 the Arctic fleet met with a terrible disaster. Thirty-four vessels off Point Belcher were crushed in the ice, and at one time there were twelve hundred shipwrecked seamen in Honolulu. Whaling has since declined, and on the 1st January, 1877, the entire fleet was reduced to one hundred and twelve vessels. The narrative of the rise and fall of this great business is full of chapters of thrilling interest. A continuous table, covering several hundred pages, gives the record of all the vessels engaged from 1784 to 1877, a monument of patience, research and industry.

**THE LIFE AND MILITARY SERVICES OF General WILLIAM SELBY HARNEY.** By L. W. REAVIS. With an introduction by General CASSIUS M. CLAY. 8vo, pp. 477. BRYAN, BRAND & Co. St Louis. 1878.

The life of this well-known soldier includes an eventful period of our history. His first commission was dated February 13, 1818, and his

earliest service was in pursuit of the Lafitte pirates, who invested the swamps of Louisiana at that time. He was prominent in the two Seminole or Florida and Black Hawk, all Indian wars, and later as Colonel of Dragoons in the Mexican war, where he did good service during the siege of Vera Cruz. A quarrel with General Scott led to his being relieved of his command. He was tried by court-martial for disobedience of orders on charges preferred by General Worth, and was reprimanded by order of the court. Marcy, who was then Secretary of War, sympathized with Harney, and by order of the President rebuked Scott. Restored to his command, he again broke orders, but being successful in a gallant affair at the Madellin, was excused by his commander. At Cerro Gorda he distinguished himself by a brilliant charge upon the Mexican batteries, which he carried, and was promoted Brigadier-General. At Contreras he was equally dashing, and at the conclusion of peace was ordered to Washington with dispatches. Later he served in the Indian country and against the Mormons.

In 1859, with characteristic independence, he resolved to settle the dispute with regard to the English occupation of the Island of San Juan on the Oregon coast by the sword, and took forcible possession. He was sustained by the Government, and maintained his position until the arrival of General Scott as an arbiter; the dispute resulting in an ultimate abandonment of all British claims to the territory in dispute.

When the civil war broke out he was in command at St. Louis, but was shortly after removed from the command of the Department of the West by Mr. Lincoln. Upon this part of his career his biographer claims to have vindicated the character and conduct, the honor and patriotism of General Harney. He was placed upon the retired list early in 1861, and General Lyon placed in command.

An interesting chapter is devoted to the American Indians, with whom, from first to last, Harney had much to do.

**THE JOHNSON MANOR — A TALE OF THE OLDEN TIME IN NEW YORK.** By JAMES KENT. 16mo, pp. 304. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York. 1877.

The scene of this story, the main incidents of which are drawn from a family record, and described many years since by a prominent actor in the drama of life it portrays, is laid in the Mohawk Valley. The time the beginning of the present century. In one of the chapters will be found an interesting and vivid description of the famous Thayendanege.

**THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC—AN HISTORIC STUDY.** By C. EDWARDS LESTER. 8vo, pp. 104. THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY. New York. 1878.

The purpose of this pamphlet appears to be an argument in favor of Diaz, and a denunciation of Lerdo, whom the author considers the arch enemy of the peace of Mexico. A sketch is given of the history of the country under Spanish rule. A comparison is drawn of its condition in the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, and an account of the national movements since 1857. The one great need of Mexico is closer commercial relation with the United States, and the author recommends the establishment of a Zollverein for the entire American hemisphere. The outward pressure of the products of the Western United States will ere long bring about a compulsory solution of the problem.

**WAMPUM. A PAPER PRESENTED TO** the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. By ASHBEL WOODWARD, M. D., of Franklin, Conn. 4to, pp. 61. J. MUNSELL. Albany. 1878.

This paper, originally read before the Society in 1868, is now for the first time given to the public. It treats of Indian money from the day when the Cacique of Cuba offered to Columbus, on his landing from his second voyage to the New World, a string of shell-beads as assurance of welcome, until the final decline of its use among our own Indians. It was in use in New York in 1603 as an equivalent for silver in small sums, and accepted for ferriage for half a century; often the only circulating medium among the Dutch, and for a quarter of a century a legal tender in New England. The last recorded instance of its use as a ratification of a treaty was at Prairie du Chien in 1825.

#### THE GRAVEYARDS OF BOSTON.

First volume. Copp's Hill Epitaphs. Prepared by WILLIAM H. WHITMORE. 8vo, pp. 116. JOEL MUNSEEL. Albany. 1878.

In the year 1852 Thomas Bridgeman published a book entitled *Memorials of the Dead in Boston*, which purported to contain an exact transcript of the inscriptions in Copp's Hill burying ground. The want of exactness and completeness in the work gave rise to the present publication, which contains two thousand inscriptions, the accuracy of which is beyond question, since they were prepared by the late Thomas B. Wyman, Jr., well known for his thoroughness and painstaking in all labors of this kind.

Equally faithful copies of the inscriptions in

other graveyards in old Boston were made by Mr. Wyman for Mr. Whitmore, and we sincerely trust that the present volume will meet sufficient encouragement to warrant their publication. The work is well enough printed, and there are plates of the various coats of arms on the stones.

The King's Chapel yard, the first in Boston proper, was fenced in 1642; the second in date, the Copp's Hill yard, which was designated as the new place for burial by an order of the town in 1660.

**THE AMERICAN PRINTER—A MANUAL OF TYPOGRAPHY.** Containing practical directions for managing all departments of a printing office, as well as complete Instructions for Apprentices. With several useful tables, numerous schemes for imposing forms in every variety, hints to authors, etc. By THOMAS MACKELLAR. 8vo, pp. 383. MACKELLAR, SMITHS & JORDAN. Philadelphia. 1878.

In a note to this, the eleventh edition of this standard authority of American printing offices, the publishers announce that its success is without a parallel in typographical literature; ten editions, or about ten thousand copies, having been disposed of since the day of publication. While an indispensable hand-book to the practical printer, it is full of information that any one who has anything to do with book-making, whether as publisher, editor, writer or proof-reader, should thoroughly understand.

**THE ETHICS OF SPIRITUALISM — A SYSTEM OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY FOUNDED IN EVOLUTION AND THE CONTINUITY OF MAN'S EXISTENCE BEYOND THE GRAVE.** By HUDSON TUTTLE. 16mo, pp. 155. Published by the RELIGIO-PHILOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE, Chicago. 1878.

We have here an effort to base a system of morals upon the constitution of man. The author scouts the idea that man has ever had any higher estate than the present, and needs no other redemption than he is certain to obtain by his inherent susceptibility of infinite improvement. In spiritualism and its teachings of the future, the author seems to find more authoritative lessons of morality than are to be derived from the experience of the past. We are asked to listen to a voice. To us, we frankly admit, no voice from beyond the confines of this world has ever made itself audible. In the words of the poet, the author "hears a voice we cannot hear."

## THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

November-December, 1878. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York. 1878.

This number closes the fifth volume of this valuable periodical, which increases in interest. Following the example of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, a new feature is introduced in the beginning of a serial novel; A Shocking Story, by Wilkie Collins. Of interest to historical students, we especially note articles by George W. Julian on Pending Ordeals of Democracy; by A. R. Spofford on The Government Library at Washington; by Horace White on the absorbing topic; After Specie Resumption—What?

Mr. Spofford's article is of peculiar value to all who concern themselves with the progress of our great public libraries. He takes up the history of the Government collections at Washington at its inception in 1800, with the modest appropriation of five thousand dollars from Congress, and follows it through its various vicissitudes to the present day, when its shelves hold 340,000 books, besides 120,000 pamphlets; to which he adds that at its present rate of accession, without extraordinary additions, it will number half a million within ten years, and one million within forty. He closes this sketch with an appeal to Congress to provide a suitable building for this repository of the nation's learning, the completeness of which the copyright laws of the United States secure beyond the competition of any other public institution.

## TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,

by ROBERT C. WATERSTON, at the Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June 13, 1878. With an appendix. 8vo, pp. 53. JOHN WILSON & SON. Boston. 1878.

All sections of the country have united in doing honor to our national poet. Among the tributes to his memory this is particularly interesting, as coming from one who accompanied Mr. Bryant in his visit to the famed castles of the Rhine, and had opportunities of watching him in his intercourse with that nature of which he was so earnest a votary. We are not surprised to hear that he was familiar with the history and character of every shrub. His eye, says Mr. Waterston, embraced everything; the stupendous ruin, the winding river, the encircling mountains, the motions of the birds, their varied songs, the clouds sailing through the heavens and each floating shadow on the landscape. Nothing escaped him. They stood together at the grave of Virgil; and while in Naples, before a small company, the poet was baptized, standing with snow white head and flowing beard like one of the ancient prophets, while through the open window shone smooth as

glass the bay, over which the apostle sailed when he brought Christianity from Alexandria to Italy.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE VERMONT

HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OCTOBER 15, 1878.

8vo, pp. 47. J. & J. M. POLAND. Montpelier. 1878.

Besides the usual record of the progress of the institution in its various branches, this pamphlet contains a Memorial Address on the Life and Character of the Rev. William H. Lord, D.D., read on the occasion by Rev. Matthew H. Buckham. Mr. Lord was graduated at Dartmouth, and pursued his theological studies at Andover, soon after which he was called to the Congregational church in Montpelier, where he remained, admired and beloved, until his death, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his pastorate, in March, 1877.

## NOTICE

During the present year special attention will be given in the Magazine to the geography of the American Continent, as shown upon early globes. In the present number our readers will find a critical article upon the Globe of Ulpian in the possession of the New York Historical Society. The next will be the "Lenox Globe," an instrument now unknown to but few persons, and of which, up to the present writing, no public mention has been made, though it is probably the oldest post-Columbian globe extant. It was found in Paris about twenty-five years since by the architect Richard M. Hunt, who presented it to Mr. Lenox, among whose priceless collections in the "Lenox Library" it is now preserved. This globe is one of the nine ancient terrestrial globes of which we have personal knowledge; that being the number of those antedating the middle of the sixteenth century, unless others are still lying in seclusion. The "Lenox Globe" is of copper, and about eight inches in diameter, the workmanship being excellent. It probably belongs to the period of 1510-12. It was purchased by Mr. Hunt as a curious antique, but it is reasonable to suppose that it would not have left Paris so easily if its existence had been known to the savans of that city. New York is fortunate in possessing two—a very fair proportion—of the most interesting of these ancient witnesses to geographical knowledge. EDITOR.





# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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No. 2

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## WASHINGTON'S OPINION OF HIS GENERAL OFFICERS

**T**HIS valuable and curious document, now for the first time printed, is the property of the State of New York, and is included among the treasures of the State Library at Albany. It is one of a number of memorial relics of Washington purchased by Act of the Legislature passed April 26, 1871, from Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington, the widow of Col. Lewis W. Washington, who was the sole surviving son of George Custis Washington, who was the son of William Augustine Washington, the eldest of the five nephews of Washington. This memorandum was uninterruptedly in the possession of the Washington family until its purchase by the State of New York.

Dr. H. A. Homes of the Library gives the following account of its origin and purpose in his description of these memorials:

This paper was prepared by Washington in the winter of 1791-2, after the defeat of Gen. Arthur St. Clair, by the Indians, in the autumn of 1790, near the Miami, in Ohio, and in anticipation of the necessity of the appointment of some one to succeed him in the command of the army. It was intended to serve as a memorandum of the various characters and claims to the office, of the Generals of the revolution then living, both for his personal use and for the deliberations in council with his cabinet. As the result of these deliberations, Gen. Anthony Wayne was appointed St. Clair's successor in April, 1792, and Otho H. Williams and Rufus Putnam, First, and John Brooks and James Wilkinson, Second Brigadier Generals. Twenty-three officers are mentioned in the series, and Washington gives his opinion of the qualifications of sixteen of them for the office in question, viz.: of Generals Lincoln, Steuben, Moultrie, McIntosh, Wayne, Weedon, Hand, Scott, Huntington, Wilkinson, Gist, Irvine, Morgan, Putnam, Pinckney and Gov. H. Lee.

The paper is not signed, but is entirely in the autograph of Wash-



ington. It bears an early endorsement which will serve for its title. The proof has been carefully compared with the original manuscript, and minutely follows variations in the spelling and punctuation.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S OPINION OF THE FIELD OFFICERS  
OF THE REVOLUTION ALIVE IN 1791

The following list contain the names of all the General officers now living & in this country, as low as *actual* Brigadiers inclusively.— Except those who it is conjectured would not, from age, want of health—& other circumstances, come forward by any inducements that could be offered to them—& such as ought not to be named for the important trust of Commander in Chief.

MAJOR GENERAL LINCOLN.

Sober, honest, brave and sensible, but infirm, past the vigor of life—& reluctantly (if offered to him) would accept the appointment.—

MAJR GENERAL BARON DE STEUBEN.

Sensible, sober & brave, well acquainted with Tactics & with the arrangement & discipline of an army.— High in his ideas of Subordination—impetuous in his temper—ambitious—and a foreigner.—

MAJOR GENERAL MOULTRIE.

Brave, & it is believed accomodating in his temper—Served the whole of last war; & has been an officer in the preceeding one, at least had been engaged in an Expedition against the Cherokees; having defeated them in one or two considerable actions.— What the resources, or powers of his mind are—how active he may be, and whether temperate or not, are points I cannot speak to with decision, because I have had little or no opportunities to form an opinion of him.—

BRIGADIER (BUT BY BREVET MAJR GENERAL) MCINTOSH.

Is old and inactive;—supposed to be honest and brave.— Not much known in the Union, and therefore would not obtain much confidence, or command much respect;—either in the community or the army.

MAJR GENERAL (BY BREVET) WAYNE.

More active & enterprising than Judicious & cautious.— No œconomist it is feared:—open to flattery—vain—easily imposed upon and liable to

be drawn into scrapes. Too indulgent (the effect perhaps of some of the causes just mentioned) to his Officers and men.— Whether sober— or a little addicted to the bottle, I know not.

MAJR GENERAL (BY BREVET) WEEDON.

Not supposed to be an Officer of much resource, though not deficient of a competent share of understanding—rather addicted to ease & pleasure —& no enemy it is said to the bottle—never has had his name brot. forward on this acct.

MAJOR GENERAL (BY BREVET) HAND.

A sensible & judicious man;—his integrity unimpeached;—and was esteemed a pretty good officer.— But if I recollect rightly, not a very active one.— He has never been charged with intemperance to my knowledge;— His name has rarely been mentioned under the present difficulty of chusing an officer to comm'd, but this may, in a great measure be owing to his being at a distance.—

MAJR GENERAL (BY BREVET) SCOTT.

Brave & means well; but is an officer of inadequate abilities for extensive command;—&, by report, is addicted to drinking.—

MAJR GENERAL (BY BREVET) HUNTINGTON.

Sober, sensible and very discreet.— Has never discover'd much enterprise; yet, no doubt has ever been entertained of his want of spirit, or firmness.


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BRIGADIER GENERAL WILKENSON.

Is, *by brevet* Senr. to those whose names follow—but the appointment to this rank was merely honorary,—and as he was but a short time in service, little can be said of his abilities as an Officer.— He is lively, sensible, pompous and ambitious, but whether sober or not, is unknown to me.

BRIGADIER GENERAL GIST.

Little has been said of his qualifications as a General Officer— His activity & attention to duty is somewhat doubtful, tho' his spirit, I believe, is unimpeached.—



## BRIGADIER GENERAL IRVINE

Is sober, tolerably sensible and prudent. It is said he is an œconomist; and supported his authority whilst he was entrusted with a separte command; but I have no recollection of any circumstance that marks him as a decidedly good, or indifferent officer.

## BRIGADIER GENERAL MORGAN.—

Has been fortunate, & has met with eclat.— Yet there are different opinions with respect to his abilities as an Officer.— He is accused of using improper means to obtain certificates from the soldiers—It is said he has been (if the case is not so now) intemperate: that he is troubled with a palpitation which often lays him up; and it is not denied that he is illiterate.

## BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAMS.—

Is a sensible man, but not without vanity. No doubt, I believe, is entertained of his firmness:—and it is thought he does not want activity,—but it is not easy, where there is nothing conspicuous in a character, to pronounce decidedly upon a Military man who has always acted under the immediate orders of a superior officer, unless he had been seen frequently in action.— The discipline, interior œconomy and police of his Corps is the best evidence one can have of his talents in this line, and of this, in the case of Genl Williams I can say nothing; as he was appointed a Brigadier after he left the Northern to join the Southern army.— But a material objection to him is delicate health (if there has been no change in his constitution),—for he has gone to the Sweet Springs two or three years sucessively in such bad health as to afford little hope of his ever returning from them.

## BRIGADIER GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM.—

Possesses a strong mind—and is a discreet man.— No question has ever been made (that has come to my knowledge) of his want of firmness. In short, there is nothing conspicuous in his character—and he is but little known out of his own state, and a narrow circle.

## BRIGADIER GENL (BY BREVET) PINCKNEY.—

A Colonel since Sept. 16th, 1776; but appointed a Brigadr. by brevet, at the close of the War, *only*.— In this Gentleman many valuable qualities are to be found.— He is of unquestionable bravery— Is a man of strict honor, erudition & good sense: and it is said has made Tactics a study—



The following list contain the names of all the General Officers <sup>now</sup> living, & in this Country, as well as actual Brigadiers inclusively. - Except those who it is conjectured would not form age, - want of health - or the circumstances come forward by any <sup>that could be presumed to be</sup> inducement, - such as ought not to be named for <sup>the</sup> important trust of Commander in Chief. -

Major General Lincoln.

Sober, honest, brave and sensible, but in firm, past the vigor of life & reluctantly (if offered <sup>then</sup>) would accept the appointment. -

Major Genl. Baron de Heuber

Sensible, sober & brave well acquainted with Tactics, the arrangement & discipline of an Army. - High in his ideas of subordination - impetuous in his temper - ambitious - and a foreigner. -

Major Genl. Mouttree.

Brave, & it is believed a commanding in his temper. - Served the whole of last War; & has been an Officer in the preceding one, at least had been engaged in an Expedition against the Cherokees, having defeated them in one or two considerable actions. - What the resources or powers of his mind are - how active he may be - and whether temperate or not, are points I cannot speak to with decision, because I have had little or no opportunities to form an opinion of him. -

But what his spirit for enterprise is—whether active or indolent;—or fitted for arrangement, I am unable to say—never having had any opportunity to form a judgment of his talents as a military character.—The capture of Charleston put an end to his military services: but his Junr. Rank, and being little known in this part of the Union, are the two considerations most opposed to him,—particularly the latter, as it is more than probable his being a prisoner prevented his promotion: which ought not to be any bar to his ranking as a Brigadier from the time that others of his standing as a Colonel, were promoted.

The above and foregoing closes the list of *all the General Officers* who as has been observed from age—want of health—disinclination, or peculiar circumstances, can be brought into view; from whom to chuse an officer to command the Troops of the U. S.

If from either of the three Major Generals, which have been mentioned;—or from those made so by *brevet*, the Commander of the Troops should be taken, no Junior Officer can decline serving on the score of Rank; although he may desire, and have had expectations of being—first in command—himself.

Under this idea, and upon the principle of distribution, the arrangement of the Commanding officer, and those next in grade to him, may be placed in the following points of view.

#### COMMANDER.

#### LINCOLN . . . . or MOULTRIE.

Under either of these Major Generals might serve as Brigadiers.

WAYNE . . . . unless by being a Majr. Genl. by brevet & seeking the command himself he should recoil at it.

MORGAN . . . } for one of the above reasons would also revolt  
{ viz—command or Williams or Darke.

#### WILKINSON

\* PICKENS

\* BROOKS

\* If Lincoln commands, Brooks cannot be appointed: and if Moultrie commands the same will happn to Pickens.

If Pennsylvania gives the Commanding Officer and he is of the Rank (by brevet) of Majr General; the above arrangement is equally applicable on the principle of distribution, & as unexceptionable on the score of rank. But if, in the first case, Wayne, Morgan and Williams refuse to

serve, and in the second, the two last do it, unless it be as Commander,—then some others Junr. in dates of Commission, or of inferior rank, must be resorted to.

If upon a full view of characters, and circumstances, General Pinckney should be deemed the most eligible for the command, it would be a fruitless attempt, & a waste of time to propose to those officers who have been his seniors, to engage again subordinately; especially if they have been his seniors in the line of *Colonels*: and here I would draw a line which I think is a just one—and that is—that his Colonel's, & not his Brigad'rs Commission, ought to decide his Rank as a General Officer, because it would be hard upon him to suffer in it, on acc't of his captivity; when motives of policy and not demerit suspended (as may fairly be presumed) his promotion during that period:—but why, when it did take place, Rank was not (to a certain antecedent date) restor'd, I am unable to conceive.

If this be fair reasoning (and I really think it is), neither Morgan nor Williams would have ground to object against serving under Pinckney: but as it is more than probable they will look to what is, rather than to what ought to be; a difficulty would be made on the subject of Rank—especially if there is any dereliction in them to the service in any other character than that of commanding it—and therefore it would be expedient perhaps to look for officers of Junr Rank,—& in that case may come in as . . . .

#### BRIGADIERS.

WILKENSON, whose rank is very questionable

DARKE—or HOWARD

WILLET—or SMITH

BROOKS.

If Governor Lee should be preferred to the command, then Officers of lower grades than any that have been mentioned in the preceeding pages must be sought after, as all of those are greatly his seniors—& their being, in my opinion but little ground to hope, that either the military talents which he has displayed in the course of the War, or his present dignified station, would reconcile any of them to act a subordinate part, except it be Wilkenson, who, as has been observed before, from having been but a short time in service, & quitting it at an early period of the

war, would have but little or no cause to complain.— As also Pickins, who has never been in the Continental line.— The arrangement w'd then be, in this case.—

GOVR. LEE—COMMANDER  
BRIGADRS.  
WILKENSON  
PICKENS

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The authorities for the following brief biographical memoranda are Drake's Dictionary of American Biography and Gardner's Dictionary of the Army of the United States. The memoranda of the officers are given in the order of their mention in the document.

MAJOR GENERALS.—Benjamin Lincoln, born at Hingham, Massachusetts, 23 January, 1733; died there, 9 May, 1810. Baron Frederick William Augustus Steuben, born at Magdeburg, Prussia, 15 November, 1730; died at Steubenville, New York, 26 November, 1794. William Moultrie, born South Carolina, 1731; died at Charleston, South Carolina, 27 September, 1805. Lachlan McIntosh, born near Inverness, Scotland, 17 March, 1725; died at Savannah, 20 February, 1806. Anthony Wayne, born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1 January, 1745; died at Presqu' Isle, 15 December, 1796. George Weedon, of Fredericksburg, Virginia; date of birth and death unknown. Edward Hand, born at Clyduff, Kings County, Ireland, 31 December, 1744; died at Rockford, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 3 September, 1802. Charles Scott, born in Cumberland County, Virginia, 1733; died 22 October, 1820. Ebenezer Huntington, born at Norwich, Connecticut, 26 December, 1754; died there 17 June, 1834.

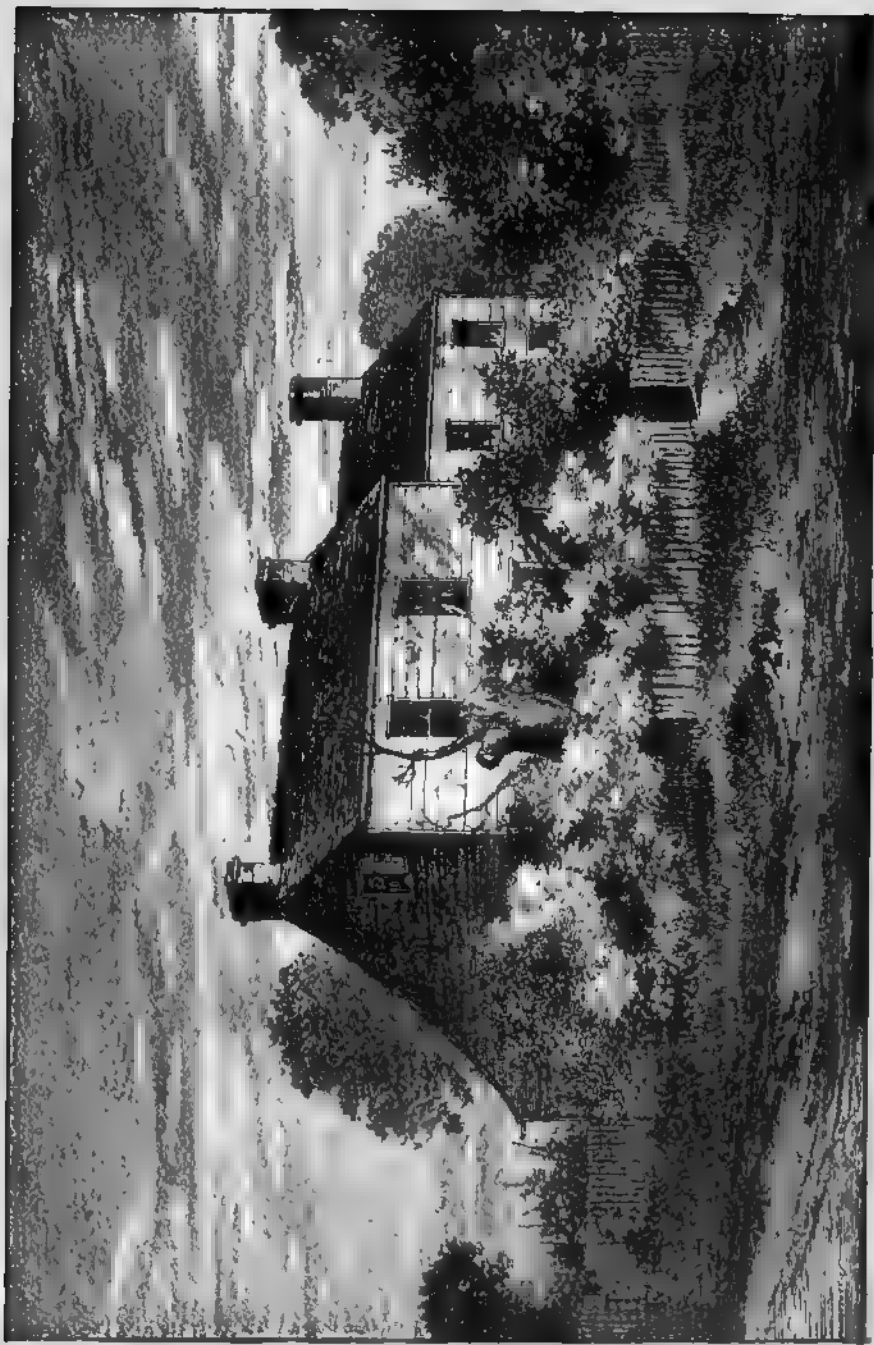
BRIGADIER GENERALS.—James Wilkinson, born near Benedict, Maryland, 1757; died near Mexico City, 28 December, 1825. Mordecai Gist, born at Baltimore, Maryland, 1743; died at Charleston, South Carolina, 2 September, 1792. William Irvine, born at Fermagh, Ireland, 3 November, 1741; died at Philadelphia, 29 July, 1804. Daniel Morgan, born at Hunterdon County, New Jersey, 1736; died at Winchester, Virginia, 6 July, 1802. Otho Holland Williams, born in Prince George County, Maryland, 1749; died 16 July, 1794. Rufus Putnam, born at Sutton, Massachusetts, 9 April, 1738; died at Marietta, Ohio, 4 May, 1824. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, born at Charleston, South Carolina, 25 February, 1746; died there, 16 August, 1825.



COLONELS.—William Darke, born in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, 1736; died in Jefferson County, Virginia, 26 November, 1801. Andrew Pickens, born at Paxton, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 13 September, 1739; died in Pendleton District, South Carolina, 1817. John Brooks, born at Medford, Massachusetts, 1752; died 1825. John Eager Howard, born in Baltimore County, Maryland, 4 June, 1752; died there, 12 October, 1827. Marinus Willett, born at Jamaica, Long Island, 31 July, 1740; died in New York City, 22 August, 1830. William Stephens Smith, born, New York, 1755; died at Lebanon, New York, 10 June, 1816.

The Governor Lee referred to was Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia, 1791-1794, born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, 29 January, 1756; died at Cumberland Island, Georgia, 25 March, 1818.



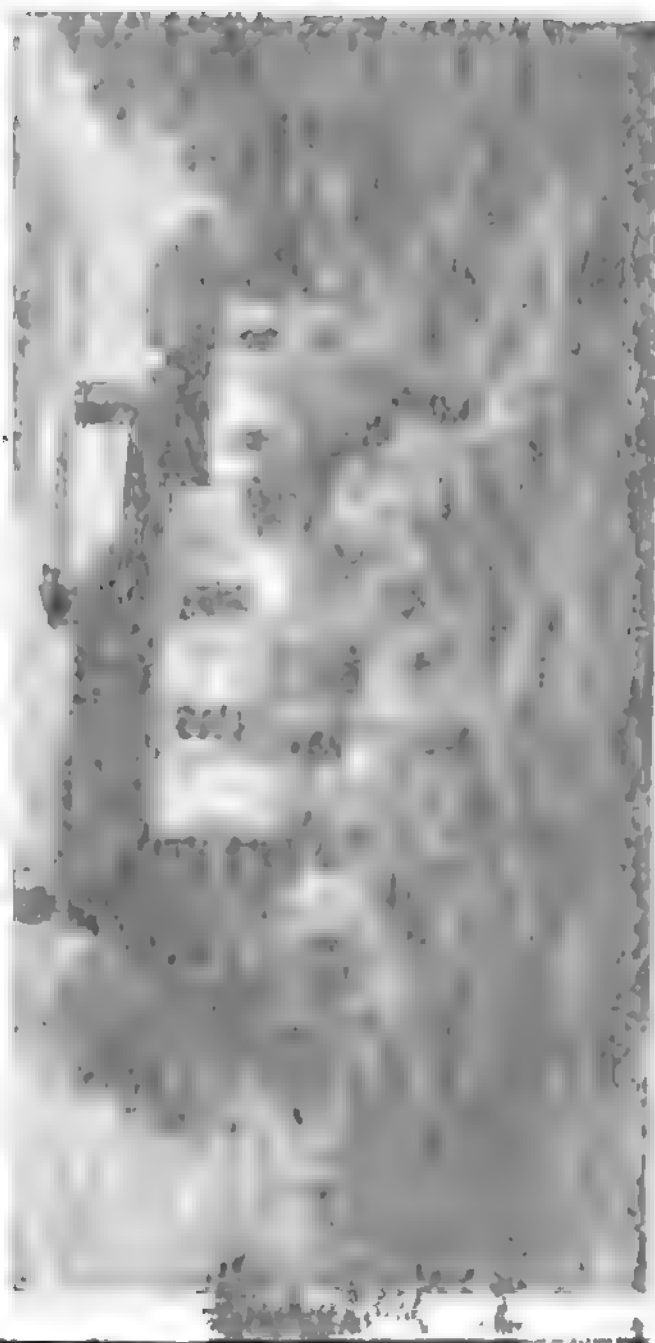


WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS—POMPTON, N. J.

[illegible]

ning on the 11th. He was then on his way to his home at New York. On the 12th he was at Pompton, where he established his Headquarters on the 13th and two days before the arrival of the winter he himself left that date. On the 15th he was at the river, a narrow stream through the Highlands, about eighteen miles west of which the army was concentrated in action, as the skunk told his faces toward the north. On the 16th he was at New Jersey. He then went to Middletown, and from New Britain to Kingston, where the army was advancing on Philadelphia or threatening the North River.

ins from which Washington wrote the letter are located as lying between the Pong-tou Mountains and the Passaic and is nearly twenty miles in its entire length, with a seldom exceeding four miles. The Passaic, Rung-tou rivers uniting at the foot of the mountains form the **Passaic River**, which flows along its eastern side to the Passaic, about



## WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT POMPTON

After the brilliant affairs of Trenton and Princeton, in the last days of 1776 and the first week of 1777, Washington established his headquarters at Morristown, where he remained in an attitude of quiet expectation, watching the movements of General Howe. In June, after a feint which caused Washington to summon the Continental troops at Peekskill to join him in New Jersey, Howe suddenly changed ground, and on the 28th fell back from the firm position he had taken, between Brunswick on the Raritan and Somerset Court House on the Millstone river, to Amboy.

The withdrawal on the 30th of June of Howe with his army to Staten Island, wholly evacuating the Jerseys, satisfied Washington that a junction with Burgoyne, then beginning his operations against Ticonderoga, was the real purpose of Howe, and caused an instant change in his plans. The camp, which had been moved from Morristown to Middlebrook on the 28th May, was removed to its old quarters on the 4th July. Here Washington again waited to see whether Howe would attack the New York defences at the Highlands or move against Philadelphia by water.

On the morning of the 11th July Washington, by the advice of his officers, moved his army towards the North River, whence he could operate to oppose either movement. On the 12th he was at Pompton Plains, where he established his Headquarters on the 13th and was detained two days "by the badness of the weather," as he himself notes in a letter of that date. On the 15th he was at the Clove, a narrow passage leading through the Highlands, about eighteen miles west of the Hudson, in which the army was constantly in motion, as the skillful commander led his forces behind the curtain of the New Jersey Hills from King's Ferry to Morristown, and from Morristown to King's Ferry, to meet the enemy advancing on Philadelphia or threatening the defences of the North River.

Pompton Plains, from which Washington wrote the letter already quoted, is described as lying between the Pompton Mountains and the Preakness Hills, and is nearly twenty miles in circumference, with a variable breadth seldom exceeding four miles. The Pequannock, Ringwood and Ramapo rivers uniting at the head of the plains form the Pompton River, which flows along its eastern side to the Passaic, about

eight miles. The southern and much of the western side of the plains are marshy, and embrace about fifteen hundred acres of peat ground. The village of Pompton is at the head of the plain, and distant about eighteen miles from Morristown, which was the principal base of the army operations in the Jerseys. The abundance of water and fuel and the shelter afforded by the hills made this a favorite camping ground. It is to-day one of the most charming spots in New Jersey.

The New Jersey Brigade went into winter quarters at Pompton the 30th November, 1780. The New York Brigade, under the command of Brigadier-General Philip Van Cortlandt, passed the winter of 1781-2 in huts at Pompton. It was here that the eccentric divine, Doctor Gano, exhorted the men to enlist for the war, telling them that the Lord and Saviour had no nine or six-months men in his service. In the spring General Van Cortlandt moved his men "to the flat field, and there exercised and manœuvered to great advantage in the presence of Baron Steuben, who was delighted with their performances during his visit of a few days." While still in the huts the General had a visit from Washington with his lady, who remained "in his humble station from Saturday evening until Monday morning."

Whether the house, a view of which accompanies this sketch, is that which was occupied by the Commander-in-Chief on his march in June, 1777, is not certain. There is, however, a tradition that at some time during the war his headquarters were here. It stands at the bend of a cross road leading from the Ryerson Furnace to the Passaic County Hotel, a tavern kept by the Posts and Thompsons since the beginning of the century; on the opposite side of the main road is the old Ryerson house; at the other side of the cross road runs the little stream of Wynockie. The house belonged to Captain Arent Schuyler in the revolutionary days. Judge M. J. Ryerson occupied it from 1783 to 1815, and his descendants until 1870, when it was sold to Miss Harriet Mills, who now owns it. It is said that the beams still show the prints made by the bayonet points of the soldiers who were quartered there.

The building is of frame, painted yellow, and overrun with bushes and shrubs in picturesque wildness. Remains of the army occupation are constantly found in this neighborhood; during the past summer, 1878, a silver spur was dug up in the garden of the house, which probably belonged to one of the French officers who passed through the valley in 1781, with the allied forces of Washington and Rochambeau, on the campaign which closed with the surrender of Cornwallis.

Dates		Meats			Poultry - diff <sup>r</sup> kinds				
Wkth.	Day	Butter	Eggs	Poultry	Bees	Ducks	Turn Key	Drum Fowls	Hind?
May	25	5.4.10	---	---	---	---	---	0.5.10	0.1.0
June	1	11.3.	---	---	---	---	---	1.10.0	5.0
	8	9.12.4	1.0.0	3.6	1.15.0	14.0	---	18.0	9.0
	15	8.12.9	---	---	---	1.6.0	---	1.12.0	---
	22	7.15.0	17.0	---	---	---	---	16.0	1.0
	29	10.9.8	7.7.4	2.3.0	---	---	---	1.10.0	5.0
July	6	9.2.10	---	---	---	---	---	1.2.0	---
	13	8.12.10	---	---	---	---	---	15.0	---
	20	9.11.11	2.9.1	---	---	---	---	1.18.0	5.6
	27	7.13.2	5.12.10	---	---	---	---	2.19.0	1.6
Aug. <sup>2</sup>	3	11.12.3	---	---	---	18.0	1.0.0	2.4.0	18.0
	10	11.1.0	---	---	1.12.0	18.0	2.12.8	18.0	1.13.0
	17	10.12.6	---	---	---	11.0	8.0	1.15.0	11.0
	24	10.13.6	---	---	---	15.0	15.0	1.11.0	11.
am. 14 Wk.	13	2.2.9	17.16.3	2.6.6	3.7.0	5.2.	3.15.8	19.13.10	5.1
Board War			4.13.4						
<p>Cash advanced M<sup>r</sup> Francis for Horses - at Livery from the 24 undry Expenses which have rec Wages to servants <del>London</del> 203 - 5 M Livery's for 5 White Servants a Salaries of Secretary - Assistants.</p>									





TABULATED STATEMENT OF  
WASHINGTON'S HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES 1789

*From the original in the Library of the State of New York*

DATES		MEATS			POULTRY—DIFT KINDS				
Months	Days	Butch	Bacon	Tongue	Geese	Ducks	Turkey	Dunghil Fowls	Birds
May.....	25	5. 4. 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0. 5. 10	0. 1. 0
June.....	1	11. 3.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1. 10. 0	5. 0
	8	9. 12. 4	1. 0. 0	3. 6	1. 15. 0	14. 0	.....	18. 0	9. 0
	15	8. 12. 9	.....	.....	.....	1. 6. 0	.....	1. 12. 0	.....
	22	7. 15. 0	2. 7. 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	16. 0	1. 0
	29	10. 9. 8	7. 7. 4	2. 3. 0	.....	.....	.....	1. 10. 0	5. 0
July.....	6	9. 2. 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1. 2. 0	.....
	13	8. 12. 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15. 0	.....
	20	9. 11. 11	2. 9. 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1. 18. 0	5. 6
	27	7. 13. 2	5. 12. 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	2. 19. 0	1. 6
Aug.....	3	11. 12. 3	.....	.....	.....	18. 0	1. 0. 0	2. 4. 0	18. 0
	10	11. 1. 0	.....	.....	1. 12. 0	18. 0	1. 12. 8	18. 0	1. 13. 0
	17	10. 12. 8	.....	.....	.....	11. 0	8. 0	1. 15. 0	11. 0
	24	10. 18. 6	.....	.....	.....	15. 0	15. 0	1. 11. 0	11. 0
Amt. 14 Weeks		132. 2. 9	17. 16. 3	2. 6. 6	3. 7. 0	5. 2.	3. 15. 8	19. 13. 10	5. 1.
Board was...			4. 13. 4						
		132. 2. 9	22. 9. 7	2. 6. 6	3. 7. 0	5. 2.	3. 15. 8	19. 13. 10	5. 1.

DATES		FISH					Eggs	Milk and Cream	Cheeses	BREAD &c.	
Months	Days	Scale Fish	Lobsters	Crabs	Oysters	Cured Fish				Bread	Bisquet
May....	25	1. 0. 6	7. 0	.....	0. 15. 0	1. 6	9. 0	0. 15. 0	.....	.....	.....
June...	1	1. 13. 6	15. 6	3. 0	19. 0	4. 6	6.	1. 7. 5	.....	3. 17. 6	3. 0
	8	1. 11. 6	11. 10	4. 0	16. 6	4. 0	9.	1. 19. 0	4. 0	2. 0. 6	9. 6
	15	1. 15. 0	12. 6	.....	9. 0	.. ..	13.	1. 18. 9	8. 6	1. 19.	.....
	22	1. 3. 6	13. 9	7. 0	7. 6	.....	9.	2. 3. 0	.....	3. 17. 0	.....
	29	1. 16. 8	18. 6	7. 6	18. 6	3. 6	3.	2. 5. 8	.....	2. 4. 0	10.
July....	6	1. 13. 0	14. 9	3. 0	11. 0	.....	.....	2. 6. 6	10. 0	4. 16. 0	12.
	13	1. 12. 5	13. 3	15.	.....	3. 0	1. 2. 0	1. 15. 10	4. 0	2. 5. 0	.....
	20	1. 15. 0	16. 6	17. 6	7. 0	8. 6	4.	1. 19. 2	1. 0	2. 9. 3	5. 0
	27	1. 15. 6	19. 0	10. 6	.....	.....	15.	3. 7. 5	.....	2. 6. 0	9.
Aug....	3	1. 7. 0	15. 0	13. 6	5. 0	.....	6.	2. 2. 0	8.	2. 11. 0	10.
	10	2. 4. 0	15. 6	14. 0	10. 6	0. 4. 0	1. 5. 0	2. 18. 2	.....	3. 11. 0	5.
	17	1. 8. 0	13. 0	19. 6	7. 6	.....	17. 6	1. 19.	5.	2. 6. 0	.....
	24	1. 2. 9	12. 0	14. 0	6. 0	.....	4.	2. 13. 10	1. 6	2. 15.	...
		21. 18. 4	9. 18. 1	6. 8. 6	7. 2. 6	1. 9.	7. 2. 6	29. 10. 9	2. 2.	36. 17. 3	3. 3. 6
									4. 7. 11		
		21. 18. 4	9. 18. 1	6. 8. 6	7. 2. 6	1. 9.	7. 2. 6	29. 10. 9	6. 9. 11	36. 17. 3	3. 3. 6

DATES		BREAD &c.		Vegetables	Butter	Ice Cream	Preserves and Sundries	Salt	Oyl	FRUITS	
Months	Days	Cake	Meal and I. Corn							Foreign	Green Fruits
May....	25	....	4.0	1.17. 9	2. 0.0	.....	.....	1 6	12.	.....	.....
June....	1	12.0	.....	3. 6.11	3. 8.0	.....	2. 0. 0	1.6	.....	2. 0.0	1. 2.0
	8	....	3.0	2.19. 3	3. 1.6	.....	2.12. 6	.....	.....	4.13.0	3. 3.0
	15	....	5.0	4.19. 7	2.15.0	.....	1. 4.	1.6	19.6	4. 7.6	1. 2.0
	22	.....	.....	3.19. 0	2. 3.0	.....	3. 6	.....	.....	8.0	3. 4.0
	29	....	1. 0.0	4.17. 6	1.16.0	.....	1. 4. 0	1.6	1.13.0	2. 5.0	5.10.6
July....	6	....	.....	6. 0. 3	2. 8.0	5.0.0	3.12. 0	1.6	.....	3.13.0	4.13.0
	13	5.	.....	4. 1. 3	3.12.0	.....	1. 6. 0	2.6	.....	.....	3.15.0
	20	....	15.0	5. 2. 9	2.17.0	.....	.....	1.6	.....	3. 4.9	3.13.6
	27	....	.....	3.18. 6	3.16.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1. 4.0	4. 3.0
Aug....	3	....	.....	5.18. 6	4. 6.0	.....	1.12. 0	4	.....	3.11.0	2.13.6
	10	....	10.0	4. 5. 6	2.12.0	15.2.0	.....	6	.....	2.16.0	2.15.0
	17	....	.....	3. 1. 6	1.17.6	.....	10. 0	.....	.....	2.14.0	1.19.0
	24	....	12.	3.17. 0	4.14.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.11.0	1.18.6
		17.0	3. 9.	58. 5. 3	41. 6.	20.2.0	14. 4	1.1.6	3. 4.6	32. 7 3	40. 2.
		2. 3.6	.....	.....	3. 6.1	.....	4. 0.10	.....	7.0	2.15.0	2.10.
		17.	5.12.6	58. 5. 3	44.12.1	20.2.0	18. 4.10	1.1.6	3.11.6	35. 2.3	42.12.

DATES		Mellons	NUTS		Citron	LIQUORS					
Months	Days		Foreign	Domestic		Madeira	Claret	Cham-paign	Van de Graves	Cherry	Port
May....	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
June....	1	.....	8.3	.....	8.	.....	9.11.0	.....	.....	.....	.....
	8	.....	1. 2.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	15	.....	.....	.....	4.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	22	.....	2.6	.....	7.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	29	.....	.....	.....	4.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
July....	6	.....	12.	19.	12.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	13	.....	16.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	20	.....	.....	.....	5.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	27	.....	.....	.....	7.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Aug....	3	.....	.....	.....	1. 0.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	10	15.	2.0	.....	2. 0.0	.....	12. 0.0	.....	.....	.....	.....
	17	1. 9 6	3.0	.....	18.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	24	1.13.6	7.6	.....	1. 0.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
		3.18.	3.13.3	19.	7. 6.6	.....	21.11.	.....	.....	.....	.....
		.....	1. 8.0	16.6	1.13.0	43.18.0	.....	18.0.0	.....	2. 5.0	.....
		3.18.	5. 1.3	1.15.6	8.19.6	43.18.	21.11.	18.0.0	.....	2. 5.	.....

DATES		LIQUORS								TEA	
Months	Days	Sweet Wine	Arack	Spirits	Brandy	Cordials	Porter	Beer	Cider	Hyson	Bohea
May....	25	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4. 4.6	.....	.....	.....
June...	1	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	8	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.16.0	2. 0.0	.....	.....
	15	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	22	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.16.0	.....	.....	.....
July....	29	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.8.0	2.10.0	.....	.....	2.1.0
	6	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	13	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	20	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Aug....	27	....	.....	.....	.....	5.6	4.0.0	4. 0.0	.....	.....	.....
	3	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.15.0	.....	.....	.....
	10	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.0.0	2. 5.0	.....	.....	.....
	17	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10. 4.0	.....	.....	.....
	24	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.10.0	.....	.....	.....
		....	.....	.....	.....	5.6	9.8.0	34. 0.6	2. 0.0	.....	2.1.0
		....	2.16.0	12.0.0	6.6.0	.....	7.0.0	0.14.0	2.10.0	8.16.0	1.2.6
		....	2.16.0	12.0.0	6.6.0	5.6	16.8.0	34.14.6	4.10.	8.16.	3.3.6

DATES		Coffee	SUGAR				Grocery generally	CANDLES		Wood	Hogs Lard
Months	Days		Dble Refined	Single Refined	Lump	Brown		Spirma-city	Tallow		
May..	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3. 9.9	.....
June..	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5. 2.8	.....	2.16.6	.....
	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2. 6.6	.....	.....	10. 7.0	2. 4. 0
	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2. 4. 0
July..	29	4.13. 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.18.9	.....
	13	.....	26.2.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	5. 3.4	.....	.....	.....
	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.0.0	3. 3.8	.....	.....	1. 0.0	.....
Aug..	27	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5.18.0	.....
	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	10	4.15.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7. 0.0	.....	.....	.....
	17	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.19.6	2. 3. 2
		9. 9. 7	26.2.7	.....	.....	8.0.0	5.10.2	17. 6.	.....	29. 9.6	6.11. 2
		5.14.11	8.1.0	6.14.4	8.17.11	3.0.0	16.16.6	1.10.0	3.4.0	.....	1.16. 8
		15. 4. 6	34.3.7	6.14.4	8.17.11	11.0.	20. 6.8	18.16.0	3.4.0	29. 9.6	8. 7.10

DATES		FLOWERS		Crockery	Potery	LINNEN			Servt's Wages	Labour	Coal
Months	Days	Natural	Artif			Sund's	Towels	Sheets			
May....	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17.6	.....
June...	1	6.0	.....	1. 1.9	4.	2. 5.1	.....	.....	.....	1. 7.0	.....
	8	14.0	.....	2.0	1.	4.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	15	15.0	.....	.....	.....	4.19.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	22	11.6	.....	11.6	1.	3.	.....	.....	6.0.0	1.13.0	.....
	29	13.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
July....	6	17.0	.....	3.6	2.	.....	.....	.....	.....	2. 2.0	.....
	13	8.6	.....	.....	.....	1. 2.0	.....	.....	.....	1.17.6	6.10.0
	20	17.6	.....	3.14.0	3.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	27	12.0	.....	6.14.6	4.	.....	3.1.10	12.0.0	6.0.0	.....	.....
Aug....	3	18.0	5.10.0	8.	2.	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.16.0	.....
	10	19.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1. 4.0	.....
	17	8.0	.....	9.	2.	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.	.....
	24	11.6	.....	.....	4.6	.....	.....	.....	6.0.0	.....	.....
		8.11.6	5.10.0	13. 4.3	1.3.9	8.13.1	3.1.10	12.0.0	18.0.0	11. 6.	6.10.0
		8.11.6	5.10.0	13. 4.3	1.3.9	8.13.1	3.1.10	12.0.0	18.0.0	11. 6.	6.10.0

DATES		Corn	Bran	Chimney Sweep	Sundries	Soap	Honey	
Months	Days							
May.....	25	.....	.....	.....	11.10	.....	.....	21.15.6
June.....	1	.....	1.5.0	.....	14. 6	.....	.....	58.13.3
	8	.....	.....	.....	1. 2. 0	.....	.....	65.16.5
	15	.....	.....	.....	1.	.....	.....	40.19.7
	22	.....	.....	.....	3. 3. 6	.....	.....	42. 9.9
	29	.....	.....	.....	15. 3	.....	.....	59.17.4
July.....	6	.....	.....	.....	1. 5. 6	.....	.....	58. 9.1
	13	.....	.....	.....	2. 9. 0	.....	.....	75. 9.0
	20	.....	.....	.....	1. 5.10	4.10.4	.....	62.11.6
	27	.....	.....	.....	18. 0	.....	.....	83.11.3
Aug.....	3	.....	.....	1.6.3	7. 6	.....	.....	61. 7.6
	10	18.6	.....	.....	1. 3. 6	.....	.....	95. 1.2
	17	10.	.....	.....	6. 0	.....	.....	47.14.2
	24	5.	.....	.....	2. 6	.....	.....	51. 8.7
		1.13.6	1.5.0	1.6.3	14. 5.11	4.10.4	.....	825. 4.1
							1.7.5	188.11.5
		1.13.6	1.5.0	1.6.3	14. 5.11	4.10.4	1.7.5	1013.15.6

1013.15. 6

Cash advanced Mr. Frauncis between the 24th of April—the day on which the President arrived in New York and the 17th of May the day on which the above accounts commenced and which compleats the third of a year.....	67. 2.11
Horses—at livery from the 24th of April until May 27th £40, and from May 27th until Aug. 24th, completing 4 months—£85.9.3 together.....	125. 9. 3
Sundry Expences which have accrued for repairing carriages—making and repairing saddles—covers for horses—Netts &c. £95.14.3, but not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of this can be properly ch'g'd to the 24th of Aug. as these expences may not occur again in a year.....	47.17.
Wages to Servants viz—5 men @ 7 Dollars per month—4 months £56. Mr. Frances @ 25 Dollars per ditto, 4 months £40. Mrs. Reed @ 8 Dollars, and 3 other Women @ 5 Dollars each per month—4 months £36.16. Valet de Chambre @ 35 Guineas per ann., $\frac{1}{2}$ of which £21.13.2.....	154.11. 9
Liverys for 5 white servants @ £11.12.0 each amounts to £58, one third of which is £19.6.8. Annual cloaths of 5 bla. Servts. viz. Will, Austin, Giles, Paris and Christopher @ £18.8 each per ann. £92, $\frac{1}{2}$ of which is £30.13.4. Two black maids @ £36.16 per ann., $\frac{1}{2}$ is £12.5.3. Boots, 4 pair, 24 Dollars, $\frac{1}{2}$ £3.4.0.....	65.19. 3
Salaries of Secretary, assistant and three aids per ann. £800, one third of which comes to £266.13.4.....	266.13. 4
4 months....	1741. 9.
	3.
A year.....	4925. 7.

NOTE.—In the descriptive notes upon the Memorial Relics of Washington in the New York State Library, prepared by Dr. H. A. Homes, the custodian of the institution, an account is given of the above document.

This MS., on one sheet, forty-two inches long by eight inches wide, in the handwriting of Washington, is a view of his household expenses in New York for three months, from May 24 to Aug. 24, 1789, at the commencement of his

first term of office as President. Washington, in his first inaugural address, expressed his unwillingness to receive any money from the public treasury beyond his actual expenses, and in pursuance of this principle had his accounts carefully kept by his steward, and here reduces them in a table in a manner to show how much had been spent for each item during this period, so as to be able to calculate his probable expenses for a year.

## THE WASHINGTON FAMILY OF HOLLAND AND GERMANY

**PRELIMINARY NOTE.** — The family register of the German-Dutch branch of the Washington family, now for the first time printed, was communicated to the New York Historical Society by the Honorable Frederick Kapp, long a resident of New York, where he was a distinguished member of the Bar, and held important public offices. He is now returned to Berlin, whence he was exiled for his participation in the revolutionary movement of 1848.

Mr. Kapp accompanied the gift with the following account of the manner in which he became interested in it :

"When on a visit to Germany in the summer of 1862, I met at the office of William W. Murphy, our Consul at Frankfort-on-the-Main, a young gentleman who was desirous of coming to the United States, and entering her volunteer army. He called at that office in order to obtain information about the conditions of his joining our forces, and of obtaining a commission therein as officer. He had been, if my memory serves me right, a lieutenant in the Bavarian army, and showed by his accent and manner that he was a Southern German. For some cause or other he finally gave up his intention. At the above interview he mentioned, as an inducement for his acceptance, that he was a namesake and distant relative of the greatest American. When asked his name, the young man, not quite twenty years of age, called himself Baron de Washington, and to prove his claims to that name produced a pedigree, written partly in Dutch and

partly in German, of that branch of the Washington family to which he belonged. This pedigree was given to me by Mr. Murphy at my request, for the purpose of presenting it to our Society, as one of the oldest and most efficient institutions of its kind. I did not lay it before you sooner, on account of the great crisis which the country has undergone since my return. At a time when the fate of a great nation rests on the point of the sword, the mind of the patriot is not disposed to move in historical by-ways, and pick up trifles ; but now after a glorious and honorable peace has been secured, it does not appear to me improper to enjoy even the smallest relics, unimportant in themselves, which however become of some consequence by their connection with the name of a great and good man. The pedigree of the Dutch-German branch of the family goes back to the middle of the seventeenth century to James Washington, brother of General Washington's great-grandfather, John. James as early as the year 1650 went to Holland, while John, with his brother Andrew, emigrated in 1656 to Virginia. James Washington settled in Rotterdam, where he married Clara van der Lanen, daughter of the burgomaster of that port. He had five children, the oldest and youngest of whom were males. The oldest (Samuel) died unmarried, while Jacob, the youngest, had a son of the same name born in 1689, and who in 1724 intermarried with Maria Wynantz, from whom the continental Washington descended. It will be tedious to enumerate the descendants of Jacob. The particulars will form the pedigree itself, prepared, as you will perceive, from the

family register. I will make in relation to it but a few general remarks.

While it may be taken as a general rule that families, after having flourished for three generations, subsequently decline, an exception appears in favor of the European branch of the Washington family; for it improved with every succeeding generation. Thus, Jacob was a justice of the peace at Rotterdam, his three sons became civil and military officers in the service of the Government of the Netherlands, and one of his grandsons, also called Jacob, born in 1778, and who died in 1848, was made a lieutenant-general in the Bavarian army, and having been created a baron, married a titled lady of Bavaria. The youngest of his sons, born in 1833, is the young man from whom this information is derived. His brother Max married the Duchess of Oldenbourg, and in this way became connected with one of the oldest sovereign families of Europe. The House of Oldenbourg, as you are aware, is the main branch of the Holstein-Gottorp stock, and has given emperors to Russia and kings to Denmark, and is now connected with the English throne by the Princess Alexandra, lately married to the Prince of Wales. Although the Dutch branch is not so highly connected, it nevertheless occupies a prominent position in its country. Jacob Washington, another great-grandson of the first Jacob, died in 1845 at Surabaya while a first lieutenant in the Dutch navy; and his sister Johanna Cornelia married Cornelius L. Keurenaar, a wealthy banker at the Hague, both of whom are still living, and hold possession of the family register, and to them

we are referred for further information.

In conclusion permit me to direct your attention to the fact that the Dutch Washingtons, as late as the middle of the last century, were consistent members of the English Church at Holland, but that the German branch, in consequence probably of the marriage of Jacob to a Bavarian lady of the Catholic faith, adhered to that church."

#### FAMILY REGISTER

JAMES WASHINGTON, having in the middle of the seventeenth century left England, which was then agitated by civil wars, settled in Rotterdam. His brother departed for the English Colonies in America, settled there as planter, and was the grandfather of the founder of the American Union, George Washington.

James Washington married in the year 1650 at Rotterdam Clara van der Lanen, daughter of the Burgomaster at that time.

From this marriage were born :

Samuel—died single.

Elisabeth—died single.

Maria—was married at Rotterdam to P. Konigh.

Johanna.

Jacobus.

1687—*Dec.* is Johanna married to Robert Millingh, minister of the English Church at Leyden, and subsequently at the Hague.

1689—*Dec.* is born at Rotterdam Jacobus Washington.

1711—*July 13.* the said Jacobus was promoted and appointed advocate, and further justice of the peace in the City of Rotterdam.



- 1712—July 13. Died at the Hague, Johanna Washington, wife of Robert Millingh.
- 1724—Oct. 24. Jacobus Washington married Catha. Maria Wynantz.
- 1725—Aug. 25. A son born, named Jacobus, baptised in the English Church at Rotterdam.
- 1728—Nov. 20. A son named Jan.
- 1730—Aug. 26. A son named Daniel.
- 1737—Sept. 19. A son named Robert.
- 1738—June 1. Died the said Robert.
- 1749—May. Jan appointed as clerk in ordinary in the office of the High Mighty (the States General).
- 1749—Oct. Jacobus, Cornet in the military service of the Country, married Catharina de Blanche at Campen.
- 1750—Aug. 1. Is born a daughter Catharina Maria.
- 1752—Dec. 21. Is born a son, Jan.
- 1755—Dec. 21. Is born a daughter, Suzanna Cordelia.
- 1756—June 30. Is born a son, Pieter Antonie.
- 1756—Dec. 12. Jan, clerk in ordinary, married Maria Petronella Steal, at Amsterdam.
- 1757—Jan. Died, the said Suzanna Cordelia.
- 1757—Jan. 24. Died, Jacobus Washington, fully 68 years old.
- 1758—Feb. 11. Died, Mrs. Catharina Maria Wynantz at the Hague.
- 1758—June 25. Died, Mrs. Maria Petronella Steal at the Hague.
- 1758—July 1. Died, Pieter Antonie Washington at Filburg.
- 1760—Nov. 16. Jan Washington remarried with Elisabeth Wagener at Amsterdam.
- 1762—Dec. 25. Died, Jacobus Washington, under Lieutenant in the service of the country, at Leerdam, fully 37 years of age.
- 1762—Dec. 28. A son born to Jan Washington and Elisabeth Wagener, Jacobus; baptized in the English Church.
- 1763—Dec. 7. Died, Mrs. Elisabeth Wagener at the Hague.
- 1764—Oct. 28. Daniel Washington married Maria Elisabeth Ter at the Hague.
- 1765—March 17. Jan Washington contracted marriage, for the third time, with Levina Johanna Styger at Amsterdam.
- 1767—Nov. 24. Born, a son to Jan Washington and Levina Johanna Styger at the Hague, Johannes; baptised in the English Church.
- 1768—Aug. 21. Married Miss Catharina Maria Washington with Johs. Albs. Schlosser, Med.-Doctor, Amsterdam.
- 1769—March 2. Died, the same, and on the 20th following also her husband.
- 1769—March 3. A son born to Jan Washington and Levina Johanna Styger, named Daniel, baptised in the English Church, who died on the 15th of the second month of 1770.
- 1770—July 21. A daughter born to Jan Washington and Levina Johanna Styger, Suzanna Cornelia, baptised in the English Church.
- 1772—Aug. 25. Again born to them a son, also called Daniel, baptised in the English Church in the Hague.
- 1775—June 10. Again born to them a daughter, Elisabeth Cornelia, baptised in the English Church at the Hague.

- 1775—*Nov.* 28. Died, Mrs. Maria Elisabeth Fer, wife of Mr. Daniel Washington, Military Solicitor at the Hague, without leaving issue.
- 1777—*Feb.* 2. Daniel Washington remarried with Elisabeth Cornelia Hoogstad at the Hague.
- 1778—*Jan.* 26. Born to them a son, Jacobus, baptised in the great church at the Hague.
- 1781—*July* 27. Born to them a second son, Daniel, baptised in the great church of St. Jacob at the Hague.
- 1781—*Sept.* 28. Jacobus Washington appointed as clerk in ordinary of the office of the High Mighty (States-General).
- 1782—*Oct.* 15. Jan Washington appointed a Receiver of Fines and Excise duties, etc.
- 1785—*Feb.* 10. Jan Washington, Junr., placed at the office with his father.
- 1786—*Oct.* 10. Died, Daniel Washington, advocate and military solicitor at the Hague, fully 57 years old.
- 1786—*Oct.* 10. Jan Washington, son of Jacobus, became proprietary Captain of a Company of Infantry in the Regiment Poeltardy.
- 1788—*April* 28. The said Jan married Ja. Cu. van Bommel at Bergen op Zoom.
- 1789—*Sept.* 25. Died at Noordwyk and buried there, Mrs. Elizabeth Cornelia Hoogstad, widow of the said Daniel Washington, leaving two sons under age, Jacobus and Daniel.
- 1789—*Nov.* 9. Died here, Miss Suzanna Cornelia Washington, aged 19 and about 4 months; buried in the great church, in the grave of Mrs. E. C. van Hoogstad; she was on the point of being married to Pieter van den Swet, merchant at Amsterdam.
- 1790—*Nov.* 9. A son born to Jan Washington, son of Jan, and J. C. van Bommel, named Jacobus Gerrit Hillebrand.
- 1791—*June* 12. Jan Washington, Junr., married Anna de Lange at Zaandam.
- 1793—*March* 13. Died here at the Hague, Elizabeth Cornelia Washington, aged 17 years, 9 months, and buried by her sister.
- 1797—*Dec.* 12. Died at the Hague, Mrs. Anna de Lange, wife of Jan Washington, son of Jan, without issue.
- 1800—*Sept.* 27. Died at the Hague, Jan Washington, about 72 years.
- 1801—*May* 7. Died at the farm Nieuwenhowen, near Halsteren, Jan Washington, son of Jacob, at the age of nearly 49 years.
- 1802—*May* 20. Remarried, Jan Washington, son of Jan, with Maria Krueel at the Hague.
- 1802—*Oct.* 17. Married. Daniel Washington, son of Jan, Johanna Cornelia van de Polder, at the Hague.
- 1803—*May* 23. Born to them a daughter, Levina Johanna, baptised in the Convent Church.
- 1804—*March* 24. Born, a son to Jan Washington and Maria Krueel, baptised in the Convent Church, named Jan.
- 1805—*March* 2. Born, a second daughter to Daniel Washington and J. C. van de Polder, Cornelia Margaretha Johanna.
- 1805—*April* 26. Died, the child of Jan Washington and Maria Krueel, fully 13 months old.
- 1806—*March* 14. Born to them, a second son, baptised in the Convent Church, named Jan.

- 1806—*March 22*—Died at Rotterdam, Mrs. Levina Johanna Styger, widow of the late Jan Washington, at the age of nearly 70 years.
- 1806—*Nov. 5*. Born to Daniel Washington and Ja. C. van de Polder, a son, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Jacob.
- 1807—*Sept. 25*. Died at Bergen op Zoom, Mrs. Johanna Catharina van Bommel, widow of the late Capt. Jan Washington, son of Jacob.
- 1808—*Sept. 4*. Daniel Washington, son of Daniel, married Caroline Julie Dorothea Marcard te Stade.
- 1809—*April 30*. Married, Jacobus Washington, son of Jan, Johanna Sprong te Leerdam.
- 1809—*May 10*. Born to Daniel Washington and Joh. Corn. van de Polder, a third daughter, baptised in the church at Amsterdam, and named Johanna Maria.
- 1810—*Jan. 22*. Born to Jan Washington and Maria Krueel at the Hague, a daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Levina Petronelle Johanna.
- 1810—*Sept. 18*. Born to Daniel Washington, son of Jan, and J. Corn. van de Polder (a daughter), baptised at Amsterdam, and named Suzanna Johanna Cornelia.
- 1811—*Oct. 10*. Died, the little daughter of Daniel Washington and J. C. van de Polder, named Johanna Maria, born 10 May, 1809.
- 1811—*Oct. 30*. Born to Jan Washington and M. Krueel at the Hague, a second daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Johanna Cornelia.
- 1811—*Nov. 23*. Mrs. J. C. van de Polder, wife of Daniel Washington, was confined with a dead son.
- 1811—*Dec. 9*. Died, the little daughter of Daniel Washington and J. C. van de Polder, named Cornelia Margaretha Johanna, born 2d March, 1805.
- 1812—*Feb. 17*. Died, the little daughter of the foregoing, named Suzanna Johanna Cornelia, born 18th Sept., 1810.
- 1812—*Sept. 2*. Born to Jacobus Washington, son of Jan and Johanna Sprong, at Amsterdam, a daughter, born say baptised in the Amstel Church, and named Elizabeth Frederica Johanna.
- 1813—*March 22*. Born to Jan Washington and Maria Krueel at the Hague, a third daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Cornelia Elisabeth.
- 1813—*Sept. 6*. Died, Daniel Washington, Daniel's son, fully 32 years old.
- 1814—*Nov. 17*. Died, Levina Petronella Johanna, born 22d Jan., 1810.
- 1814—*Dec. 13*. Died, Cornelia Elisabeth, born 11 March, 1813.
- 1815—*May*. Married, Jacs G. H. Washington at the Brielle, to W. D. Lux of that place.
- 1816—*March 25*. Born to them, a son, named Joan Hendrick.
- 1816—*Sept. 10*. Born to Jan Washington and Maria Krueel at the Hague, a fourth daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, named Johanna Petronella Elisabeth.
- 1817—*Aug. 27*. Born to J. G. H. Washington at the Brielle, a daughter, named Johanna Cathrina Juliana.

- 1818—*Sept. 1.* Born to Jacobus Washington, son of Jan, and Juliana Sprong, at the Hague, a daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Alleta Amilia Jacomina.
- 1819—*Sept. 18.* Born to J. G. H. Washington, a daughter, named Jacoba Dorothea (N. B. at the Brielle).
- 1822—*July 28.* Married, Jacobus Washington, son of D. G. Chamberlain, Colonel and aid de camp of H. M. the King of Bavaria, Commandeur and Knight of sundry orders, A. C. M. A. T. M. G., Dowager van Löchner at Huttenbach, born Baroness de Verger, Lady of the order of Sta Anna.
- 1823—*July 21.* Died, Levina Johanna Washington, born 23d May, 1803.
- 1825—*Feb. 12.* Died, Joan Hendrick, born 25 March, 1816.
- 1825—*Sept. 14.* Born to J. G. H. Washington at Brielle, a second son, Joan Hendrick.
- 1827—*Feb. 28.* Died, Mrs. Johanna Cornelia Washington, born. v. d. Polder.
- 1827—*Nov. 11.* Born to Jacobus Washington, son of Daniel, and A. C. M. S. M. G. de Verger, a son, named Louis Charles Auguste Maximilian Gebhart. H. M. the King stood godfather.
- 1829—*July 23.* Died, Daniel Washington, son of Jan, at the age of 57 years.
- 1829—*Aug. 3.* Born to Jacobus Washington, Daniel's son, and A. C. M. A. S. M. G. de Verger, a second son, named Maximilian Emanuel Willibald Jan Bernhart Gebhard.
- 1832—*June 5.* Jan Washington, son of Jan Washington, son of Jan and Maria Kruel, promoted to an officership in the Netherland Camp.
- 1832—*Nov. 21.* Married, Johanna Cornelia Washington, daughter of Jan Washington and Maria Kruel, to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaar at the Hague.
- 1836—*Jan. 3.* Died, Jan Washington, son of Jan, at the age of fully 68 years.
- 1836—*April 26.* Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaar and Johanna Cornelia Washington, a daughter, named Anna Maria.
- 1837—*May 26.* Died, the last mentioned infant.
- 1838—*Sept. 17.* Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaar and Johanna Cornelia Washington at the Hague, a son, Jan August.
- 1840—*July 22.* Died at the Hague, Maria Kruel, widow of the late Jan Washington, son of Jan, at the age of 55 years.
- 1843—*Dec. 11.* Died at Gouda, Mrs. Wilhelmina Dorothea Washington, born Lux, at the age of 56 years.
- 1845—*March 25.* Died, at Surabaya, Jacob Washington, Lieutenant at Sea, 1st Class, Knight of the military order of William, at the age of about 39 years, son of the late Daniel Washington and J. C. van de Polder.
- 1846—*Jan. 17.* Died at Gouda, Jan Hendrick Washington, aged fully 20 years, only son of J. G. H. Washington and Wilhelmina D. Lux.
- 1846—*Jan. 19.* Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaar and Johanna Cornelia Washington at the Hague, a daughter, called Johanna Maria.
- 1846—*June 17.* Died at Rotterdam, Jacobus Washington, son of Jan, at the age of 84 years.
- 1847—*Oct. 8.* Died at the Hague, Johanna Maria. born 19th Jan., 1846.

- 1848—*June 29.* Married, Johanna Catharina Juliana Washington, eldest daughter of Jacobus Gerrit Hildebrand Washington and W. D. Lux, with J. Lux.
- 1849—*June 9.* Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaer and Johanna Washington, a daughter, named Johanna Cornelia Louisa.
- 1851—*Sept. 24.* Died, the last mentioned infant at the Hague.
- 1853—*Dec. 3.* Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaer and Johanna Cornelia Washington at the Hague, a daughter, named Johanna Cornelia.
- 1858—*Sept. 27.* Died at Bergen op Zoom, Johann Jacobus, eldest son of J. Lux and J. C. J. Washington.
- 1860—*Oct. 14.* Died at the Hague, Johanna Petronella Elisabeth Washington, at the age of 44 years, youngest daughter of Jan Washington and Maria Krueel.
- 1861—*Sept. 10.* Died, at Oestgeest, Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaer.
- 1848—*7 April.* Died, Jacobus Baron von Washington, Chamberlain and Adjutant General of His Majesty the King of Bavaria.
- 1851—*1 Feb.* Died, Ludwig Baron von Washington, Lieutenant in the 3d Regiment of Infantry.
- 1855—*15 Aug.* Married, Maximilian Baron von Washington, Frederica, Duchess of Oldenburg.
- 1856—*2 Aug.* Born, George Baron of Washington.
- 1858—*June.* Born, Stephan Baron von Washington.

N. B.—All further information respecting the family of Washington is to be obtained from Mr. Jan Keurenaar, Banker at the Hague.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—The manuscript of the register, partly in the German and partly in the Dutch language, is preserved in the collections of the New York Historical Society.

EDITOR

#### ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS

*Furnished by Carl Theodor von Washington*

- 1830—Died, the wife of Jacob, Baron von Washington.
- 1833—*24 Jan.* Married, Jacobus Baron von Washington, Caroline Baroness Segesser of Brunegg.
- 1833—*27 Oct.* Born Carl Theodor Baron von Washington.
- 1840—*13 April.* Died, Caroline Baroness Washington, born Baroness Segesser of Brunegg.

#### COUNCIL OF WAR

AT A BOARD OF GENERAL OFFICERS  
CONVENED AT NEW WINDSOR  
THE 12TH DAY OF  
JUNE 1781

#### PRESENT

His Excellency the Commander in Chief	
Majors General	Brigadiers General
Lord Stirling	Knox
Genl. How	Patterson
Genl. Parsons	Hand
Genl. McDougall	Huntington
	Du Portail

The Commander in Chief informed the Board that the principal reason of his calling them together was to make

them acquainted with the plan of operations concerted between His Excellency The Count de Rochambeau and himself, at their late meeting at Wethersfield— He requested that they would, at all times in the course of those operations, give him their advice and opinions, individually, without hesitation or reserve—assuring them, that he should ever receive them with thankfulness, and that, although circumstances or other considerations might sometimes lay him under the necessity of taking measures different from what might be proposed, he hoped that would be no impediment to their still continuing to communicate to him their ideas.

The Commander in Chief urged to the Board the necessity of economising provisions, and recommended to the Generals, particularly the Brigadiers, the necessity of inspecting the Returns made by their Commissaries upon every drawing day, in order to see that the quantity of Rations drawn did not exceed the number to which the Brigade was strictly entitled, assuring them that he should, in future, look upon them as answerable for any irregularities upon this head. He here took occasion to state to the Board, generally, the present System of the departments of Commissaries General of Purchase and Issues, and shewed the impossibility of their being, upon their present plan, a check, as was intended, upon each other, and wished the Board to take the matter into consideration and report any method which appeared to them more likely to answer the end proposed—

He also desired them to take the following matters into consideration and report upon them accordingly.

1st. A plan for the regular inspection of the Magazines of provision—that the state of the provision may not only be constantly known but that the Commissaries may be called to account for any damage which may appear owing to their negligence.

2d. Whether the number of Issuing post to the Northward of Virginia (agreeable to a return which will be laid before them by the Comm'y Genl.) appear to them necessary. If they do not, pointing out which, in their opinions, ought to be abolished.

3d. A plan for baking for the Army drawn up by General Knox.

4th. The proportion of Women which ought to be allowed to any given number of men, and to whom Rations shall be allowed.

5th. What Officers of the Staff shall be allowed to draw Waiters from the line of the Army.

6th. Whether it will be safe during our advance toward New York and while we are operating against that place, to trust the posts at King's Ferry and West point to the following Garrisons — composed of the weakliest and worst Men, but who are to remain in the Works assigned them.

	C.	L.C.	M.	C.	S.	St.	R&F.	
North Redoubt.....	I				I.	2.	25	
Middle do. ....					I.	2.	25	
Island.....	I.				2.	3.	40	
No. 1.....	I.			I	I.	2.	25	
2.....				I	I.	2.	35	
3.....				I	I.	2.	25	
4.....				I	I.	2.	25	
Fort Putnam.....	I				2.	3.	75	
Webb.....	I					I.	10	
Wyllis.....						I.	2.	25
Clinton....	I				4.	8.	12.	140
	I.	I.	I.	9.	19.	33.	440	

Kings Ferry							
Stoney point.....	I.	I.	2.				30
Verplanks do.....	I.				I.	2.	30
		I.	I.	2.	4.		60
West point.....	I.	I.	I.	9.	19.	33.	440
Total.....	I.	I.	2.	10.	21.	37.	500

7th. How far will it be advisable to encamp the Army—and what place will be best to draw them together in the first instance.

NOTE.—*Ms. communicated by John Davies.*

## LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

SEVENTY

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME

PUBLISHED

1754 TO 1780

I

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Alexandria, 22d, [March] 1754

Dr. Sir

I wrote to you in Frederick not knowing your Intention of going to Stafford, desiring that all your Men &c. might be in readiness to march by the middle or last of next week at furthest for Ohio: I have just receiv'd the Governor's Orders (which was sent upon the arrival of Captn Trents express) to dispatch with all expedition thither, with the men already rais'd and such Officers as I see proper: therefore, I shall do myself the Honour of calling upon you for one; I expect several others up this Day, together with three Sloops from York James River, and Eastern Shore with recruits; those who cannot be in readiness to go, are to stay and march with Coln. Frye who is to bring out the remainder of the Men Artillery &c. I shou'd be glad you wou'd repair to Alexandria imediately upon the receipt of this in your way to Winchester that we may consult on proper Means.

I am Dr. Sir

Yr Aff. Hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

William Fairfax, Esqr

*[On the reverse of the same leaf is:]*

P. S. I suppose you have read or heard of the Governor's comand requir-

ing all officers to be and appear at Alexandria the 20th inst.

W: Fairfax  
22d March

II

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Mount Vernon

Saturday morning [1756]

Dear Madam,

Letters which I have just received from the President and others from Winchester render it necessary for me to set out for Williamsburg to morrow. If you or any of the young Ladies have Letters to send, or other commands that I can execute, I should be glad to be honored with them, and you may depend upon my punctuality—please to accept my Compliments yourself, and offer them to the young Ladies and believe that I am with great truth and sincerity

Dr Madam

yr most obedt &amp; obliged

GO. WASHINGTON

III

Communicated by T. Bailey Myers

Fort Loudon, July 12, 1757

Sir

I received yours of the 10th Inst. Covering the Drummers Deposition about the Enemys Motions and Designs which will I hope prove as favorable to us as the last Intelligence from that Quarter. I have transmitted Governor Dinwiddie a Copy of it and would have sent another to Colo. Stanwix, did not the Bearer assure me that there could be no doubt of your Expresses reaching him in due time. If you should at anytime hereafter have occasion to send an Ex-

press here you need not be at the Trouble of sending it further than Pearsalls whence Captn McKenzie will immediately forward it here. The bearer seems unfit for the Service he is now on being a drunken dilatory Fellow.

I am Sir

Your Most Obedient  
GO. WASHINGTON

IV

Communicated by C. W. Frederickson

Alexandria Novr. 13th 1757

Reverend Sir

Necessity—and that I hope will apologize for the trouble I must give you—obliges me to ask the favour of a visit—that I may have an opportunity of consulting you on a disorder which I have lingered under for three Months past—It is painful for me to write—Mr. Carlyle will say the rest—I shall only add, that I am with great esteem

Yr most Obedt. Hble Sevt,

GO. WASHINGTON

To the Reverd Mr. Charles Green

V

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

Mount Vernon, July 14th, 1761

Gentn.

This serves to address a copy of my last, and at the sametime to inform you that I have just received advice from my Steward of the Tobacco which he has put on Board the Argo, amounting in the whole to seventy Hhds; Thirty of which belongs to me, and the rest to my Ward Jno. Park Custis. You will please to make a proper Insurance thereon, and as you may readily perceive how much the usual Consignments have been

exceeded, for this year or two past, so I hope you will likewise exert your best endeavors in the Sales of our Tobacco's, that by a carefull attention in this necessary point, our corrispondance may be continued with mutual advantages.

I have not sufferd any alterations as yet to be made in the marks of my York River Tobacco; but so soon as you think it can be done with safety please to advise me thereof, that the proper distinctions may be made to avoid confusion hereafter.— The present Crop in Boyce, will be readily enough distinguishd by, the Marks and Numbers in the Bills of Lading (if my directions are attended to) because it is to be observd that none of my D. P C, nor IC Tobacco, have the same numbers or Letters as my Wards, my D P C Leaf beginning with the No 15 and ending with 27, and the Stemd with the Letter H, ending with M.— The IC Leaf begins with 12, and ends with 19 and the Stemd with I ending in M.— This particularity I have been causd to run into here, least the Captn thinking it unnecessary to give separate Bills of Lading contrary to my directions to Mr Valentine shoud Include the whole Tobacco in one Sett, and by that means render it impossible to distinguish one from the other

Johnston is at length safe anchord in the River, but I have neither got my Goods nor Letters yet which came by him; however as he is expected up every Tide I dont doubt but I shall soon receive both.

I am Gentn

Your most Obedt Hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON



## VI

Communicated by C. W. Frederickson

The Warm Springs

26th Aug 1761

Rev'd Sir

I should think myself very inexcusable were I to omit so good an opportunity as Mr. Douglass's return from these Springs, of giving you some Account of the place, and of our approaches to it.

To begin then,—We arriv'd here yesterday, and our journey as you may imagine was not of the most agreeable sort, through such weather & such Roads as we had to encounter; these last for 20 or 25 miles from hence are almost impassible for Carriages, not so much from the Mountainous Country (but this in fact is very rugged) as from Trees that have fallen across the Road, and render'd the way intolerable.

We found of both Sexes about 200 People at this place, full of all manner of diseases & Complaints; some of which are much benefited, while others find no relief from the waters—Two or three Doctors are here, but whether attending as Physicians or to Drink of the Waters I know not.

It is thought the Springs will soon begin to lose their virtues, and the weather get too cold for People not well provided to remain here. They are situated very badly on the East side of a steep Mountain, and Inclo'd by Hills on all Sides, so that the afternoon's Sun is hid by 4 o'clock and the Fogs hang over us till 9 or 10 wch occasion's great Damps and the Mornings and Evenings to be cool.

The Place I am told, and indeed have

found it so already, is supply'd with Provisions of all kinds—good Beef & venison, fine veal, Lamb Fowls & &c. may be bought at almost any time, but Lodgings can be had on no terms but building for them, and I am of opinion that numbers get more hurt by their manner of lying, than the waters can do them good, had we not succeeded in getting a Tent & marquee from Winchester we should have been in a most miserable situation here—

In regard to myself I must beg leave to say, that I was much overcome with the fatigue of the Ride and weather together—however I think my fevers are a good deal abated, altho' my Pains grow rather worse, and my sleep equally disturb'd; what effect the waters may have upon me I cant say at present, but I expect nothing from the air—this certainly must be unwholesome—I purpose to stay here a fortnight & longer if benefitted—

I shall attempt to give you the best discription I can of the Stages to this place, that you may be at no loss, if after this acct. you choose to come up. Toulston I should recommend as the first, Majr Hamilton's or Israel Thompsons the 2d, ye one abt 30, the other 35 miles distant from thence you may reach Henry Vanmeters on Opeckon Creek or Capt'n Paris's 4 miles on this side, which will be ab' 35 miles; and then your journey will be easy the following day to this place.

I have made out a very long, and a very dirty Letter, but hurry must apologize for the latter & I hope your fondness will excuse the former,—please to make my Complimts acceptable to Mrs.

Green and Miss Bolan & be assured  
Revd Sir that with a true respect

I remain Yr most obed & obliged

GO. WASHINGTON

[Revd Charles Green]

P. S. If I could be upon any certainty of yr comg or could get only 4 days previous notice of yr arrival I woud get a House built such as are here erected very indifferent indeed, they are tho. for yr. receptn.

30 Augt

Since writing the above Mr. Douglass lost his horse and was detain'd, but I met with a Fairfax man returng home who is to be back again immediately for his wife. This Person I have hird to carry some Letters to Mrs. Washn. und whose cover this goes; by him you are furnish'd with an oppertunity of honoring me with yr commands, if you retain any thoughts of com'g to this place—I think myself benefitted by the waters, and am now with hopes of their making a cure of me, little time will shew now.

## VII

Communicated by Simon Gratz

[1763]

Monday Evening

Dear Sir,

I will take the best care I can of your Letters, that for Mr. Waite shall be sent to him, and an answer got, if he works for Mr. Page near Fredericksburg. Anthony and I have examined your Wheels, and find one of them so decayed in the knave that it would sink under the first load. I have therefore forbid his wasting time in making an axle, but to get a pair of wheels from one of my Plantn Carts, and fix to the Tumbrel

he is making for you 'till a new pair can be provided. I have also directed Miles to call for my Waggon Harness [Cart Harness I have none, but what are at my Plantns used with the Plows] which will answer your purpose very well, as it is for a single Team.

I directed a man to you on Saturday last with shells, they were not very good, but I did not know how far they might be necessary; my Boat will be at your service whenever you choose to call for her, and I shall enquire as you desire where Paint & Oil may be had, for I believe I shall want of them myself, especially of the latter.

I shall beg leave to say a little now in regard to Jno Askew. That he went to work at your House, was not only with my knowledge but by my express desire, and had he stayd there 'til this time it would have been perfectly agreeable to me; but as you know when he left your work, so I can assure you that he never came to mine until Wednesday or Thursday last. I then asked him if he did not think himself one of the most worthlcss and ungrateful fellows that lived for his treatment of mc—for you must know Sir that so small a job as making the Front Gate in my yard was left him to do when I went to Williamsburg abt the 10th of May last, and was found undone at my return, altho I urged him in the strongest manner I could to get it finished for this very prevalent Reason namely, that I might In-close my Chariot Horses in a Pasture round the House secured by a Post & Rail fence and by that means prevent them from breaking into a field where I had about 10 acres of Peas, that is now

by his Idleness and there letting in my sheep entirely rooted out. This as I before said he neglected, and I was from that time untill a day or two before Mr. Carlyle asked for him to go to Belvoir, e'er I could get him to work again; so that you may partly judge from this of the provocation he has given me, but you will be more convinced of it when I tell you that the Ball'e he owes me is for Tools Imported for him, and money actually lent to keep him from starving and from a Goal, from whence [at least the Sheriffs Custody] I have once or twice redeemed him—and lent him money to cloath & by necessaries for his Family. This is the real truth of the case, and it is so far from my wanting to keep him [longer than he will finish the Gate, and repays 7 days work due to my Carpenters, and how about] that I never desire to see his Face again, if he can fall upon any method of paying what he owes me in money.

I have made an exchange of Plantations with old Saml Johnson, giving the place where Clifton lived for the Lots he held in the Neck, otherwise I shd have been glad to have obliged Doctr Cockburne.

Mrs. Washington will be very glad to see Mrs. Fairfax &c. at Mount Vernon, as I shoud have been—to whom please to tender our Complimts & believe me to be

Dr Sir

Yr Most Obt Hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Geo. Wm. Fairfax, Esq.

at

Belvoir

# VIII

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Mount Vernon 17th July 1763

Dear Sir,

We were a good deal disappointed in the promised visit—A constant watch was kept until the accustomed Bell gave the signal for Dinner, and said it was time to look no more. We do not readily comprehend the cause of the disappointment, but as Water seems not to be the element favourable to our wishes, we hope you will no longer trust to so uncertain a conveyance, but give us the pleasure of securing a visit at the next appointment. I am under a necessity of going to Frederickburg early in next week [i. e. about the 26th] for a week's stay, to which place if you have any commds I shoud be glad to execute them—Our compliments, I mean Mrs. Green's, he is at Church, Mr. & Mrs. Fairfax's and Mrs. Washington's, are tendered along with those of, Sir.

Yr Most Obedt Hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

George William Fairfax Esqr

# IX

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Fredk. Warm Springs

18th Augt [17]69

Dr Sir,

About a fortnight ago I came to this place with Mrs. Washington and her daughter, the latter of whom being troubled with a complaint, which the efficacy of these waters it is thought might remove, we resolved to try them, but have found little benefit as yet from the experiment; what a week or two more may do, we know not, and therefore are inclined to put them to the Test—it was with much pleasure however i

heard by Mr. Clingan that you stand in no need of assistance from these Springs which I find are applied to in all cases, altho there be a moral certainty of their hurting in some. Many poor miserable objects are now attending here, which I hope will receive the desired benefit, as I dare say they are deprived of the means of obtaining any other relief, from their Indigent Circumstances.

Give me leave now Sir to thank you for the polite & friendly assistance you gave to the affair I took the liberty (in March last) of recommending to your notice—Captn Crawford, from whom I have since heard, informs me, that your Letter procured him a free, and easy admission to the Land office, & to such Indulgences as could be consistently granted; consequently his work became much less difficult, than otherwise it would have been.

Some confident reports of Indian disturbances at Fort Pitt, drove many families in from Redstone, and gave some alarm to the Female Visitors of these waters; but upon a stricter scrutiny into the causes of the reports, we find that mis-representation & ill grounded fears, gave rise to the whole; & that our own People more than the Indians are to blame for the little misunderstandings which have happened among them.

My best respects attend Mrs. Armstrong, in which Mrs. Washington joins, & I am with very great esteem

Dr Sir Yr Most Obedt &

obliged Hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Colo. Jno. Armstrong In Carlyle

By favour of Mr. Clingan

# X

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

Mount Vernon, May 13th, 1770

Sir,

Your favour of the 9th came to hand last night, but I do not think myself prepared at this time to give any conclusive answer to the question you propounded, respecting Mr Custis's travelling to perfect his Education.

It is a matter of very great consequence and well deserving of the most serious consideration especially one who stands in the degree of Affinity to him that I do— A natural Parent has only two things principally to consider, the Improvement of his Son, and the Finances to do it with: if he fails in the first (not through his own neglect) he laments it as a misfortune; if exceeded in the Second, he endeavours to correct it as an abuse unaccountable to any, and regardless of what the World may say, who do not, cannot suspect him of acting upon any other motive than for the good of the Party; he is to satisfy himself only: but this is not the case in respect to Guardians: they are not only to be actuated by the same motives which govern in the other case, but are to consider in what light their conduct may be viewed by those whom the constitution hath placed as a controuling power over them; because a faupas committed by them often incurs the severest censure, and sometimes punishment; when the Intention may be Strictly laudable.

Thus much Sir I have taking the liberty of saying to shew you in what light I consider myself (generally) as the Guardian of this youth: But before I

coud adopt the measure fenally, upon the extensive plan you seem to propose, and give a definitive answer; it would be incumbent on me (as the person who is to acct for his Worldly concerns as well as personal accomplishments) to have some regular System proposed; that it may be seen at one view how the expence and his Income are proportioned to each other, for tho' I am far, very far, from harbouring any distrust of your being influenced by any sinister views, or that you would be unreasonable in your expectations as his Governor, yet some plan shoud be pointed out, some estimate formed, by which I am to be guided; otherwise were I hastily to determine that a year or two hence (or as his Education and Judgment ripened) he was to travel, and when that period arrivd it was found to be upon a plan too enlargd for his fortune and a stop thereby put to it, it might be a disappointment to you which I shoud be sorry for, as I make it a point, at least endeavour to do so, not to deceive any one.

From what I have said, you may possibly conceive that I am averse to his Travelling, for the completion of his Education; but be assured Sir I am not; there is nothing, in my opinion, more desirable to form the manners and encrease the knowledge of observant youth than such a plan as you have sketchd out; and I beg of you to believe, that there is no Gentleman under whose care Mrs. Washington and myself woud so soon entrust Mr Custis as yourself (after he is sufficiently instructed in Classical knowledge here) It may be depended on therefore, that the gratification of this passion in him, will never meet with any interruption from me, and I think I may

venture to add from his mother, provided he is disposed to set out upon such a Plan of Improvement as your good sense is capable of dictating to him; & provided also that you will undertake to accompany & guide him in the pursuit of it: Add to this, that he will be content with such an allowance as his Income can afford; for here it is also necessary to observe, that tho he is possessd of what is called a good Estate it is not a profitable one— His Lands are poor, consequently the Crops short; and tho' he has a number of slaves, slaves in such cases only add to the Expence— About 60 and from that to 80 Hhds of Tobo. is as much as he generally makes of a year; and if this is cleared, it is as much as can be expected considering the number of People he has to Cloath and the many incident charges attending such an Estate.

This Sir is all the answer I am capable of giving you at present, if you will do me the favour to be more explicit on this subject in another Letter, I will not only think of the matter with the best attention to it I am master of, but advise with some of his, and my friends, whilst I am in Williamsburg as a Justification of my conduct therein,—and as to his being Innoculated for the Small Pox previous to such an Event, the propriety of it is so striking, that it cannot admit of a doubt. In truth my opinion of this is, that it ought to happen whether he travels or not as this disorder will in the course of a few years be scarce ever out of his own Country.

With very great esteem I remain

Rev'd Sir Your most Hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

The Revd Mr Boucher in Caroline Co.

## XI

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet

Mount Vernon, Dec'r 3d, 1772

Dear Brother,

I was in great hopes to have met with you at Fredericksburg, or seen you at this place on your way up but it would almost seem as if you had foresworn this part of the Country.

I have taken the liberty of troubling you with the Inclosed Letter to Doctr Briscoe & beg that you will take a copy of it, and serve him with the original when it happens to suit your convenience—I have also by Colo Fairfax wrote to Colo Stephen respecting our Lands over the Mountains, desiring the former if he should not see the latter himself to send the Letter to your care which I beg may be contrived to him by a safe hand.

If you have heard what is done in Kennedy's Replevy please to let me know as I fancy the three months must have expired—I was glad to hear by Charles, that you still entertain'd some thoughts of coming down this Winter, but as I have met with so many disappointments, I shall never expect till I see you; My love in wch Mrs. Washington &c. joins is offer'd to Yr self, my Sister & Family & I am Dr Sir

Yr Most Affec Br

GO. WASHINGTON

To Colo Saml Washington

## XII

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Mount Vernon April 20th, 1773

Dear Sir

As it would be very inconvenient to me to set out for New York as soon

as I returned from Williamsburg, I have resolved to postpone my journey to the last mentioned place, & of course to give you the trouble of doing my business there; I have therefore by the bearer, Inclos'd you some Bonds, and orders for money, which I beg the favour of you to receive for me. The account against Mr. Mattw. Whiting Mr. Mongomerie is to pay, as you may see by my Letter to him, left open for your perusal—Should Mr. Montgomerie contrary to my expectation, refuse to allow for the loss I sustained by my Brothr. Charles's receivg 340 Dollars at 6/. please to take care of the papers which contains a List of the different kinds of money in his own handwriting, as it was paid, for I am determined not to submit to it; as Mr. Montgomerie, after neglecting to pay the money in Williamsburg, had no right to impose Dollars at that value—Whatever sum you receive from him, on acct. of Mr. Whiting's Bond, will go towards lessening my claim upon Armistead's Estate, which you may see by the Inclosed Acct. & Protest, & which I beg the favour of you to endeavour to receive for me. Messrs. Buckner's Bond (Inclosd) is accompanied by a Letter to them, pressing payment of the money to you, as I have very urgent occasion for what money I can collect— You also have a Letter to Colo. Bannister requesting him to pay you £32-10—& I have wrote to young Mr. Edmd. Pendleton, & also to Colo. Carter Braxton (one of Colo. Bernd. Moore's Trustees) and to Mr. Armistead for £401-11-0-sterlg. due from the said Moore's Estate for Intt. of the Bond to which Colo. Baylor was Security; and hope that it will be

paid, as I have informd them that the Bond will be put in Suit without— I have some hopes likewise, that Mr. John Fry (or Mr. John Nicholas in his behalf) will pay you the sum of £31-0-4 which he stands indebted to me for his proportion of the expenses of Patenting the Ohio Lands, and I should be obliged to you to ask Mr. Norton if Mr. Thruston has not desired him to pay £12-1-9 on the same acct., & to receive it if he did. Mr. Thruston informs me that he has desired Mr. Norton to pay this sum to me at this Court. Should you go over to Gloucester—or, if there is any Body that does business in Wmsburg for your Brother, please to know if it will be convenient to pay the £40 due last October for the Interest of his Bond, and ask Mr. Hill for what money he collects for me— Out of which several Sums please to pay the following Drafts, which I expect will be there against me (or you in my stead), Mr. Hodge for a servant (Gardner) bought of him £35 Cy., Mr. Robt. Washington £60 in part for the two Negroes mentioned in my last, bought of him. The rest of the money be so good as to bring up to me, as I shall be a good deal distressed to comply with my wheat, and other engagements, if I meet with a disappointment in these several payments to you. As soon as matters in respect to them are reduced to a certainty, be so good as to write me from Wmsburg by the Post (preferable to any other conveyance, as I know where to send for these Letters) what it is I have to rely on; and, as soon as you return home, advise me thereof, that I may send for the needful. I had like to have forgot that it is possible

Captn. Page (or Mr. Carr in his behalf) may demand £14-14-0 Sterig, which I promised to pay in Apl.;—if it is demanded of you, please to discharge it; if not, take no notice of it yourself—and be so good also as to receive the Inclosed small acct. at the Treasury. I have left all my Letters open, that by perusing them you may be the better acquainted with my expectations, and of course transact it with greater ease. Inclos'd you have a List of the Several Sums which I expect to receive, and pay, agreeable to the several orders; and in case I should recollect any other business, I should be obliged to you whilst in Williamsburg, to enquire at the Post office on Saturdays, for Letters, as I shall write to you by the Post if I do.

I am Dr. Sir with our best wishes

Yr. Most Affecte Hble Servt.

GO. WASHINGTON

Col. Fielding Lewis

P. S. Please to let me know by the first Post if this Letter & Papers have got safe.

N. B. I wrote the foregoing Letter in much haste, expecting to send it by a Person who, I was inform'd, would take Fredericksburg in his way to Williamsburg, a few days ago; wishing it to get to hand before you sat of on the 18th as advis'd. I now forward it by Mr. Henderson, to be delivered in Williamsburg, being disappointed in my first expectation; and have to request that, after being satisfied of the collection you will make on my acct., if the amount (when the several sums of £35 £60 £14-14 Sterl. and a further sum of £50 assumd to Wm. Crawfords order, in favr. of John Hite are paid) falls short of £300. that you will make up that sum

as near as you can, by selling the Inclosed Bills, and remit it to me by Mr. Henderson ; as I shall not, otherwise, receive it before my departure to New York, which is now fixed to about the 8th of next month ; if you can on the other hand collect, or find you can collect, as much money as will make those payments, and furnish me with £300 besides, then, and in that case, please to return the Bills to me again— if you could contrive to provide half Joes for me (but remember there are a great number of forged ones in circulation) it would suit my present purposes best— Let me know to whom each of the within Bills are sold, if you dispose of them at all, that I may know to give advice properly.

I am as before

Yrs &c

G. W——N

### XIII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge, 30th Oct., 1775

Dear Sir,

After you left this yesterday Mr Tudor presented me with the Inclosed — as there may be observations worthy of notice I forward it to you, that it may be presented to the Congress ; but I would have his remarks upon the frequency of General Courts Martial considered with some degree of caution, for although the nature of his office affords him the best opportunity of discovering the imperfection of the present Rules and Regulations for the Army, yet a desire of lessening his own trouble may induce him to transfer many matters from a Genl Court Martial where he is the prin-

cipal actor, to Regimental Courts where he has nothing to do— I do not know that this is the case, but as it may be, I think it ought not to be lost sight of.

In your conference with Mr Bache be so good as to ask him whether the two Posts which leave Philadelphia for the Southward both go through Alexandria, & if only one, which of them it is, the Tuesdays or Saturdays, that I may know how to order my Letters from this place.

My letter to Coll. Harrison on the subject we have been speaking of, is inclosed, and open for your perusal,—put a Wafer under it, and make what use you please of it.— Let me know by the Post order what the World says of Men & things :— My Compliments to Mrs Reed & with sincere regards I remain  
Dr Sir

Yr affect Humble Ser

GO. WASHINGTON

Joseph Reed Esqr.

### XIV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge 15 November 1775

Sir

Enclosed you have a Copy of instructions given to Genl Sullivan on his departure for Ports-mouth New Hampshire. As it is now very apparent that we have nothing to depend on in the present Contest but our own strength, care firmness & union, should not the same measures be adopted in yours and every other Government on the Continent? Would it not be prudence to seize on those Tories who have been, are & that we know will be active against us? Why should persons who



are preying upon the vitals of their Country be suffered to stalk at large, whilst we know they will do us every mischief in their power? these Sir are points I beg to submit to your serious Consideration.

I congratulate you on the surrender of St Johns which hope will soon be followed by the reduction of the rest of Canada. I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir Your Most H. Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

The Honble Governor Cooke

XV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge, 27th Novr, 1775

Dear Sir.

Your Letter of the 16th by Post now lyes before me, & I thank you for the attention paid to my Memorandums; the arrival of Money will be an agreeable Circumstance.

I recollect no occurrence of moment since my last, except the taking possession of Cobble Hill on Wednesday night, this to my great surprize we did, and have worked on ever since, without receiving a single shott from Bunkers Hill—the Ship—or Floating Batteries—what all this means we know not, unless some capitol strike is meditating.— I have caused two half Moon Batteries to be thrown up for occasional use, between Litchmore's Point & the mouth of Cambridge River; and another Work at the Causey going on to Litchmores point to command that pass & rake the little Rivulet which runs by it to Patterson's Fort.— besides these I have been, & mark'd out, three places between Sewell's

point, & our Lines on Roxbury Neck for Works to be thrown up, and occasionally mann'd in case of a Sortee, when the Bay gets Froze.

By order of Genl Howe, 300 of the poor Inhabitants of Boston were landed on Saturday last at point Shirley, destitute almost of everything; the Instant I got notice of it, I informed a Committee of Council thereof that proper care might be taken of them— Yesterday in the Evening I received information that one of them was dead, & two more expiring; & the whole in the most miserable & piteous condition— I have order'd Provision to them till they can be remov'd but am under dreadful apprehensions of their communicating the small Pox as it is Rief in Boston— I have forbid any of them coming to this place on that acct.—

A Ship well fraught with Ordinance, Ordinance Stores &c is missing & gives great uneasiness in Boston, her Convoy has been in a fortnight— I have orderd our Arm'd Vessels to keep a good look out for her— the same reasons which restrained you from writing fully, also prevent me. I shall therefore only add that I am

Dr Sir Yr Affect Hble Serv

GO. WASHINGTON

If any Waggon should be coming this way, Pray order a qty of good writing Paper to head Quarters, & Sea'g Wax. Joseph Reed Esqr.

XVI

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge, Dec. 14, 1775

Sir

Your favor of the 11 Instant was

handed me by the two French Gentlemen, for which I am exceedingly obliged to you— I have heard their proposals and plan for supplying the Continent with Arms & Ammunition, which appears plausible and to promise success; But not thinking myself authorized to enter into any contract respecting the same, and being not fully acquainted with the measures Congress have adopted for procuring these articles, I have prevailed upon them to go to Philadelphia and recommended them and the consideration of their plan to that Body, where the matter will be finally agreed upon or rejected— I must pray the favour of you to furnish every necessary for accommodating them & Carriages with all expedition for carrying them as far as Governor Trumbulls. They are to Travel at the Continental expence, and whatever charge you may be at, on their account, you will be pleased to transmit to me and It shall be immediately reimbursed.

I am Sir With great esteem  
Your Hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Honr Governor Cooke

XVII

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

[Cambridge, 22d March, 1776]

The General presents his best respects to Doctr Morgan— Upon enquiry of Colonel Mifflin, concerning the Horse (the Doctr very kindly made a tender of to him) he is given to understand, that this Horse did not belong to the King or any of his officers; but was the property of a Doctr Loyd, an avow'd Enemy to the American Cause—

As the Genl does not know under

what predicament the property of these kind of People may fall; In short, if there was no kind of doubt in the case, as the Horse is of too much value for the General to think of robbing the Doctr of, he begs leave to return him; accompanied with sincere thanks for the politeness with which he was presented, and this request, that the Doctr will not think the General meant to slight his favors.

He is sorry to hear of Mrs Morgan's Indisposition, hopes she is better to day.

Friday Morning 22d March 1776

To Doctr Morgan

D. Genl Hospital

XVIII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge, 28th March, 1776

Dear Sir

General Howe has a grand Manouvre view—or—has made an inglorious retreat.—Yesterday Evening the remains of the British Fleet left Nantasket Road & (except an Arm'd Vessel or two) hath left the Coast quite clear of an Enemy—Six more Regiments will instantly march for New York—two days hence another,—and a day or two after that our whole force, except about 3 or four Regiments to erect such works as shall be adjudged necessary for the security of this place—In three or four days from this date I shall follow myself—In other words, the moment I can put things upon such a footing as the exigency of Affairs may require, I shall depart.—

I have receiv'd your favor of the 15th Inst but hurried as you may well suppose me to be (in sending expressers to

one and another) upon this occasion I shall only add that I am with sincere regard and affection

Your most obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Joseph Reed Esqr.

### XIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

New York, 23d April 1776

My Dear Sir

I have been favoured with several of your Letters since I came to this place, some of them indeed after getting pretty well advanced on the Road towards Boston—My extreame hurry with one kind of business and engagement or another, leaves me little more than time to express my concern for your Indisposition, and the interposition of other obstacles to prevent me from receiving that aid from you which I have been wishing for & hourly expecting.

Your Letter of the 18th descriptive of the jealousies and uneasinesses which exist among the Members of Congress is really alarming—if the House is divided, the fabrick must fall, and a few Individuals perish in the Ruins.—For the occurrences of this place I shall beg leave to refer you to Mr. Palfrey, who at the particular request of Mr. Hancock comes to Philadelphia.

The sooner my Camp Equipage is sent to this place the better, that it may be ready for any Service I may be sent, or find necessary to go upon—If you could hire Horses to bring the Waggon &c to this place and could conveniently and readily, sell those two you bought I would now rather wish it as the use for them is uncertain, and the expense

of keeping them (Provender being both scarce and dear) great—to which may be added that I have not the same occasion now as when I first required them, having taken four of the Troop Horses which were found in Boston and which answered the purpose exceeding well from Cambridge here to fit out my Baggage Waggon. I do not mean however by what I have said that you should with-hold the Horses if you cannot immediately & readily dispose of them without loss.

Inclosed is a letter to Mr. Hancock for payment for the whole. I am with sincere esteem and regard

Dr Sir

Yr Most Affecty Hble Ser,  
Joseph Reed Esqr.

GO. WASHINGTON

### XX

Communicated by Frank Moore

Head Quarters June 14th 1776

Sir

You are to repair to Fort Montgomery and take upon you the comm. of the Posts in the Highlands — use every means in your power to provide your Regiment with arms fit for service—one step towards which endeavour to Employ an armourer or two or more as the case may require—

Use every possible diligence in forwarding the works at Forts Montgomery & Constitution, agreeable to late directions given Mr. Bullow, who will furnish you with the same as it is proposed by the Provincial Congress of New York to recall their Commissioner [from charge] of those posts and leave the care of them altogether to the Commanding officer of

the Continental Forces and his orders.

As these are or may become Posts of infinite importance, especially the lower one, I can not sufficiently Impress upon you the necessity of putting them into a fit Posture of Defence without delay— I have desired that a Battalion, of at least five hundred of the New York Militia, may be ordered to reinforce those Garrisons, as well for the purpose of defence as to assist in the work—these are also to be under your command.

The whole are to be kept close to duty & not suffered to be absent on Furlough, but in cases of real necessity, and then not more than two at a time are to be absent, from a Company at once.

Review the men, Inspect the arms &c & make Reports of the state of them, so soon as you get to these Posts — Lieut. Col. Livingston is to be sent from this place in order to proceed to long Island to take charge of the remainder of your Regiment toward the East end thereof—

Inform me if there are Barracs or Houses convenient to the Forts Montgomery & Constitution in which the Militia ordered there may be lodged—make daily returns of your strength and advise [*Manuscript defaced*] and of Importance

Given under my hand

Head Quarters near the city of New York, this

14th day of June 1776

GO. WASHINGTON

To Colo. [James] Clinton

XXI

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters

New York 15th July 1776

Dear Sir

Since my last Two of the Enemies Ships, One of Forty the other twenty Guns, taking advantage of a Strong Wind and Tide pass'd us notwithstanding a warm fire from all our Batteries, they now lie in Taapan Sea, between Twenty and thirty Miles up Hudsons River, where no Batteries from Shore can molest them, their Views no doubt are to cut of all Communication between this and Albany by Water, which they effectually will do—If the Gundaloes Row Gallies &c. from Providence and Connecticut were here I should think of making their Station uncomfortable. If possible I must request they may be sent on, as soon as conveniently may be, I have wrote Governor Trumbull requesting the same of him, 'tis not unreasonable to suppose these Ships have a number of Small Arms on Board which are intended to put into the hands of the disaffected on the North River and in the back parts of this Province when a favorable opportunity may offer for their making use of them against Us. I am sorry to say their numbers by the best information I can get are great.

We have one large Row Galley compleate and another which will be ready by the time those arrive from Providence and Connecticut, the whole when collected will be sufficient to Attack the two Ships up the River,—if no material alteration between this time and their arrival, the channel they now lie

in is so narrow they cannot work their Guns to Advantage.—Lord Howe arrived on Fryday last—his fleet cannot be far of—I have the Honor to be with Esteem Sir

Yr Most Huml Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

The Hon'ble Nicholas Cooke Esqr  
att Providence

XXII

Communicated by James E. Mauran

Morristown Jan 11, 1777

Whereas the Honourable Congress by a resolve of the 27th ulto have appointed Sixteen Battallions more to be raised in addition to Eighty Eight Noted in September last & have authorized me to nominate & Commission Officers for the same— Know you that I reposing the utmost Confidence in your Abilities & attachment to the United States of America—by Virtue of the power aforesaid, do Constitute and appoint you, a Colonel of one of the said Battalions, giving and granting you, by & with the Advice of your other Field Officers, to appoint all Officers (under the Rank of Field Officer) necessary for the same. Nevertheless reserving to myself the right of Ratifying or Rejecting such appointments, and as many good Officers may have been Overlooked in the New appointments by the Committees of the several States Assigned for the discharge of that Business—it is my wish that you give a preference to such of them as you know to be deserving of Notice.

I do hereby require & enjoin you forthwith to take Measures for Recruiting such Battalions in the most expedi-

tious manner to serve for the Term of Three years or During the Continuance of the War with Great Brittain & upon such pay, bounties & allowances as have been resolved on by Congress for these Eighty Eight Battalions Aforesaid.

Given at Head Quarters Morris Town  
this Eleventh day of Januy, 1777

GO. WASHINGTON

To Henry Sherburne Esqr.

XXIII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Qrs. Morristown

12th Janr 1777

Dear Sir

Yours of the eleventh is come to hand. If the account the prisoners give be true it is a very agreeable and important one.

The order you sent to Colonel Winds has interfered with a plan, concerted by Generals Sullivan & Maxwell. Whenever you have occasion to order a movement of any part of the army, it will be best to apply to the Commanding officer, lest it may, as it has in the present instance, interfered with some other object. I wish you had brought Van-horne of with you, for from his noted character, there is no dependance to be placed upon his Parole,—nothing new here but the arrivall of Genl. Stevens with the baggage of the Army. Genl. Putnam is or soon will be at Princeton. Heath is moveing towards Kingsbridge, a Detachment from that quarter are at Ramapa.

I am

Dear Sir your affcte H. St  
GO. WASHINGTON

Colonel Reed

## XXIV

Communicated by James E. Mauran

Morris Town, January 12th 1777

Sir

Instructions Recruiting Orders—and a Warrant for 6000 Dollars to Recruit with, are now Inclosed to you—Copies of the Recruiting Orders are to be given to the Officers so soon as they are nominated, & I should think if only part of the bounty was given to the Men at the time of enlisting them and the residue when they join their Regt. it might be a means of preventing Desertion.

You are to fix upon some Central place for the Rendezvous of your Recruits where you are to attend in order to receive—form—Cloath—Discipline and provide necessaries for your Regiment—the Recruits with proper Officers are to be Assembled at that place as fast as they are Inlisted—and you are once a week to advise me of the State of your Regiment & how you proceed in the Recruiting of it—

The short time allowed us for the most Vigorous Exertions which I am persuaded Render Arguments unnecessary to stimulate you to the speedy Completion of your Regiment and preparing it for the Field.

In this Business I heartily wish you success & am Sir yr most Obt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Eleazar Oswald, late with Genl Arnold is to be yr Lt. Col.

— Bradford—is to be your Major. Henry Sherburne Esq

## XXV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Morris Town Jany. 14, 1777

Dear Sir.

I very much approve of your visiting

Genl. Putnam, as I cannot acc't for his remaining at Crosswicks instead of removing to Princeton, as I have desired in several of my Letters.—

I would have him keep nothing at Princeton (except two or three days provisions) but what can be moved off at an hours warning.—in that case, if good Scouting Parties are kept constantly out, no possible damage can happen to the Troops, under his Command; who are to retreat, in case they are compelled to leave Princeton, towards the Mountains, so as to form a junction with the army under my immediate Command.—This will serve as a direction to him in removing the stores if any yet remain at Princeton.

I would have no time lost in drawing the Flour from the Mills on Millstone, least the Enemy should attempt, & avail themselves of it.—I would also have Genl. Putnam draw his Forage as much as possible from the Vicinity of Brunswick, that the Enemy may thereby be distressed. The inhabitants of that district should be compelled to bring it in.—

The two Companies under Command of Col. Durkee, aided by the militia in that Quarter should be constantly harassing the Enemy about Bound Brook and the Westward side of Brunswick (Rareton I mean)—I have directed Genl. Sullivan to do the like on the quarter next him.

Particular attention should be paid to the Surgeon sent by Lord Cornwallis (by my consent) to take charge of their wounded at Princeton.—He will more than probably, convey a true acct. of your numbers (which ought to be a good deal magnified) at Princeton; and give other useful knowledge of your

Situation.—If therefore, the wounded are in a condition to remove, would it not be best to send them to Brunswick with the Surgeon? If any of them, or their attendants, have been considered and properly were Prisoners to us, for an equal number to be demanded in lieu.—

I have inclosed Genl. Howe a copy of Mr. Yates's declaration, and have remonstrated sharply on the treatment of our Prisoners.—What have you done with the Negro you apprehended? The waggon with the ammunition and watch coats, I am obliged to you for taking care of.—It is not yet arrived.—In what manner did Col. Quick's militia leave the Rangers?—In the Field?—run-away? If so, they ought to be punished, or sham'd.

I recollect my approving of Wind way laying of the Roads between Brunswick and Amboy.—I must beg the favr. of Colo. Cox, in your absence, to continue the pursuit after Intelligence.—Would it not be well for the Militia under Colo. Malcolm to unite with the Rangers for the purpose of keeping out constant scouts to annoy and harass the Enemy in manner before mentioned?—I ask for information, as I would not suffer a man to stir beyond their Lines, nor suffer them to have the least Inter-course with the Country.—

I am Dr Sir Yr obed. & affec

GO. WASHINGTON

[To Colonel Joseph Reed]

# XXVI

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Morris Town Jan: 15th, 1777

Dear Sir

The enclosed was intended to have

gone by the Express who brought me your last Letter—He came in the Evening of the 13th, was desired to call early next morning, & I have never seen or heard of him since.

Many days ago I wrote to Genl. Putnam supposing him to be at Princeton to have the stores rescued from the hands of the Militia who had borne them off, and had no doubt but he had done it.—What in the name of Heaven he can be doing at Crosswicks I know not, after my repeated wishes to hear of him at Princeton.—Surely he is there by this time.—In that case desire him from me, to use every possible means to recover the stores and bring the authors to punishment; especially Colo. Chambers to whom I have written on this subject.

I will speak to the Quarter Master Genl. for a Person to be sent on this business but apprehend from what I heard him say yesterday, that he has nobody to spare not being able to carry on his business here for want of Biddle & Mifflin who are both absent [and] sick.

If the Militia cannot be prevail'd upon to restrain the Foraging parties & to annoy and Harass the Enemy in their excursions & upon a march they will be of very little use to us, as I am sure they can never be brought fairly up to an attack in any serious matter.

When you see Genl. Mercer be so good as to present my best wishes to him—& congratulations (if the state of his health will admit of it) on his recovery from death.—You may assure him that nothing but the confident assertion to me that he was either dead—

or within a few minutes of dying, and that he was put into as good a place as I could remove him to, prevented my seeing him after the action, & pursuit at Princeton.

My Complim'ts also if you please to Colo. Coxe, from whom I shall expect a continuation of such Intelligence as occurs & he is able to procure.

Yrs &c

GO. WASHINGTON

P. S. The letter to Colo Chambers you will have sent—it is open for your perusal.

[Colonel Joseph Reed]

XXVII

Communicated by James E. Mauran

Head Qrs Morristown,

Feby 10th 1777

Sir—I yesterday evening received your Letter of the 4th Inst: and in answer thereto, inform you that I have not the least objection to your appointing Major Meigs your Lieut. Colo. in the room of Mr Oswald, his character as a Soldier and an Officer being good and such as deserves notice ; However, previous to this measure I wish you to Consider the prospect you have of raising your Regiment, for tho it is my desire to promote men of Credit to office and to rank, yet a regard to publick interest will not authorize their promotions without they can be of service afterwards, and multiplying the number of Officers without Regiments, will not be answering the end proposed, viz adding to our strength, but will be incurring a heavy and large expence. I regret much the policy of the New England States which has given rise to

so many difficulties and which I fear will be severely felt. I Cannot give directions for an Extra bounty, that would be approving a measure which I have always Condemned, and which so far from being justifiable has been reprobated by Congress as impolitick & injurious to the publick Cause. If the Gentlemen appointed in those Governments to a part of the Sixteen additional Battallions cannot make up their Corps, the truth of these observations will be verified, and happy will it be, if the measure should not extend its baneful influence elsewhere.

I am Sir Yr Most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

To Col. Henry Sherburne—  
by favor of Maj. Meigs

XXVIII

Contributed by Simon Gratz

Head Qrs Morristown

Feby 14, 1777

Gentn

I have now before me your two Letters of the 29th Ult. and the 8th Inst. with which you have been pleased to honour me. The disputes subsisting about Rank in Colo. McCoy's Regiment, I will try to settle and accommodate agreeable to your request, should I hear anything more upon the Subject. I have not yet seen the Colo.—

In respect to the return of Lt. Roble & Ensigns Hoffour and Sneider with the privates they have, I cannot see any necessity for it. It is true their number is but small, yet as every aid at this time is wanted, and their presence at Philadelphia not necessary to facilitate the levying, or the arrangement of the



Regiment, I think their return should be dispensed with.

I am much obliged by your attention to my several Letters. The collection of the public arms, is a subject that requires much of our care—The utmost of our industry, I am apprehensive, will not entirely relieve us from difficulties & embarrassments on that Head. Our demand for Artillerists will make the arrival of Captn Courtney's company seasonable and of importance.

I have the Honor to be  
with much esteem yr most Obedt St.

GO. WASHINGTON

[Committee of Congress]

### XXIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Morristown Feby 23d, 1777

Dear Sir

Your Letters of the 13th and 18th inst. are both to hand—the last in date arrived first,—the first this morning only.

I am sorry, upon the footing you have put it, and under the apprehensions you seem to be, that I did not accept your Commission as Adj. Genl. when you offered it, tho' your fears cannot be realized, because at that time it was mentioned in Genl. Orders, that you having resigned, Colo. Weedon was appointed Pro. Tem; your having the Comn. in possession therefore can be no argument against your Resignation—but I am willing to accept it at any time.

I am sorry the Cartel settlmt by Genl. Conway with the French cant be found—I have lately wrote to Genl. Gates for it, who I think told me he had it.—I would by no means wish you to come

up merely on that acct; especially as I have not, as yet, got any answer from Congress relative to my recommendation of you to the Command of the Horse.—If they should listen to my wishes in this appointment,—if a separate Quarter Master is necessary for the Horse, & Colo. Coxne Inclines to accept it, I can have no possible objection to it, but how far the Rank of Colo. can be annexed to the office I cannot undertake to say. I would wish to think of it a little

I believe all the Prisoners from the Eastern States are now gone in.—that they did not do it long ago is not my fault.—this I thought Colo. Miles had been satisfied of when he was out—& what method I could devise to furnish their pay, except in a currency that would not pass, I am sure I know not,—all the hard money that could be had he must know was sent in.—

I am not a little surprised at what you mention concerning Colo. Griffin.—Before Christmas I offered him a Regiment, & the nomination of his own officers—this he refused.—Since that he has been offered the Lieutenant Colonelcy of a Regiment of Horse, & this he has refused.—If his expectations are higher than that of a Regiment, which he was offered (even before I was vested with full Powers to do it) the Congress are alone competent to the gratification of them, as I have no authority to go beyond what I have already offered him.

If you should have the Command of the Horse, it will be quite agreeable to me that you should have one of those that was bought at Boston.—if you have not, as they were got for that particular

service by Express order of Congress and I have already refused Genl. Green, I could not with propriety consent to it, as I mean, after choosing a couple, or three, for my own use, to throw the rest into some of the Troop, or let them go among the officers.

I wish your leisure would permit you to digest a proper plan for the prevention of Desertion, and apprehension of Deserters that would have a general operation throughout all the United States.—I have, in general terms recommended to Congress, and to all the States Individually, the absolute necessity of adopting some efficacious mode to accomplish the latter, but each will, unless some method can be adopted by, or recommended from Congress, or the Commander of the Army, have some newfangled, or inadequate schemes of their own.—In like manner, if you can give any assistance to Genl. Mifflin in an arrangement of waggons I shall be glad of it.—One Snickers, a Gentlem. on or near Shanondoah in Fredk County, Virginia has offered to buy a number. He is a person well acquainted in this business, and may be depended on.

I think the Congress ought not, under the present appearance of things by any means to return to Philadelphia—I think we are now in one of the most critical periods wch America ever saw, & because the Enemy are not in actual motion (by the by I believe they are not far from it) every body seems to be lulled into ease and Security.—

Would Colo. Coxe accept the appointment of Comy of Prisoners?—if he will, I wish to God he would repair hither immediately—I want a shrewd

sensible man exceedingly for this business & obtaining Intelligence which offices are very corrispondent—Let me hear from you on this point as quick as possible—the Pay may, I presume be equal to that of Colonel.—

I am Dr Sir Yr most Obeect Ser  
Go. WASHINGTON  
[Colonel Joseph Reed]

XXX

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

Camp near Clove July 24th 1777

My Lord

Since my last to you; dated at Galaways in the Clove, I have march'd one division of the Army to this place whilst two others proceeded to Chester, to be ready to march by a back road to Philada (if need be) or to cross at New Windsor, if the Enemy, contrary to our present expectation, should attempt to operate up the North, or East River—

I have to request, that your Lordship would apply to Genl. Putnam to have Boats ready to throw your division (and such other Troops, as occasion shall require) across the North River with the utmost expedition, upon notice given, which if at all, will be sudden—or, how would it answer if your Lordships division was to come over to this side, and wait orders? Could you recross being on the spot, and Boats ready, before the communication could be stopped?—and which is of consequence, could your men get comfortably covered in the Neighbourhood of Kings Ferry?

My last advices, which can be depended upon, are that the Enemy's Fleet except 40 Sail (which are at New York) have fallen down to the Hook,

that it consists of 170 Sail of Topsail vessels, and abt 50 or 60 smaller ones—this, with the Report of the Pilots being Southern ones & some other Circumstances have led to a belief that Phila is the object—Was this certain no time shd be lost in drawing both yours and Genl. Sullivan's divisions (with other Troops) over—under the probability of it, however, it is I have suggested the idea of your recrossing, and do further suggest the propriety of Genl. Sullivan's taking your ground at Peeks Kill; for if there is no appearance of the Enemy in the Sound his moving Easterly towards Crum pond is altogether useless—

I do not give these as orders, but wish you to consult Genl. Putnam, and the other General officers on that side, & see how my ideas corrispond with theirs & such certain Intelligence as you may have and act accordingly—If the Enemy are destined for Philadelphia these moves will facilitate the March of the Troops thither—if to the Eastward, they will be retrograde.—but such is the disadvantage we do, and such we must labour under, if the Enemy have Cunning enough to keep their own Councils, whilst they have shipping to move in, and the absolute Command of the water.

I am with great regard yr Lordships most obedt Hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Majr Genl. Lord Stirling, Peeks kill

XXXI

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague  
Near Pottsgrove 24th Sept. 1777

½ after 5 oclock P. M.

My Lord

Since I have seen Captn Faulkner, and

by him learnt the situation of Genl. McDougal, I am really uneasy to find how low he is down & near to the Enemy (if they continue in the same position they were this morning)

Captn Faulkner says your Lordship proposed to send an officer to conduct him by some upper Road, but lest any other business should have withdrawn your attention from this matter, I send to inquire, & if it is not done, to beg that not a moments time may be lost in doing of it.—To do this expeditiously is, in my judgment a matter of great Importance, as I conceive they will if they can get any Intelligence of his situation and numbers (this night) aim a stroke at him.—Besides the officer that may have gone, I also beg that a few light horse with a good guide or two, may be sent to Patrole between him and the Enemy with orders to give him notice of any movement which may appear towards him this night

After expressing my uneasiness on this head I shall rely upon yr. Lordships care &c. to guard against the stroke which I think (if the Enemy have knowledge of McDougals Situation) may be aimed—Your Lordship will please to forward any accts which may come to your hands of the Enemy's Situation or movements.

I am my Lord Yr Lordships Most Ob

GO. WASHINGTON

[Major General Lord Stirling]

XXXII

Contributed by John Davies  
Head Quarters Sept 25th 1777

11 Oclock A.M.

My Lord

I have your favor of 8 Oclock now be-

fore me, and am surprised to find the Enemy in the same situation after the movement which they appear'd to be making according to the Information given by Genl. Reed.—

I am sorry the Picquets march'd from hence yesterday, & I am still more concern'd that Genl. Armstrong with the militia moved to the Trap, as it was owing to a mistake they were not halted along with the other Troops at this place, the countermand of the march being intended for the whole, tho, I presume it never reached Genl. Armstrong.—

Under these circumstances, and the present appearance of the weather (which has induced me to pitch our Tents, and see what the clouds have in charge) I mean to Halt here, at least to day especially as I find Genl Wayne will not be up till night (if then) and Smallwood not till to morrow, I should be glad therefore if your Lordship would consult Genl. Armstrong & the other Genl. officers with you, and determine whether it will be best for you to march back the Picquets, & for Maxwells Corps to join their respective Brigades immediately or wait till to morrow.—

That you may be the better enabled to determine this feint I am to inform you, that I have directed Genl. McDougall to Halt at a place mark'd in the map Markeys, on the Skippack Road, between Welgers & Pennebakers Mill (at a star in the Fork of Perkiomy) and officers are gone out to view the ground thereabouts, to see if it w'd be a convenient situation to assemble our Troops at & form a Camp; at the same time I must add that the Curr't Senti-

ment of the Genl. Officers here, is, that it is too near the Enemy till we are in a better condition to meet them on any ground than we seem to be at present.— I shall only add that the reason for halting McDougal there, is to save him the fatigue of a Counter March if we should move that way, as his Troops must be greatly fatigued by the length, & (of late) the rapidity of his march to form a junction with us.—How far his situation there may be eligible, a few hours, with the Intellegence they may bring, will probably determine,—your Lordship will as before desired take the sentiments of the Officers with you on these matters & let me know the result—I am yr Lordships most Obed,

GO. WASHINGTON

[Major General Lord Stirling]

XXXIII

Communicated by Frederick E. Gibert

Head Qrs. Philad. County

15th Octob 1777

Dear Sir

NOTE. — This letter is printed in Sparks' Writings of Washington [Vol. V, 91], the following postscript to it being omitted.

P S. By sundry concurring accounts of persons out of Philadelphia and from Deserters, the Enemy's loss in the action of the 4th was very considerable. The lowest say it was 1500 killed and wounded, others 200 & some as high as 2500. Perhaps the two last are exaggerated, but there are many reasons to believe that the first cannot much exceed the mark. For they were completely surprized and drove in great disorder for a long time & for a considerable distance at every point of attack. Had it not been for the extreme foggi-

ness of the day which prevented our several Columns discovering each other's movements and from improving the advantages which they separately gained, in all probability the day would have been a most fortunate one—But owing to that circumstance they got confused and retreated at a moment when there was every appearance of victory in our favor The Enemy lost some valuable officers, among the slain Genl. Agnew & it is said another Genl. officer was dangerously wounded. We were not without on our part Brigadr Nash was wounded by a Cannon Ball & is since dead—We had also several other officers of inferior rank wounded & some killed—This crude, undigested account I dont mean for publication—I hope all will yet end well.

To Governor Clinton

XXXIV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

White Marsh, Decr 2d, 1777

Dear Sir

If you can with any convenience let me see you today I shall be thankful for it—I am abt fixing the Winter Cantonnments of this Army and find so many & capitol objections to each mode proposed, that I am exceedingly embarrassed, not only by the advice given me, but in my own judgment, and should be very glad of your sentiments on the matter without loss of time.—In hopes of seeing you, I shall only add that from Reading to Lancaster Inclusively is the general Sentiment, whilst Welmingtod and its vicinity, has powerful advocates—this however is mentioned under the rose—for I am convinced in my own opinion, that if the enemy be-

lieved we had this place in contemplation they would possess themselves of it immediately.—I am very sincerely

Dr Sir Yr affecty

GO. WASHINGTON

[Colonel Joseph Reed]

XXXV

Communicated by S. H. Shreve

[Dec 1777]

TO THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE MILITIA in the Counties of Hunterdon, Burlington, Gloucester, Salem and Cumberland.

Friends and Fellow Soldiers: The enemy have thrown considerable force into your State with intent to possess themselves of the post at Red Bank and after clearing the obstructions in the Delaware make incursions into your country—To prevent them from effecting either of these purposes I have sent over such a number of Continental Troops as I trust will, with the spirited operations of the militia totally defeat their designs and oblige them to return to the City and suburbs of Philadelphia which is the only ground they possess on the Pennsylvania Shore, in which they cannot subsist cut off from the supplies of the plentiful State of New Jersey. I therefore call upon you, by all that you hold dear to rise up as one man and rid your country of its unjust invaders. To convince you that is to be done by a general appearance of all its freemen armed and ready to give their opposition, I need only to put you in mind of the effect it had upon the British Army in June last who laid aside their intention of marching through the upper part of your State upon seeing the hostile manner in which

you were prepared to receive them. Look also at the glorious effects which followed the spirit of the union which appeared among our brethren of New York and New England, who, by the brave assistance they afforded the Continental Army obliged a royal one, flushed with their former victories to sue for terms and lay down their arms in the most submissive manner. Reflect upon these things and I am convinced that every man who can bear a musket will take it up and without respect to time or place give his services in the field for a few weeks, perhaps only a few days.

I am your sincere friend and countryman

G. WASHINGTON

### XXXVI

Communicated by John Davies

Valley Forge 30th Decr. 1777

My Lord,

The bearer presents the horse to you which I offered in exchange for your black— In the Summer when I first got him, he had the appearance of a fine, and handsome horse—at present (by neglect at Bethlehem) his appearance is altered. He was purchased for me by Col. Moylan as a horse of Six yrs old, & I believe him to be sound, knowing nothing to the contrary. — he goes rough equal I believe to your black, and has no bad qualities that I know of; however, as I have no opportunity of sending the black to my home at present, your Lordship may try the other, & judge from the experiment of the eligibility of the swap— In the mean time yours may, or may not, as you choose

it, stand in my stable; as I design him for no other purpose than a stud horse for the use of my Mares in Virg,a.

I am with sincere esteem & affecte

Yr Lordships most ob,t

GO. WASHINGTON

[Major General Lord Stirling]

### XXXVII

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

Valley Forge Jany 7th 1778

Dear Sir

Learning that the Captured Brig contains a great qty & variety, of officers baggage; and necessaries proper for them; many articles of which from the length of time I have been in the service & difficulty of procuring them at first, I stand much in need of—I shall be obliged to you for sending me, if to be had, the things contained in the Inclosed memm I will pay the appraised value, or come in as a common purchaser at a public auction as shall be thought best. With sincere esteem and regard I am

Dr Sir Yrs Most obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

P. S.

I shall refer you to another Letter of mine written since the above,—but still wish for the articles in the Inclosed List.

To Brigr Genl. Smallwood,  
at Go. Washington, Wilmington

### XXXVIII

Communicated by S. H. Shreve

Head Quarters Valley Forge

14th April 1778

Sir: I received yours of the 10th inst inclosing the proceedings of a Court-

Martial against William Seeds and Samuel Carter. I confirm the sentence of the former, and desire that he may be executed at such time and place as you may think most proper. I cannot confirm the sentence against Carter until I have consulted Gov. Livingstone upon the matter. Introducing martial-law into this State was intended to remedy the weaknesses of the civil; but in New Jersey where there is a law founded expressly for the purpose of trying inhabitants taking arms on the side of the enemy, I think that such persons should be delivered to the civil power. When I have Governor's determination upon this matter you shall hear from me— In the meantime secure the prisoner—

I am Sir, your most obed Servant

G. WASHINGTON

Col [Israel] Shreve

### XXXIX

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet

14 July 1778

### MEMORANDUM

Colo Laurens will suggest to his Excellency Count de Estaing the advantages which would more than probably, result from a French ship of (sufficient) force getting into the sound, as far up as Lyons tongue or somewhere thereabouts. A measure of this kind would clear that channel of the British armed Vessels wch now infest it, and cover the passage and landing of a party of men wch might be sent to Long Island for the purposes of removing the cattle out of the way of the Enemy, destroying their Horses &c and would afford supplies of Fresh provisions to the Fleet, Vegetables and other comforts.

The Vessels belonging to the Harbours of Connecticut would presently take of the fat cattle and other stock if the British cruisers were driven from the Communication between the Island and the Main.

How far the enterprize upon Rhode Island is compatible with a watch of the Fleet in the harbour of New York, is wholly submitted to the Admirals superior judgment— But, as an Imbarcation of the Army at that place cannot happen without notice being had of it, nor an evacuation of the harbour after it is begun in less than 48 hours, I would take the liberty of recalling the subject to his consideration as the destruction of the Fleet after it had passed the hook might be the consequence of the attempt.—

The enterprize upon Rhode Island might be followed by an attempt upon Halifax; which if fortunate would be a deadly stroke to G. Britain as it is the only Dock on the Continent in which ships of large force can Career, and moreover abounds in Naval & Military stores of all kinds.

GO. WASHINGTON

Memorandum from Gen Washington to J. L. on military matters

East Channel	{ 2 Galleys
	{ 1 Sml Frigate
W Chl	2 Sm Frigates
Main Chl	2 Frigates
at Newport	3 Galleys
	2 or 3 Frigates

Ld forces, 7000

25th 20 gun sloop of war, passed pt Judith standing for Newport.

## XL

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel  
White plains July 22d 1778

Sir

The Marquiss de la Fayette will command under the orders of Major General Sullivan, the detachment from this army consisting of Glover & Varnums Brigades, and the detachment under the care of Colonel Henry Jackson—You are, consequently, to obey his orders

I am Sir Yr most obt Servt  
GO. WASHINGTON  
To Colonel Henry Jackson

## XLI

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel  
Head Quarters, White Plains  
Augt 12, 1778

Sir,

I have just received a second letter dated the 10th, from General Maxwell, confirming the intelligence of the departure of the British fleet, from the Hook, which it may not be useless or unsatisfactory for you to know—an extract from which I do myself the honor to enclose. The State of the winds for two or three days past, makes me hope, this communication may not arrive too late. With the most ardent wishes for your success and the sincerest respect

I have the honour to be Sir  
Your most obdt Servt  
GO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Count D'Estain Vice Admiral &c &c

## XLII

Communicated by T. Bailey Myers  
Head Quarters 4th October 1778

My Lord

It is now three days since I have

received any intelligence from your Lordship. This makes me the more uneasy as my movements depend altogether upon the indications of those of the enemy. It is of so much importance to me to be regularly informed that I must request that you will send expresses daily, acquainting me precisely with the enemys position, and communicating such intelligence as you may collect from spies deserters &c. It is often a satisfaction to know that nothing new has happened, although it may not appear very interesting to make a report of it and your Lordship will at any rate be able to compensate the dearth of events by favoring me with your conjectures.

I am with great regard

Your Lordships most obdt Servt  
GO. WASHINGTON

Major General Lord Stirling

P. S. I open this letter to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordships favour of yesterday. I have also received two New York papers transmitted me by Mr Livingston at your desire. I have nothing to add but my thanks for the intelligence you communicate. Major Washington with Moylan's Regt is on his way to join your Lordship.

## XLIII

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel  
Head Quarters

Frederick bg 25 October 1778

My Lord

The intelligence communicated in yours of yesterday is confirmed by a Gentleman who has been into New York with a flag and is just returned.

The mistake into which we have been led, as to the embarkation and sailing of



those transports which actually have the troops on board, has somewhat deranged us. Lest the enemy should take any advantage, be pleased to order Woodfords Brigade to move immediately towards the Clove, and to take post in such a situation as to be able to occupy it should they move up the River. Instead of sending the parties to repair the Roads from Maxwells and Woodfords Brigades, they may, now, both go from Woodfords, which will lay in a convenient situation for that purpose.

Should the enemy, contrary to our expectation, move up the River, you will take such measures to cooperate with us as shall seem to your Lordship most advisable.

I will in my next give you an answer respecting Colo Burr.

I am with great Regard

Your Lordship's Most obt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Maj Gen Lord Stirling

#### XLIV

Communicated by John Austin Stevens

Head Quarters Dec 17, 1778

Sir,

I have the pleasure to transmit you the inclosed Commission and the copy of a Resolution of Congress that accompanies it—I received the Letter which inclosed the Commission on my way from Fredericksburg; but being separated from my papers just after it came to hand—and not getting the Letter again till a day or two ago, I have been prevented from sending the Commission till now.

In consequence of your Commission and the Resolution of Congress—you are to join Colonel Lambs Regiment

and fill the vacancy, occasioned by the resignation of Lt Colo Oswald.

I am Sir with esteem

your most obed Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Lieut Colonel Ebenezer Stevens

#### XLV

Communicated by John Davies

[Head Quarters 21 Dec 1778]

Sir,

Congress having been pleased to require my attendance at Philadelphia for a few days the immediate command of the Troops at this place will devolve upon your Lordship.

The hutting the Troops in the most speedy and commodious manner, and the preservation of order and discipline, I doubt not will receive your Lordships particular attention—I must request that you will as much as possible avoid granting furloughs to officers, except in the manner and proportion heretofore specified in General orders, and will not deviate but where the circumstances of the case are of a very peculiar and pressing nature.—The frequency of applications on this head induces me to particularize the caution.

Your Lordship will give me the earliest intelligence of any thing of consequence that may happen.

Given at Head Quarters

this the 21st Day of Decr 1778

GO. WASHINGTON

[Major Genl Lord Stirling]

#### XLVI

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters 3d March—79

Sir.

The President of Congress has trans-

mitted me the instructions of the Assembly of your state to their delegates, founded on a representation of the distresses of your western frontiers—and further the opinion of a Committee of the House on the subject of their defence—together with the two Resolves made in consequence.

I am therefore to inform your Excellency that offensive operations against the hostile tribes of Indians have been meditated and determined upon—that preparations have some time since been making for that purpose—and will be carried into execution at a proper season if no unexpected event takes place, and the situation of affairs on the Seaboard will justify the undertaking—But the profoundest secrecy was judged necessary to the success of such an enterprise for the following reasons—That immediately upon the discovery of our design the Savages would either put themselves in condition to make head against us, by a reunion of all their force and that of their allies, strengthened besides by succours from Canada—or elude the expedition altogether—which might be done at the expence only of a temporary evacuation of forests which we could not possess—and the destruction of a few settlements, which they might speedily re-establish—

Tho' this matter is less under the veil of secrecy than was originally intended—your Excellency will see the propriety of using such precautions as still remain in our power—to prevent its being divulgated—and of covering such preparations as might tend to announce it—with the most specious disguise that

the enemys attention may not be awakened to our real object.

With respect to the force to be employed on this occasion—it is scarcely necessary to observe that the detaching a considerable number of continental troops on such a remote expedition would too much expose the country adjacent to the body of the enemys Army.

There must therefore be efficacious assistance derived from the States whose frontiers are obnoxious to the inroads of the barbarians—and for this I intended at the proper time to make application—Your Excellency will be pleased to acquaint me what force yours in particular can furnish in addition to the five Companies voted by Congress—and when you think those Companies or the major part of them will probably be raised—What proportion of the levies of your State might be drawn from those inhabitants who have been driven from the frontier—And what previons measures can be taken to engage them without given them an alarm—This Class of people besides the advantages of knowledge of the Country, and the particular motives with which they will be animated—are most likely to furnish the troops best calculated for this service—which should be Corps of active Rangers, who are at the same time expert marksmen and accustomed to the irregular kind of wood-fighting practiced by the Indians. Men of this description embodied under proper officers would be infinitely preferable to a superior number of Militia unacquainted with this species of war—and who would exhaust the magazines of Ammunition

and Provision — without rendering any effectual service—

It will be a very necessary attention to avoid the danger of short inlistments—the service should be limited only by the expedition or a term amply competent to it—otherwise we shall be exposed to the evident ill-consequences of having the mens engagements expire at an interesting, perhaps a critical juncture—

I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir Yr most Obedt and

most Hble Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency President Reed

XLVII

Communicated by C. W. Frederickson

Middlebrook March 20th 1779

Dear Sir

I have received your favour of the 14th Inst by Colo Morgan, and have had a good deal of conversation with him respecting our affairs to the Westward.

I wish matters had been more prosperously conducted under the command of Genl McIntosh. This Gentleman was in a manner a stranger to me, but during the time of his residence at Valley forge I had imbibed a good opinion of his good sense—attention to duty, and disposition to correct public abuses, qualifications much to be valued in a separate & distant command.

To these considerations were added (and not the least) his disinterested concern with respect to the disputes which had divided & distracted the Inhabitants of that Western world—and which would have rendered an officer from

either Pensa or Virga improper, while none could be spared from any other State with so much convenience as McIntosh.

He is now coming away, and the second in command, Brodhead (as there will be no military operation of consequence to be conducted) will succeed him—but, once for all, it may not be amiss for me to conclude with this observation—That, with such means as are provided, I must *labour*.

I am Dr Sir Yr most obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

XLVIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters 23d March 1779

Dear Sir

For the more speedy assembling of the Militia upon an emergency, I have agreed with the Field Officers in this and the next County to erect Beacons upon the most conspicuous Hills, the firing of which shall be Signals for them to repair to their different Alarm Posts—You will be pleased to have one erected upon the Mountain in the Rear of Pluckemin, upon the place that shall seem most visible from the adjacent Country. The Beacons are proposed to be built of Logs in the form of a Pyramid ; 16 or 18 feet square at the Base, and about 20 feet in height, the inner part to be filled with Brush— Should there be occasion to fire it you shall have proper notice— Be pleased to send me one of the Copies of the last arrangement of the ordnance department—

I am Dear Sir Your Obt Servt,

G. WASHINGTON

Brig Genl Knox

P. S. As the inclosed Resolve of Congress includes the Artillery I have transmitted to you and request you to order Returns to be made agreeable thereto.

## XLIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Middle brook March 29th 1779

Dear Sir

Since mine of yesterday, I have received the inclosed extract of a Letter from General Maxwell at Elizabeth Town, which I send lest the suggestion contained in my letter may have made a deeper impression than I intended; which was no more than to hint at the advantages which might result from a systematical plan of assembling the Militia at certain points, on any sudden exigency & with more expedition & less expence than it could be effected in the ordinary course of proceeding— Such a measure would, I am certain, be eligible in one point of view, but how far it can be planned without giving an alarm to our friends, and setting the numerous speculators and stock jobbers to work, you can judge better of than I.

I am with great esteem and regard

Dr Sir Yr Most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency Jos Reed Esq

Presidt Pensa

L

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Middle brook April 8th 1779

Dear Sir,

Your favor without a date, acknowledging the receipt of my letters of the 28th, & 9th ulto came to hand a day or two ago.

Colo Patterson (as he is called) was a stranger even in name to me, till he came here introduced by Colo Cox as a person capable of giving the best information of the Indian Country between the Susquehannah and Niagara of any man that was to be met with; and as one who had it more in his power than any other to obtain such intelligence of the situation, numbers and designs of the enemy in these regions as I wanted to enable me to form the Expectation against them— In this light, & as the Bror in law of Genl Potter who is known to be a zealous friend to America, I viewed & imployed Colo Patterson for the above purposes; concealing as much as the nature of the case would admit my real design.— If I have been deceived in the Man Colo Cox is the author of the deception and is highly culpable, because he represented him to me as a person he was well acquainted with.— The Troops from Minisink were to begin their March for Wioming last Monday— The bad weather all the Month of March and an accident to one of my Letters to Genl Hand occasioned a delay of some days. Orders also went (before the receipt of your Letter) to Genl McDougall to put the remains of Pattens & Malcolms Regiments in motion for the same quarter—and the Board of War, some time since, has been applied to for a relief to Rawling's Corps that it might reinforce Brodhead for the purpose mentioned to you when at Camp, but what they have done in the matter is unknown to me— I shall be very glad to know from time to time what progress is made in compleating the five independent Companies; and let me

beseech you my dear Sir while I am upon the subject of recruiting to give the most pointed orders to those who are engaged in this Service, for your Battalions, to take no Deserters.— They weaken instead of strengthen the Regiments and not only rob the public of the bounty money, arms, accoutrements and cloaths which they receive, but poison the minds of other Soldiers and carry many away with them to the enemy— In Genl Potter's letter (now returned) the propriety of offering Land as an encouragement to Men to enlist in the above Companies, is suggested for your consideration— I have long been of opinion founded in observation that if the State bounties are continually increased for every short & temperary Service & enlistment, that the price of Men another year will be far above our purchase; & a final end will be put to recruiting—the consequences of which, under present appearances, are well worthy of consideration.

To hear that all party disputes had subsided, & that harmony (not only between Congress & the States, but between the discordant parts of the State) was restored, wd give me very singular pleasure— If party matters were at an end, & some happy expedient hit upon to check the further depreciation of our money, we should soon be left to the enjoyment of that Peace and happiness which every good man must wish for & none but the viciated & abandoned tribe of speculators &c would be injured by—

If propositions have not been made to Congress of the Court of G. Britain for negotiating a Peace on the terms which have been held out to the Com-

missioners upon what ground is the resolutions you speak of founded?— They surely do not mean to be the movers of a Negotiation, before they know the terms that will be offered, or which can certainly be obtained?— In a word the whole matter (to me) is a mistery.—

I am with sincerity & truth

Dr Sir Yr Most Obedt &c

GO. WASHINGTON

[President Joseph Reed]

April 9th

P. S. Since writing the foregoing I have spoke to Genl Green concerning Patterson— He says that Cox is not, nor was not unacquainted with the suspicions harboured of him—that in ye early part of the War he got disgusted by some disappointment, withdrew from Public Service—& has conducted himself in such a manner as to be suspected of favouring the back Settlers who have joined the Enemy—but nevertheless he will answer for his fidelity & the due performance of what he has undertaken if impediments are not thrown in his way.—

I have accts of the Marching of Pat- tens & Malcolms Regiments—& that the Troops from Minisink will be at Wioming this night if no accident happens to them.

Yr &c G. W—N

LI

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters 12th April 1779

Dear Sir

Inclosed you have the last General Return of Ordnance and Military Stores which I have received from the Board of War, of which you will take a Copy.

There appears to me a very great deficiency of many articles, particularly of Small Arms, powder and Lead. But you will be pleased to examine it critically and report to me what are, in your opinion, wanting, that I may, without loss of time, lay the estimate before the Board of War.

As you must be Sensible of the necessity of keeping a Return of so disagreeable a complexion as much a Secret as possible, be pleased to drop a hint of this kind to the person who copies it—

I am Dear Sir

Your Most Obedt Servt  
G. WASHINGTON

Brig Genl Knox

### LII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke  
Head Quarters Middle Brook,  
19th April 1779

Dear Sir

I have been honored with yours of the 14th instant. I shall not fail to recommend to the Officer, who will command on the Susquehannah, the cultivation of a good understanding between the Settlers at Wyoming and the inhabitants of Northumberland County.

Upon estimating the Force necessary to be employed upon the intended Expedition, so as to give the most probable assurance of success, I find that it will require more troops than can possibly be spared from the Continental Army, without weakening our main Body to that degree, that it will be ever liable to be insulted, if not materially injured by the Enemy should they move out—I am therefore under the necessity of making application to the State of

Pennsylvania for the aid of Six hundred Militia including the companies of Rangers, to continue in service three Months from the 1st of June, if the Laws or any power vested in the Executive Council will authorize the calling them out for so long a time they must come provided with Arms, as from the exhausted State of the Continental Magazines they cannot be supplied from thence. You will oblige me by letting me know as early as possible whether this demand can be complied with fully in point of term of Service, and if not, for the longest time that the Men may be depended upon. They are to rendezvous at Sunbury by the 10th of May. I imagine the Western Militia will be called out upon this Service. They are infinitely to be preferred on many accounts, but particularly from their being used to the Indian mode of War, which is apt to make very fatal impressions upon men not acquainted with that kind of Enemy.

I would not presume to nominate the Officer who should take command of this Body of Men: but I hope I shall stand excused, when I mention Brig: General Potter. From my knowledge of his abilities, and his acquaintance with the kind of service upon which these Men are to be employed, I should be very happy should the State think proper to confer the command upon him.

Upon the several hints given to me of the suspicions of Patterson's character, I have taken measures to prevent him from being mischeivous should he be so inclined, and I have desired that Colo Cox may give him a caution against

making a needless parade of the employ which he is in. He has nothing to do with the Quarter Masters department.

If I may be allowed to form any judgment from the actual Returns and Reports of the Commissaries, of the quantity of Flour [*manuscript destroyed*] that of Virginia.

I have the honor to be  
with the greatest Regard  
Yr Excellency's  
Most obt Serv

Gov. Reed

GO. WASHINGTON

P. S. By a letter which I have received from General McIntosh dated at Fort Pitt the 3d instant, I have the pleasure to find that he had returned to that place, after having relieved Fort Laurens and thrown a proper supply of provisions into it. He adds that he had found some of the Indian Tribes more friendly than he had expected.

A cooperation of the troops at Fort Pitt and in that quarter not being deemed either very practicable or of much use, the Force, at present there, will remain. This I hope, with the assistance of the Militia, should there be occasion, will cover your Western Frontier and in the Middle department, I should suppose that the Army must be much distressed for the Article of Bread, should such an exportation, as I imagine the State of Massachusetts will require, be allowed. If the quantity wanted to the Eastward is ascertained, the Commissary General can better determine whether any or what part of it can be spared without injury to the Service.

### LIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters Middlebrook

4th May 1779

Dr Sir

I enclose you a return which I received a few days ago from General Parsons—of arms and accoutrements, wanted for the troops at Reading.

I wish you to take the most immediate measures on this occasion in your department, to have them, and all the deficiencies, in the troops stationed on the other side of the North River supplied from Springfield; having respect at the same time to the Supplies which may be necessary for the other parts of the Army and proportioning the distribution accordingly.

I am Sir Your Most Obdt  
and hble Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Brig Genl Knox

### LIV

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet

Middlebrook May 12th 1779

Dr Sir

The Inclosed letters respecting the rank of officers in Procters Regiment; & Colo Fleming's pretensions, are this moment come to hand— I wish you to consider them attentively, and give me your sentiments in writing, fully, upon every matter & thing contained in them. — The amusements of Phila have such preferable claims to the dangers and hardships of the field, that I shall not be surprized at finding a thousand difficulties innumrated by the above corps to prevent their Marching— I wish therefore as far as is consistent with the

rights of others, that every obstacle may be removed and complaints done away.

The letter to the Council of the Massachusetts bay is under a flying Seal for your perusal— Please to take the necessary and most speedy measure to bring on the Cannon therein required to the Posts in the Highlands.

I am Dr Sir Yr most Obedt Sevt  
Genl Knox GO. WASHINGTON  
LV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke  
Head Quarters Middle Brook,  
May 20th 1779

Gentlemen,

A few days since I was honored with your favour of the 8th instant.

It is my constant endeavour to cultivate the confidence of the governments of the several states by an equal and uniform attention to their respective interests, so far as falls within the line of my duty and the compass of the means with which I am entrusted. With a consciousness of this, it is natural that my sensibility should be affected even by the appearance of distrust. The assurances of the Council that I have misconceived their former letters afford me pleasure proportioned to the pain which that misconception occasioned. I shall not at present trouble them with any remarks on the subject discussed in their last, respecting the degree of protection which each state has a right to expect. I shall only beg leave to assure them, that I do full justice to the exertions of the State of Pennsylvania, and to express my hope that if circumstances will permit the execution of the immediate and ultimate projects of the campaign, effectual relief will be given

to our frontier in general. This is a favorite object with me, and nothing but necessity or more decisive prospects elsewhere will divert me from it.

If the independent companies raising amount to the number the Council mention, they will answer my expectation of succour from the state, and will make it unnecessary to call out immediately a body of militia. I shall only request that measures may be taken to have them as speedily as possibly at the place of rendezvous, Sunbury or Wyoming, where they will receive orders from General Sullivan who commands the expedition.

I am happy to find that General Arnold's trial is now put upon a satisfactory footing; and I regret that any misapprehension has happened— I shall endeavour to have the affair conducted [in its] future progress with unexceptionable propriety. The period now fixed for entering upon it relieves me from much embarrassment.

I beg the Council to accept my warmest thanks for the favourable sentiments of my conduct which they do me the honor in this new instance, to express— and I entreat them to be assured of the perfect respect and esteem with which I am

Gentlemen Your most  
obed humble Servant  
GO. WASHINGTON

[Council of State of Pennsylvania]

P. S. To prevent any mistake I beg leave to repeat, that if there are any persons to be summoned as witnesses that fall within my province, I shall be obliged to The Council for a communication of their names.



## LVI

Communicated by J. C. McGuire  
Head Quarters Middlebrook  
27th May 1779

Dr Sir

I herewith transmit you an extract of a letter from the board of War of the 24th inst by which you will perceive, that the factory at Philadelpha turns out 60 or 70 cartridge boxes per day; and that the Armory is in a situation to enter upon the repairs of arms— You will be pleased to have the old cartridge boxes now in Store, and those returned on the distribution of new ones sent forward to Philadelphia for the purpose which the board mentions and such arms as want repairs to the Armory, agreeable to the recommendation of the board.

Brigadier Gen : Clinton writes me the 13th that "the ammunition I applied for at Fishkill by virtue of Gen Knox's order could not be all procured, the small quantity which could be spared is on the way up. I am informed by letters from Col Chevers that it is not to be had at Springfield, but that he had sent to Boston for it, I have put an express to hasten it up, tho I am afraid it will not arrive in time." I have given you this extract, that you may take the proper steps to have a proper supply at fishkill or its vicinity to answer any exigencies that may arise in this quarter

I am D Sir Your Most hble Servt  
G. WASHINGTON

Brig Gen. Knox

P. S. It is not my intention that you should send all the arms out of repair; but retain what you think our camp armorers may be able to repair—Nor

all the cartridge boxes. I wish to have a proportion of both for any occasional demand. In executing the order you will have reference to this restriction.

G. WASHINGTON

## LVII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire  
Head Quarters Middle Brook  
28th May 1779

Sir

The knowledge you have of the general situation of the enemy makes it unnecessary I should enter into any further detail than barely to inform you—

That their number at New York, Staten and Long Island—Supposing the detachment which went to Virginia to consist of 2,000 men agreeable to the accounts I have received—amounts according to the best estimate I have been able to form to about 9,000 men—At Rhode Island their strength is about 5 or 6,000. Their remaining force in these States is in Georgia and Virginia—In addition to these, their whole influence is exerted to Stimulate the Indians from one end of the Western frontier to the other against us, and reinforcements are expected from Europe. But what may be their precise destination or amount is uncertain—The current of intelligence points to New York and at least 5,000 men.

Our own force and present disposition are pretty well known to you, but to give you a more exact idea, I shall observe, that, beside the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia troops now in this Camp and the North Carolina troops at Paramus, there are three Brigades of Massachusetts troops and one of Connecti-

cut on the North River—one of the latter at Danbury and about 2,500 Continental troops at Rhode Island. You will be able to form a sufficiently accurate judgment of the collective strength of these Corps; but if you should wish for more precise information, you can obtain it by applying to me. The rest of our force except about 600 or 700 on the Ohio will be employed to the westward against the Indians.

I can say scarcely anything of the reinforcements we have reason to expect—The measures pursuing by the several States to augment their battalions and the success with which they are attended have as yet come but partially to my knowledge—I fear our prospects are very inconsiderable.

Under this concise account of matters and taking a comprehensive view of our affairs in general—particularly the State of our supplies and the depreciation of our currency—I am to request you will favor me with your opinion of the plan of conduct which it will be proper for us to pursue at this juncture for the advancement of the common cause and for the honor and interest of the American Arms, in doing which, I shall be obliged by a very free and full communication of your sentiments.

I am Sir Your Most Obt Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Brigadier Genl. Knox

LVIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Middlebrook May 30, 1779

Sir,

The situation of our affairs and the general prospects of the campaign require that the army should divest itself

of every article that can be spared and take the field as light as possible—I am therefore of opinion, that not more than two light field-pieces ought to be attached to each Brigade and that the Park should be composed of a few pieces of the same sort. You will be pleased after reserving a sufficient number for these purposes to send all the overplus to some convenient place from which they may without difficulty be drawn, if a particular occasion should call for them, Easton perhaps may answer.

Given at Head Quarters

Middle-Brook May 30th 1779

G. WASHINGTON

Brigadier General Knox

LIX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters Morris-Town

June 4th 1779

Sir,

By a letter this moment arrived from General McDougall dated two o'clock yesterday, the enemy were advancing in force towards The Continental Village. The other part of their Army on the West side were to move the same day to invest the Ford, on reconsideration, as some heavy cannon in our future operations may become effective, if you can possible procure a sufficiency of horses to carry those at the Park with convenience and dispatch, I wish them to join the Army without delay—A careful officer will no doubt accompany them to avoid accidents on the route—

I am Dr Sir Yr Most Obdt Servt

General Knox

G. WASHINGTON

The moment you can be spared I will see you in front of West Point.

## LX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Morristown 4th June 1779

Dr Sir,

On the 2nd instant a party of the enemy possessed themselves of the fort on Vir-planks point, by capitulation—they are now throwing up some works on the point on this Side—It would appear from a number of circumstances that they mean to press their operations against the posts on the Highlands.

The Militia are calling out for ammunition, and the supply for the army as you know, is far from being sufficient. I would therefore wish you to send on careful and active conductors to hasten forward to the army, a competent supply, from the nearest magazines.

I am D Sir your most hble Servt,

G. WASHINGTON

Brig Genl Knox

## LXI

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters Smiths Clove

June 1779

In Case of an Attempt on West Point.

The alarm Guns or other Signals for calling in the Militia Suddenly are to be fired or given the instant the Enemy's designs are discovered.

The garrison is to attend principally to the defence of the Post, at the same time they are to spare all the men they can with safety to that object to harrass and dispute with the Enemy every inch of ground leading to the works or to the heights above them.

The divisions on this ground are to move by different routes to the Furnace of Deane—Lord Stirling's will take the

road from June's Tavern—Baron de Kalb the road which goes off at Earl's Mill, and General St. Clair's will make use of the one at the widow Van Ambroe's;—A Battalion from the right division is to move on the road leading from June's Tavern towards Haverstraw to prevent our right being turned undiscovered.—

The remainder of that division is to endeavor to gain the Enemy's left flank or rear if they should move on the road from King's Ferry directly to the Furnace, by Doodlestown to the same place or from Fort Montgomery thither.—

General St Clair in either of these cases is to attempt gaining the enemy's right flank.

Baron de Kalb under these circumstances is to appose them in front.—

If on the other hand the enemy should rely more upon water transportation, sending a part only of their force from Fort Montgomery by land along the river road, in that case Lord Stirling will endeavor to fall upon their rear, Baron de Kalb upon their left flank, while General St. Clair opposes them in front endeavoring to prevent them from taking possession of the heights back of our works on Stony hill & Fort Putnam—

Each division is to take especial care that they are not out flanked, and for this and other valuable purposes are to keep as extended a line, & their troops in as open order as they possible can to be under proper command :

Each division is to keep a reserve for the purpose of giving Support, or in case of necessity to cover a retreat.—

It is expected that the troops will

advance boldly upon the enemy and by no means and under no pretence whatever throw away their ammunition at long shot. A musket had better never be discharged than fired in so wasteful shameful and cowardly a manner

As the country is covered with wood is close and much broken it will be necessary for the Major General to fix upon certain beats or signals for advancing in the whole or part, retreating &c

In case individuals or parties should get separated from the main body : to prevent which every possible care should be taken, Smith's Tavern (present Head Quarters) is to be the first place of rendezvous, and Chester the second, if circumstances should so require.—

GO. WASHINGTON

To Major General Knox

LXII

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet  
Head Quarters Smith's Clove

June 13th 1779

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th and to return you my thanks for the news Papers which it inclosed

I am sorry you have not had it in your power to make any diversion in that quarter, so as to alarm or attract the attention of the enemy, nor indeed do I know the means that can be used at present to produce such an effect, unless the preparation of the flat bottomed boats, which are ordered on from Philadelphia on carriages will answer the end—The enemy will certainly hear of their arrival which will probable raise their suspicions. They will also

serve another purpose, should our situation enable us to attempt anything serious on the Island

I am Sr Yr most obet Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

Col. John Neilson—

at Elizabethtown

P. S. You will be pleased to forward the inclosed—Mrs Delancy by whom it is written, expects a trunk from New York, when it arrives, I am to request your particular care of it.

G. W.

Col. Neilson

LXIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire.

Head Quarters New Windsor

July 12th 1779

Dear Sir,

I perceive by the last returns, that there is still a number of men wanting arms— In addition to this I am informed we may shortly expect some new levies from Massachusetts and Connecticut particularly the latter. The men without Arms will be rather an incumbrance than a benefit. I request that you will take every measure in your power to have a supply ready, For this purpose you will hasten to the Army all such as are any where under your direction; and will write in urgent terms to the Board of War for a further supply if to be had, I wish you to make this an object of particular attention, I shall be glad to hear how Mrs. Knox is—to whom I beg my respectfull compliments and best wishes for her health

I am Dear Sir Yr Most Obdt Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Brigadier Genl Knox

P. S. Since writing the above I have

received Information that the Massachusetts levies are Assembling at Springfield & may soon be expected on

G. W.

LXIV

Communicated by Frank Moore

Head Quarters, West Point

15th Augt 1779

Sir

In the letter which I had the honor of addressing your Excellency the 6th instant I promised a state of facts to shew that every thing in my power has been done to give success to the Western expedition. I am sorry to find in the appeal which General Sullivan has made to Congress that he has misstated several particulars of importance, and that in providing for his own justification in case of misfortune, he has left the matter upon such a footing as to place me in a delicate situation. In justice to myself I beg leave to make a few remarks on the different parts of his letter.

He says in the first place "that the Plan for carrying on the expedition was not agreeable to his mind, nor were the number of Men for it sufficient in his opinion to insure success.

The Plan he proposed was to have two Bodies, each superior to the whole force of the Enemy to operate both on the Mohawk River, and by way of the Susquehanna.— This Plan might have been desirable if the number of our troops, the state of our finances, and of supplies had permitted its execution, but it was impracticable on all these accounts. The force actually detached left the Army so weak that I am persuaded every officer of reflection in it,

who knew our true circumstances was uneasy for the consequences; and if a larger force had gone, we should have been absolutely at the discretion of the Enemy. This will immediately appear from a recurrence to the Returns of the Army at that time. Should we have endeavoured to make up the deficiency from the Militia, our experience of the success of the applications which were made will convince us that the attempt would have been fruitless; to say nothing of the injury to Agriculture which would have resulted from calling out so large a Body of Militia. But if the Men could have been procured we should have failed in supplies. This is evident from what has happened. If we have met with so many difficulties, disappointments, and delays in providing for the *present force*, how would it have been possible to have provided for *double the number*?

But though, if our resources had permitted, it might have been *convenient* to have had two bodies, each superior to the Enemy's whole force to operate in different directions for the sake of dispatch, yet this does not appear to me on military principles to have been necessary to insure success: for, as the object was only the destruction of some Indian Settlements, all that could be requisite to its execution was to be able to march thro' them, and this purpose was assured if there was at one capital point a force sufficient to beat their collective force.

General Sullivan seemed to prefer the carrying on the principal operation by the Mohawk River. My reasons for preferring the other route are contained


in the letter No 3 to General Schuyler. General Schuyler was originally of the same opinion, as appears by his letters No. 1 and 2, but he changed it upon hearing the reasons in favor of the Plan which has been adopted, as he acknowledges in his letter No. 4; where he also suggests an additional motive, the want of Provisions. General Sullivan relinquishes the former Plan himself on this principle, nor did the deficiency arise from the want of previous dispositions, but from the difficulties in procuring supplies. It was my own idea at first, as will be seen by several letters herewith, to carry on the principal operation by the Mohawk, and directions were given very early to form Magazines for this purpose which it seems could not be executed. But if this obstacle had not existed, the reasons for penetrating by way of Susquehanna were then, and still are in my opinion, conclusive. The information on which the facts stated in my letter to General Schuyler were founded, is principally contained in the summary No. 16 Packet No. 7 the experiment hitherto hath confirmed its truth.

General Sullivan says that his letters to me produced no other effect than to change the route of Clinton's detachment. There are only four points on which his letters turn. One is the having two Bodies of superior force to the whole strength of the Enemy to operate different ways.— I have assigned reasons to shew that a compliance with this was impracticable and General Sullivan's own concession on the score of provisions is an admission of its impracticability.

Another is, the force necessary to compose the main body—this he estimates at three thousand—it will be seen by my letter No 3, Packet 1, that my opinion long before corresponded with his idea; and the calculations made at the time, of the Corps intended for the service, including the aid solicited from Pennsylvania, induced me to believe General Sullivan's force would have amounted to about this number. The situation of our troops continually mouldering in a variety of ways—the disappointment in the expected reinforcement from Pennsylvania, and the unlooked for demands from a want of hands in the Quarter Masters department have occasioned his force to be considerably less than was intended, or could have been foreseen: That he has not been gratified in this respect was not for want of my wishes or endeavours, and is as great a disappointment to me as him. He acknowledges that more Continental Troops could not be spared—the Militia applied for were not furnished.

The next point is—a change in the route of the Troops under General Clinton. This he confesses happened as he desired: yet it would have been much against my judgment had his main Body been so large as it was intended to be. I fear too as matters have turned out, the most critical part of the expedition will be the junction of these two Corps. But it appears to me now from General Sullivan's representation that he could not avoid giving the order to Clinton to march with a full supply of Provisions.

The last point is—a change of the



Corps originally destined for the Expedition. In this also he was indulged. The precise Corps he requested are with him ; though I was not satisfied of the validity of his reason for desiring a change, as I believe very few more of the troops now with him have been accustomed to the Indian mode of fighting than of those who were first intended. I had two motives for fixing on the Pennsylvania troops—one was, that I should have been happy an officer of General St. Clair's abilities had been second in command to take direction of in case of accidents to the first— General Sullivan by his change reduced his numbers four hundred Men, which could not be replaced without breaking in upon other Corps.

On that part of General Sullivan's letter which related to the Quarter Master and Commissaries department I shall only observe that there have no doubt been very great delays—whether these have proceeded in part from a want of execution, or wholly from the unavoidable impediments which the unhappy state of our Currency opposes at every step, I have not sufficient information to determine ; but from the approved capacity, attention, & assiduity with which the operations of these departments are conducted, I am inclined to make every allowance and to impute our disappointments to the embarrassments of the times, and not to neglect. General Sullivan's well known activity will not permit me to think he has not done every thing in his power to forward the preparations— but however the delays may have happened I flatter myself no part of the blame can fall upon me.

The Papers contained in the Packet No 2 will shew that the necessary orders were given by me, and that I was encouraged to expect their timely accomplishment. Besides what is upon Record, my pressing and repeated entreaties were employed with the Quarter Master and Commissary General in personal conferences. My attention was so much directed to this Expedition that I suspended at a very critical period the necessary preparations for the main Army, to give the greater vigour and efficacy to these for that object.— To this effect were my instructions to the Quarter Master General when we had the strongest inducements to put ourselves in a moving posture.

General Sullivan in the next place says, "having been taught by repeated disappointments to be cautious, I early gave orders to General Clinton to supply his Troops with three months provisions, and wrote Governor Clinton for his assistance in April last— This has been done and they are supplied."

The idea here held up is really extraordinary—my letter to General Schuyler No 1 will shew that as early as the beginning of December Magazines were ordered to be formed in that Quarter for 10,000 men with a view to an expedition to Niagara— By the subsequent letters to him No 2 and 3 these were partly discontinued, and limited to the Plan of an Indian Expedition, the extent of which was to be governed by his judgment of the force necessary. This being 3000 men, the preparations were of course for that number. Schenectady was afterwards made the depository by Genl Clinton, as appears by his



FRANK E. ROYER

U of M







1701

letter No 5—in answer to mine No 4. From the whole tenor of the correspondence on the subject, Congress will clearly perceive, that the Magazines which General Sullivan ascribes to his care and caution were formed in consequence of orders given several months before he was nominated to the command, which did not take place till the 6th of March, by letter; and that they would have been equal to the supply of 3000 men had not the resources of the Country fallen short.

General Sullivan states his force at 2312 rank & file, which by a variety of deductions he afterwards reduced to 938 which he holds up as his combating force.—I should be unwilling to overrate the means of any officer, or to create a greater responsibility than is just—but at the same time I think it a duty I owe to the public and myself to place a matter of this kind in a true point of light. If almost the whole of the 2300 men are not effectually serviceable in Action, it must be General Sullivan's own fault—nearly all the men he speaks of, as Pack Horsemen, Bat Horsemen &c. &c. may be to the full as useful as any others. The number he mentions is only necessary for the sake of dispatch on a march; in time of Action the Horses and Cattle may be committed to the care of a very few, and the rest may be at liberty to act as occasion requires. Should he even be attacked on a March those animals may be made a shelter, rather than an incumbrance—if the operations he is to be concerned in were the regular ones of the Field, his calculation would be better founded; but in the loose irreg-

ular War he is to carry on, it will naturally lead to error and misconception. General Sullivan makes no account of his Drummers and Fifers, and other appendages of an Army who do not compose the fighting part of it—I have too good an opinion of his judgment not to believe he would find very useful employment for them. These and the few Drivers and Pack horsemen whom he acknowledges to have, will be nearly, if not quite sufficient with a small guard to take care of his Horses and Cattle in time of Action. But as I before observed, his *real* force will be less than it ought to be, to put him out of the reach of contingencies; but I hope with prudent management it will still suffice. The estimate made by General Schuyler of the Enemy's force from every subsequent information was not too low; and it is to be hoped the want of Provisions will prevent its being exerted in a vigorous and formidable opposition. My chief solicitude is for General Clinton, if he effects the meditated junction there will in my opinion be nothing to fear afterwards. Notwithstanding what may be said of the expertness of Indians in the woods, I am strongly persuaded our Troops will always be an overmatch for them with equal numbers, except in case of surprise or ambuscade, which it is at our own option to avoid.

General Sullivan also makes the application to the State of Pennsylvania *a consequence of his letters*. My letter No. 1 to his Excellency the President will shew that this was a part of the Plan before General Sullivan was nominated to the Command; and my sub-

sequent letters will shew that I pressed a compliance in the strongest and most pointed manner.

He mentions among other things that "one third of his Men are without a Shirt to their backs."—The letters No. 1 to 5 Packet 5th will make it appear that I took every step in my power to afford a competent supply, and I have the greatest reason to believe that the Troops with him had more than a proportion to the general wants and supplies of the Army.

The Packet No. 6 contains my instructions from time to time to General Sullivan. No. 7 the intelligence received from first to last, and No. 8 sundry Papers relative to the Expedition which do not immediately affect the subjects of the present Letter, but all which may serve to shew that I have paid all the attention in my power to this important object, and made use of every precaution for its success. I hope the event may answer our wishes; but if it should not, my anxiety to stand justified in the opinion of Congress has induced me to give them the trouble of this lengthy communication—I most sincerely thank them for the opportunity they have afforded me of entering into this explanation by the transmission of General Sullivan's letter, and I shall be much obliged by a similar indulgence upon every occasion of the same sort.

I beg leave to conclude with one observation. It may possibly hereafter be said that the Expedition ought not to have been undertaken unless the means were fully adequate, or that the consequences of a defeat ought not to have been hazarded when they were

found to be otherwise—The motives to the undertaking, besides the real importance of rescuing the Frontier from the Alarms, ravages, and distresses to which it was exposed and which in all probability would have redoubled this year,—were the increasing clamours of the Country, and the repeated applications of the States immediately concerned, supported by frequent references and indications of the pleasure of Congress—the combined force of these motives appeared to me to leave no alternative.

The means proposed to be employed were fully sufficient; the disappointments we have met with, such as could not have been foreseen as we have no right to expect—so far as the business did not depend on me I had the strongest assurances from those who were concerned, and who were to be supposed the proper Judges that my expectations would be fulfilled.

After such extensive preparations has been made—so much expence incurred, the attention and hopes of the Public the apprehensions of the Enemy excited—their force augmented—their resentments inflamed—to recede, and leave the frontier a prey to their depredations would be in every view impolitic when there is still a good prospect of success. To avoid possible misfortunes we must in this case submit to many certain evils—of the most serious nature, too obvious to require enumeration.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedt Servant  
GEO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency John Jay Esquire  
[President of Congress]

P. S. I inclose a return of General Sullivan's wholeforce from the last particular Returns to the Adjutant General. This is exclusive of the Party under Colonel Pawling (amounting to 300 Men) it will appear by this return that the Battalion officers are included in the number of Men present, with arms in their hands—this is done because General Sullivan applied for, and obtained an Order for this purpose, but I cannot undertake to say whether he got them or not.

LXV

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

West Point 20th Aug 1779

Sir

I have received the reports from Major General McDougal Brigadier Du Portail and yourself of this date on the subject of the batteries cannon and ammunition necessary for the defence of West Point.

The motive there suggested concurs with others to make me desire there should be a speedy and ample supply of powder at this post and in the vicinity—We cannot now undertake any operations however necessary, which may require a considerable expenditure of this article—from the present absolute scarcity of it—I am informed the arrival of a large quantity is momentarily expected. You will therefore please to write to the Board representing our situation and requesting in pressing terms, that in case of such arrival, no time may be lost in forwarding what you deem a competent supply, as well for offensive operations against the enemy's posts should they become adviseable as for the defence of this—

You will at the same time have a sufficient number of cannon ball of proper sizes prepared for the same purpose that we may be at no loss on this account

I am with great esteem

Sir yr most obdrt Ser vt

G. WASHINGTON

Brig Genl Knox

LXVI

Communicated by T. Bailey Myers

Head Quarters

West Point 31st Augt 1779

Sir

Congress were pleased to come to a resolution on the 21st instant of which the inclosed is a copy. You will perceive it is their sense that Major General Phillips should not be indulged with permission to send two officers into Canada as he has requested In obedience to this signify to him that I countermand the directions contained in my letter to you of the 27th of July. You will give notice to General Phillips that I took that step uninformed that the application was before Congress and I am sorry to find it does not correspond with their wishes

I am with great esteem

Your most obdrt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Col Bland

LXVII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters West Point

12th Nov. 1779

Dear Sir

From present appearances & the Season of the Year, there is little reason to believe, that a cooperation with the French Admiral, can possibly take place. In consequence of this opinion

and to avoid as much as possible a further increase of expence, I have to request you to suspend such of your arrangements as were designed for this purpose, and which, unless this event were to take place, will be unnecessary. I reckon among these, particularly, the Business on which Col. Stevens has been ordered. In your measures on this subject, which I wish to be immediate, although you stop the preparations, you will do it in such a manner as to preserve the Idea for which they were undertaken—I need not observe to you the expediency of preserving appearances till the determination of Congress is known, to whom I have written on the Subject—

I am Dear Sir

Sir Your Most Obedt. Servt  
Genl Knox. G. WASHINGTON

General Greene desires that the person who goes to Col. Stevens may call upon him

LXVIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters,  
Novemr 18th, 1779

Dr Sir

As the North Carolina Troops have orders to march immediately to the Southward, you will be pleased to direct the Company of Artillery belonging to that State to hold themselves in readiness to move with them— Their route will hereafter be made known— And with respect to their pieces you will suffer them to carry them or not, as you may see proper.

I am Dr Sr Yr Most obedt Servt  
Genl Knox G. WASHINGTON  
P. S. Col Clark will give the route.

LXIX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

West Point Nov. 23rd 1779

Dr Sir

The ordnance and ordnance stores necessary for Fort Arnold and its dependencies you will please have allotted agreeable to a report made to me by yourself and General McDougall and General Du Portail, And where the Artillery can be planted with propriety and safety on account of the unfinished state of the out works to have it done accordingly.

The posts at King-ferry should be immediately supplied with two pieces of cannon (one on each side of the river) to keep off the enemy's row galleys which are beginning to appear there— When the works are in a more complete state of defence, such further aid of artillery as shall be judged absolutely necessary, may be added, tho it is not my intention to place many at this post—but my wish to have those which are there of the least valuable of their kind.

The rest of the ordnance and ordnance stores which the prospect of an extensive operation against New York had drawn to this place and in the vicinity of it, upon or very near the river, I would have sent to Albany on account of the easy & cheap transportation, and because it may be considered as a safe deposit for them.

In a removal of this kind a proper attention must be had to the probable and contingent wants of the Army at its places of cantonment.

You will please to direct (if it is not already done) the Company of Artificers at Fredericksburg commanded by Capn

Post to be withdrawn from that place as also all other small detachments of a similar nature and under similar circumstances and have them more connected, as a number of small and separate detachments involve considerable expence with respect to the issues of provisions &c, while their labor possibly might be employed to greater advantage, if they were more compact and under a more general and frequent inspection.

I am Sir

Your Most Obedt Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Brigadier Genl Knox

LXX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Morristown Dec. 8th 1779

Sir

From more particularly conversing with Col. Laurens, I find the Southern department is not very amply supplied with field artillery and that a few pieces from hence will be very useful. I am therefore to desire you will detail six six pounders to march with the Virginia troops which have orders to move immediately— If you cannot spare artillerymen to accompany them, you will at least write to Col Harrison directing him to send a proper number of officers out of those who lately went from the Army— The officers will repair to South Carolina and take General Lincoln's orders— I wish to observe as much secrecy as we can concerning the succour we are sending Southward.

I am Dr Sir

Yr Obedt Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Genl Knox

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The above comprise the letters of Washington not printed by Sparks which have appeared in magazines other than historical so far as known to the editor, by whom additions and corrections are respectfully invited. EDITOR.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL  
TO HIS OFFICERS

AT FRAUNCES' TAVERN, NEW YORK

4th December 1783

*From Contemporaneous Accounts*

Last Thursday noon the principal officers of the army in town assembled at Frauncis' tavern to take a final leave of their illustrious, gracious and much loved commander, *General Washington*. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated, than in this interesting and distressful scene. His excellency having filled a glass of wine, thus addressed his brave fellow-soldiers:

*"With an heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you: I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable."*

These words produced extreme sensibility on both sides; they were answered by warm expressions, and fervent wishes, from the gentlemen of the army, whose truly pathetic feelings it is not in our power to convey to the reader. Soon after this scene was closed, his excellency the Governor, the honorable the Council and citizens of the first distinction waited on the general and in terms most affectionate, took their leave.

The corps of light infantry was drawn up in a line, the commander in chief, about two o'clock passed through them on his way to Whitehall, where he embarked in his barge for Powles Hook. He is attended by general le baron de Steuben; proposes to make a short stay at Philadelphia; will thence proceed to Annapolis, where he will resign his Commission as General of the American armies, into the hands of the Continental Congress, from whom it was derived, immediately after which his excellency will set out for his seat, named Mount Vernon, in Virginia, emulating the example of his model, the virtuous Roman general, who, victorious, left the tented field, covered with honors, and withdrew from public life, *otium cum dignitate*.—*Rivington's New York Gazette, Dec. 6, and Pennsylvania Packet, Dec. 12, 1783.*

On Thursday noon the principal officers of the army assembled at Fraunce's (alias Black Sam's) tavern to take a final leave of their much-loved commander in chief. After a while gen. Washington came in, and calling for a glass of wine thus addressed them: "With an heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drank he said "*I cannot come to each of you to take my leave; but shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand.*" General Knox being nearest turned to him; Washington with tears rolling down his cheeks, grasped Knox's hand and then kissed him: he did the same by every succeeding officer, and by

some other gentlemen who were present. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated, than in in this interesting and distressful scene. The whole company were in tears. When Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light infantry about two o'clock on his way to Whitehall the others followed, walking in a solemn, mute and mournful procession, with heads hanging down and dijected countenances, till he embarked in his barge for Powle's Hook. When he had entered, he turned, took off his hat, and with that bid them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and the barge pushing off returned from Whitehall in like manner as they had advanced.—*Gordon's History of the American Revolution, IV., 383.*

NOTE.—Major-General Heath in his memoir, Dr. Thatcher in his Military Journal, Marshall and Irving in the Life, and Custis in the Recollections of Washington repeat these accounts, with trifling variations. Griswold, in his Republican Court prints a letter from "an officer who shared the last march of the revolutionary army, to a friend in Albany," in which occurs the passage: "Happy as was the occasion and prayed for as it was by him and all patriots when he might feel that there was not an enemy in America, it brought with it its sorrows and I could hardly speak when I turned from taking my last look of him. It was extremely affecting. I do not think there were ever so many broken hearts as there were that night."

Fraunces' tavern, the place of this historic and affecting scene, is still standing on the southeast corner of Broad and Pearl streets. It was built early in the last century, and after occupation for some years as a dwelling and vendue house became the property of Samuel Fraunces, a noted publican, who opened a tavern called the Queen's Head, under the sign of Queen Charlotte.



Sam Fraunces or Black Sam, as he was familiarly called from his swarthy complexion, was a West Indian by birth. A romantic story is told of the saving of Washington's life by the innkeeper's daughter, who served the General as housekeeper in 1776, and discovered a plot to poison him in a dish of green peas; but there is no historic warrant for its truth. Fraunces was a patriot, and left the city during the British occupation. After the war he was engaged by Washington as his steward, and had entire charge of his household.

The long room in the tavern, which was for a quarter of a century the favorite resort of clubs, societies and convivial parties, still remains as it was on the memorable day which has been described. It has two fire-places and five windows on the street, beneath which was a piazza, since removed, from which tradition says that Washington waved his hand as farewell to the crowds who gathered to witness the military cortege which escorted him to the barge at Whitehall,

EDITOR.

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ITINERARY OF  
GENERAL WASHINGTON  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF  
THE UNITED STATES

15 *June, 1775, to 23 December 1783*

1775

June 15—at Philadelphia—chosen Commander-in-Chief.

16—at Philadelphia in Congress—accepts his commission in writing.

21—leaves Philadelphia to take command of the army.

24—at Newark.

25—at New York.

26—leaves New York for the Eastward; sleeps at Kingsbridge.

29—at Wethersfield.

30—at Hartford.

July 2—at Watertown; received by Mass. Prov. Cong.—at Cambridge camp.

3—at Cambridge. Headquarters.—takes command of the army.

5—at Roxbury camp, with Maj. Genl. Lee.

13—at Cambridge camp.

Aug. 30—at Cambridge camp.

1776

April 4—leaves Cambridge for New York.

5—at Providence.

8—at Norwich. Meets Gov. Trumbull.

9—at New London. Meets Com. Hopkins.

11—at New Haven.

13—at New York. Headquarters.

May 21—leaves New York for Philadelphia with Mrs. Washington.

22—at Amboy.

24—arrives at Philadelphia; Congress in session.

..—leaves Philadelphia for New York.

June 8—at New York. Headquarters.

Aug. 29—at battle of Long Island.

30—at New York—Headquarters.

Sep. 4—at Kingsbridge. Visits Genl. Heath.

16—at Harlem Heights. Headquarters, Col. Roger Morris' house.

Oct. 22—at Valentine's Hill, Westchester. Headquarters.

..—at White Plains. Headquarters.

28—at Battle of Chatterton's Hill, White Plains.

Nov. 10—at North Castle. Headquarters.



W.



THE LONG ROOM—FRAUNCE'S TAVERN.



- Nov. 11—at Peekskill. Headquarters.  
 11—at Fort Montgomery; inspects Highland defences with his officers.  
 12—at the Gorge in the Highlands with General Heath.  
 12—crosses the Hudson to the Jerseys.  
 14—at Fort Lee, Gen. Greene's quarters.  
 16—at Fort Lee. Views the fight at Fort Washington from the Palisades.  
 19—at Hackensack; on tour of inspection.  
 21—at Aquackanoc Bridge.  
 24—at Newark.  
 29—at Brunswick. Headquarters.
- Dec. 2—at Trenton. Headquarters.  
 8—at Mr. Berkeley's summer seat.  
 10—at Falls of the Delaware.  
 12—Bucks' County. Headquarters at Keith's.  
 18—in camp near Falls of Trenton.  
 21—in camp above Trenton Falls.  
 25—at battle of Trenton.  
 27—at Newtown. Headquarters.  
 29—at Bucks' County. Headquarters.  
 30—at Trenton. Headquarters.
- 1777
- Jan. 2—marches from Trenton.  
 3—at battle of Princeton.  
 5—at Pluckemin, on march.  
 7—at Morristown. Headquarters.
- May 29—at Middlebrook. Headquarters.
- June 25—in camp at Quibbletown.  
 28—in camp at Middlebrook.
- July 4—at Morristown. Headquarters.  
 12—at Pompton Plains. Headquarters.
- July 15—at the Clove. Headquarters.  
 21—eleven miles in the Clove; on the march.  
 24—at Ramapo. Headquarters.  
 30—at Coryell's Ferry on the Delaware; on the march.
- Aug. 1—at Chester.  
 3—at Philadelphia. Headquarters.  
 5—at Germantown, in camp.  
 11—at Bucks' County, in camp.  
 16—at Cross Road, in camp.  
 17—at Bucks County. Headquarters.  
 19—at Neshanimy Bridge.  
 20—at Bucks' County. Headquarters.  
 21—at Neshanimy camp.  
 22—at Bucks' County.  
 22—at Cross Road, in camp.  
 23—six miles from Philadelphia, on march.  
 25—at Wilmington. Headquarters.
- Sep. 3—evacuates Philadelphia.  
 8—at Newport, Bucks' Co., Pa.  
 9—eight miles from Wilmington.  
 10—at Chester.  
 13—at Germantown. Headquarters.  
 15—at Buck's Tavern.  
 15—at Chads Ford, on the Brandywine. Headquarters; battle of the Brandywine.
- Sep. 17—at Yellow Springs.  
 19—at Parker's Ford, on the Schuylkill, in camp.  
 20—at Reading Furnace, in camp.  
 23—near Pottsgrove, in camp.  
 29—at Pennybeckers Mills. Headquarters.
- Oct. 9—at Frederick. Headquarters at Wampoole's.  
 11—at Skippach camp.

Oct. 11—at Toamensing. Headquarters.  
 15—at Philadelphia County.  
 16—at ——— Headquarters at Peter Wintz's.  
 17—at Matuchen Hill.  
 18—at Philadelphia County.  
 27—on the Skippach road.  
 27—at Philadelphia County.  
 30—near Whitemarsh. Headquarters.

Dec. 4—near the Gulf, a defile near the Schuylkill. Headquarters.  
 14—near the Gulf Mill.  
 17—at Gulf Mill. Headquarters.  
 22—at Valley Forge. Headquarters.

## 1778

Feb. 10—at Valley Forge.  
 May 18—at Valley Forge.  
 June 21—at ten miles from Coryell's Ferry.  
 22—at Coryell's Ferry. Headquarters.  
 24—at Hopewell. Headquarters.  
 15—at Cranberry.  
 28—at Englishtown.  
 July 1—Spotswood. Headquarters.  
 3—at Brunswick.  
 11—at Paramus. Headquarters.  
 17—at Haverstraw Bay. Headquarters.  
 21—at White Plains. Headquarters.  
 Aug. 15—at White Plains, in camp.  
 Sep. 19—at Fort Clinton; West Point.  
 19—at Fishkill; visits Hospitals and stores.  
 23—at Fredericksburg. Headquarters.

Oct. 3—at Fishkill, Col. Brinckerhoff's.  
 8—at Fishkill. Headquarters.  
 10—at Fredericksburg. Headquarters.  
 20—leaves Fishkill for Fredericksburg.  
 Dec. 7—at Paramus.  
 12—at Middlebrook. Headquarters.  
 22—arrives at Philadelphia.  
 28—at Philadelphia.

## 1779

Feb. 2—leaves Philadelphia for New Jersey.  
 8—at Middlebrook. Headquarters.  
 June 4—at Morristown. Headquarters.  
 6—at Ringwood Iron Works.  
 10—passed through Trenton on his way to camp.  
 10—Middlebrook. Headquarters.  
 11—at Smith's Clove. Headquarters.  
 21—at West Point, with General Heath.  
 25—at New Windsor. Headquarters.  
 July 15—at Fort Montgomery.  
 16—at New Windsor.  
 17—at Stony Point.  
 19—at West Point.  
 20—at New Windsor.  
 25—at West Point. Headquarters.  
 Aug. 9—at Smith's Tavern, in the Clove.  
 12—at West Point.  
 15—at West Point. Headquarters.  
 29—at West Point.  
 Nov. 29—at Peekskill.  
 Dec. 7—at Morristown. Headquarters.

## 1780

- Jan. 8—at Morristown. Headquarters.  
 June 2—at Morristown. Headquarters.  
      7—at Chatham. Headquarters.  
      10—at Heights above Springfield.  
       Headquarters.  
      13—at Bryan's tavern. Headquarters.  
      25—at Whippany. Headquarters.  
      27—at Ramapo. Headquarters.  
 July 2—at Preakness. Headquarters.  
      4—at Bergen County. Headquarters.  
      10—near Passaic. Headquarters.  
      14—at Bergen County. Headquarters.  
      19—at Preakness. Headquarters.  
      20—near Passaic. Headquarters at  
       Col. Dey's.  
      22—at Preakness. Headquarters.  
      30—at Paramus.  
      31—at Highlands, New York.  
      31—in the Highlands, at Col. Rob-  
       inson's. Headquarters.  
      31—at Peekskill. Headquarters.  
 Aug. 11—at Orangetown. Headquarters.  
      11—at Tappan. Headquarters.  
 Sep. 2—at Bergen County. Headquarters.  
      9—at Steenrapie. Headquarters.  
      17—left for Hartford.  
      20—at Hartford; interview with  
       Rochambeau.  
      25—at Robinson's House, in the  
       Highlands. Headquarters.  
      26—at Orangetown, Rockland Co.  
       Headquarters.  
      26—at Robinson's. Headquarters.  
 Oct. 1—at Orangetown; issues orders  
      for the execution of André.

- Oct. 4—at Tappan. Headquarters.  
      7—at Paramus.  
      8—near Passaic Falls. Headquarters.  
      9—at Totowa. Headquarters.  
      9—at Bergen County, N. J.  
      10—at Preakness.  
      11—at Bergen County.  
      11—near Passaic Falls.  
      14—near Passaic Falls. Head-  
       quarters.  
      16—at Preakness.  
      18—near Passaic. Headquarters.  
      21—near Passaic Falls.  
      31—at Totowa (Passaic Falls); in  
       camp.  
 Nov. 27—breaks camp at Totowa.  
      28—leaves for New Windsor.  
      28—at Morristown.  
      29—at Morristown. Headquar-  
       ters. Army marches.  
 Dec. 6—at New Windsor. Headquar-  
      ters. Winter quarters.

## 1781

- Jan. 11—at West Point; holds Council  
      of War.  
      22—at West Point with Lafayette.  
      26—at Ringwood.  
      24—at New Windsor. Headquar-  
      ters.  
      29—at New Windsor. Headquar-  
      ters.  
 Mar. 2—left New Windsor for Newport  
      to meet Rochambeau.  
      4—passed through Hartford.  
      6—arrived at Newport.  
      13—left Newport.  
      17—at Hartford.  
      24—at New Windsor. Headquar-  
      ters.  
 April 4—at West Point.



- April 26—at West Point with Mons. Beville, Quartermaster of French Army.
- May 8—at New Windsor. Headquarters.
- 9—at West Point.
- 20—at Hartford. Conference with Rochambeau.
- 23—at Weathersfield. Rochambeau's Headquarters.
- 27—at New Windsor. Headquarters.
- June 26—at Peekskill, near Headquarters.
- 26—two miles from Peekskill. Headquarters.
- July 2—leaves Peekskill at 3 o'clock A. M. with his staff; opens the campaign; halts at New Bridge over Croton; makes a reconnoissance toward New York at Valentine's Hill. Mile square.
- 3—at Valentine's Hill.
- 3—in the saddle on reconnoissance.
- 4—at camp, near White Plains.
- 5—at North Castle. Visits the French army; dines with Rochambeau.
- 6—at Philipsburg.
- 6—near Dobbs Ferry. Headquarters.
- 7—at Philipsburg, in camp.
- 10—near Dobbs Ferry. Headquarters.
- 21—at Joshua Hett Smith's House, Haverstraw.
- 25—at King's Ferry; the army crosses the Hudson.
- Aug. 4—at Philadelphia; dines with M. de la Luzerne.
- 6—makes a reconnoissance toward King's Bridge.
- Aug. 17—in camp at Philipsburg.
- 17—at Dobbs Ferry. Headquarters.
- 19—leaves Dobbs Ferry for the south to capture Cornwallis.
- 26—at Ramapo.
- 27—at Chatham.
- 29—at Trenton.
- 31—at Philadelphia.
- Sep. 2—at Philadelphia.
- 5—at Head of Elk.
- 10—at Mount Vernon.
- 15—at Williamsburg.
- 27—at Williamsburgh; issues orders of battle.
- Oct. 1—in camp near York. Headquarters.
- 21—near Yorktown. Headquarters.
- 27—at York; entertains Cornwallis.
- Nov. 15—at Mount Vernon.
- 20—at Alexandria.
- 22—at Annapolis.
- 28—at Philadelphia.

1782

- April 1—at Newburg.
- 19—at Newburg. Headquarters.
- May 12—at Highlands.
- 30—at Highlands; orders celebration of Dauphin's birthday.
- 31—at West Point; celebration of Dauphin's birthday; on the Parade with Mrs. Washington.
- June 5—at Newburg.
- July 9—at Newburg. Headquarters.
- 22—at Philadelphia.
- Sep. 1—at Verplanck's Point. Headquarters.
- Dec. 14—at Newburg.
- 25—at Philadelphia.

1783

- Mar. 23—at Mount Vernon.  
 April 18—at Newburg. Headquarters;  
     issues address on cessations of  
     hostilities.  
     19—at Ringwood; interview with  
     the Secretary of War.  
     20—at Newburg. Headquarters.  
 May 3—at Dobbs Ferry, with Gov.  
     Clinton, to meet Sir Guy Carleton.  
     6—at Orangetown on conference  
     with Sir Guy Carleton.  
     9—at Newburgh. Headquarters.  
     15—at Poughkeepsie.  
 June 6—at Newburg. Headquarters;  
     replies to address of Generals.  
     23—at Newburg. Headquarters;  
     Council of War on mutiny of  
     Pennsylvania troops.  
 Aug. 4—at Albany.  
     12—at Newburgh.  
     26—at Princeton; Congress in  
     session.  
     31—at Rocky Hill.  
 Oct. 2—at Rocky Hill.  
     12—at Princeton.  
 Nov. 4—at Newburg. Headquarters;  
     issues proclamation disbanding  
     the army.  
     14—at West Point.  
     22—at Harlem.  
     25—at New York; enters with the  
     army; dines with the Governor;  
     the British evacuate.  
 Dec. 2—at New York; farewell to offi-  
     cers at Fraunces' Tavern; leaves  
     New York for Annapolis.  
     10—at Philadelphia.  
     20—arrives at Annapolis; Congress  
     in session.  
     23—resigns his commission to Con-  
     gress.

NOTE.—The difficulty found in locating Washington at any particular day during the war of the revolution suggested the advantage of the above Itinerary, compiled from correspondence, newspapers, etc. It is by no means complete. Additions are solicited by the

EDITOR.

#### WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS DURING THE REVOLUTION

*The Vassall House, Cambridge, Mass.*  
 [1775-76].—On the 8th July, 1775, the Committee of Safety of the Provisional Congress of Massachusetts directed by resolution "that the house of Mr. John Vassall ordered by Congress for the residence of his excellency General Washington should be immediately put in such condition as may make it convenient for that purpose." These quarters he retained until he left Cambridge for New York, April 4th, 1776. This was later known as the Craigie house, and is now known as the homestead of the poet Longfellow.

*The Mortier House, New York City*  
 [1776].—In the summer of 1776 the presence of Mrs. Washington, and the unhealthy condition of the City of New York, induced the Commander-in-Chief to change his headquarters from the Broadway to this salubrious situation. The Mortier house, one of the great colonial residences, stood on the spot since the southeast corner of Varick and Charlton streets. It was later known as Richmond Hill, and the residence of Col. Burr. It has been destroyed some years.

*The Roger Morris House, Harlem Heights, N. Y.* [1776].—Another of the famous colonial residences. The

army headquarters were here from the time of the retreat from Long Island in September until the final evacuation of the Island of New York in October, 1776. The house was later the residence of Madame Jumel, and is now in the occupation of her descendants.

*The Miller House, White Plains, Westchester County, N. Y.* [1776]. During and after the fight at Chatterton's Hill Washington had his headquarters in the house now standing, and until recently in the occupation of the Miller family, by which name it is still known.

*The Ford House, Morristown, New Jersey* [1777 and 1779-80].—This house, during the revolution occasionally occupied as the headquarters of the army, and the residence of the General and Mrs. Washington in the severe winter of 1779-80, was the homestead of Col. Jacob Ford, who commanded a regiment in the New Jersey Militia; it remained in the possession of the family until its purchase in 1873 by Governor Randolph of New Jersey, together with Messrs. Halsey, Halstead and Lidgerwood, who have since transferred it to the State, to be forever preserved. It is familiarly known by the name of the "Old Headquarters."

*The Pompton Headquarters, Pompton, New Jersey* [1777].—Tradition reports that Washington had his headquarters in a little frame house, on the banks of the Wynockie, which stands at the bend of a road leading from the Ryerson Furnace to the Passaic County Hotel. It is opposite to a more imposing structure known as the Ryerson House. During the revolution it belonged to

Capt. Arent Schuyler. It was occupied from 1783 to 1815 by Judge M. S. Ryerson and by his descendants till 1870, when it passed into the possession of Miss Harriet Mills, its present owner.

*The Elmar House, Whitemarsh, New Jersey* [1777].—Mr. Lossing, in his Field-book of the Revolution, describes this building as "standing upon the edge of a wet meadow at the head of a fine valley, and as a sort of baronial hall in size and character, where Elmar, its wealthy owner, dispensed hospitality to all who came under its roof." Washington was here in the late fall and early winter of 1777-8.

*Ring's House at Chads Ford, Delaware County, Penn.* [1777].—It was at this house, then the residence of Benjamin Ring, that Washington established the temporary headquarters from which he directed the battle of the Brandywine. Mr. Lossing gives a sketch of it in his Field Book.

*The Potts House, Valley Forge, Penn.* [1777-8].—This historic building remains in excellent preservation. It was built in the middle of the last century by John Potts of Pottstown, Penn., and left by him to his son Isaac Potts, who sold it in 1805 to Joseph Paul, who in 1826 sold it to James Jones, in whose family possession it still remains. The sufferings of the army and the anxiety of the Commander-in-Chief at this period are familiar to all, but held in most vivid memory by the inhabitants of the valley.

*Col. Brinckerhoff's, Fishkill Village, N. Y.* [1778].—This house was a famous

stopping place for travellers on the road between the Eastern and Middle States. Col. Brinckerhoff, like many others, served the army in the field while his family entertained the patriots at their homes; this in no way impairing their personal importance. The house is now in the occupation of the Van Wyck family.

*The Hopper House, Bergen County, N. J. [1780].*—It was at this house, the residence of Andrew Hopper, a noted character of the revolution, and it is said a trusted spy of Washington, that the numerous letters and general orders, dated at Bergen County, were written by the Commander-in-Chief. The house is still standing, but so altered as to be no longer recognizable. After the death of Hopper the house passed into the hands of the Hegeman family, with which he was intermarried. It was sold last summer with its furniture, in which were many curious revolutionary relics.

*The Beverley Robinson House, in the Highlands, now Garrisons, N. Y. [1780].*—This building, familiarly called in the records of the revolution Col. Robinson's, was the constant stopping-place of the General when he crossed the river from his West Point Headquarters. Its owner was implicated in the treasonable plot of Arnold, whose headquarters were in this house at the time of his defection. It now makes a part of the estate of Hamilton Fish.

*The Birdsall House, Peekskill, N. Y. [1780-81].*—This old mansion is one of the first buildings erected in the village, settled in 1764. It was a favorite tavern, and repeatedly visited by the offi-

cers during the period when the allied armies under Washington and Rochambeau menaced the English positions in and about New York. It stands on the old post road, and is still kept as a tavern by one Mandeville. Near by are yet seen the remains of the old fort which crowned this elevated position, at the mouth of the Highland gorge.

*The Tappan Headquarters, Tappan, N. Y. [1780].*—A special interest attaches to this spot, because of its connection with the story of the unfortunate André. It was here that Washington issued the fatal warrant which condemned him to an ignominious death. It is situated near the road from Sneed's Landing, within a few feet of the main street of the village. It was during the revolution the property of John de Windt, a native of the West Indies, from whom it passed to his granddaughter, who was married to Samuel S. Verbruyck.

*Joshua Hett Smith's House, Haverstraw, N. Y. [1781].*—Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French auxiliary army under Rochambeau, in his journal from 1780-83 relates that on the 21st of August, 1781, he took tea with General Washington at "Smith's House, famous from the fact that there André and Arnold held their meeting." The Continental army was then in motion upon the well-devised expedition which ended in the capture of Cornwallis.

This house was owned during the revolution by Joshua Hett Smith. It is beautifully situated on the ridge of a hill which commands an extensive view of the river, and overlooks the in-

tervening points which jut out into it in the most picturesque manner. It was off one of these, known as Grassy Point, that the Vulture lay when the guns of the Continental artillery under Livingston drove her from her anchorage. She dropped down the stream, leaving André on shore in conference with Arnold. His guide declining to run the risk of escorting André down, he passed the night with Smith, who had been his companion in the conference. And it was in the upper room of Smith's house that André committed the fatal imprudence of exchanging the English uniform he had up to that time worn for the clothing of a countryman.

From the Smiths the house passed into the hands of a family named Nicoll, from them to one Haussman, and later into the occupancy of Adam Lilburn, who now resides in it. It is one of the most beautiful situations on the Hudson, commanding a landscape unrivalled in extent, variety and charm.

*The Hasbrouck House, Newburg, N. Y.* [1782-83]. — This old building was erected by the Hasbroucks between 1750 and 1770, the dates of the additions to the original structure being cut upon the walls. In the year 1817, by an act of Legislature, it became the property of the State of New York, and in 1850 was placed in the care of the Trustees of the Village of Newburg, and forever set aside as an historic mansion.

Washington made his headquarters here from the spring of 1782 until the summer of the next year. Mrs Washington passed a part of this period with

him. It was from Newburg that he issued the proclamation disbanding the army, November 4, 1783.

#### HOUSES VISITED BY WASHINGTON DURING THE REVOLUTION

*The Shaw House, New London* [1776].

Washington stopped at New London on his way from Cambridge to New York, and held an interview with Commodore Hopkins. He slept the night of April 9 at the house of Nathaniel Shaw.

*Col. Morehouse's Tavern, Pawling, now Dover, Dutchess County, N. Y.* [1778]. — On the highway from Fishkill to Hartford — a celebrated stopping-place for the officers.

*Cortlandt House, Yonkers, N. Y.* [1781]. — Here Washington dined in July, 1781, on the occasion of a reconnaissance towards New York.

*Rocky Hill, Somerset County, N. J.* [1783]. — Washington wrote his Farewell Address here.

*Van Brugh Livingston House, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.* [1783]. — Place of conference of Washington and Gov. Clinton with Sir Guy Carleton.

*Day's Tavern, Harlem, New York* [1783]. — Opposite the Point of rocks at the junction of the Harlem and Kingsbridge roads. Washington stopped here on his entrance to the city in November of this year.

*Fraunces' Tavern, New York* [1783]. — Corner of Pearl and Broad streets. Place of Farewell to his Officers.

NOTE.—The above lists are not complete ; additions are requested by the EDITOR.

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## THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONY OF NEW YORK

A WRITER in the December number of this Magazine [1878], who discussed with ability and clearness "The Constitutional Development of the American Colonies," dismissed New York as an element in that development with the general assertion that "its influence was slightly felt in the earlier period of their history," and without indicating that its influence was felt at all in the later and more important periods of colonial life. We can agree that the estimate of this writer has often been expressed by historians of that epoch; but it is an estimate founded upon a failure to inquire into the real part which New York played in the development of the American system before the Revolution; and it is remarkable that a writer in a magazine like this should permit himself to fall into so antiquated an error. As a matter of fact, the part played by New York in the struggle for the attainment of a constitutional government which culminated in the Revolution, was unique in many respects, and was more important in several, both as to character and influence, here and in England, than that which progressed simultaneously in her sister colonies.

After the conquest of New Amsterdam from the Dutch, the whole Atlantic coast of the original thirteen States came for the first time into the undisputed possession of Great Britain. At that time there existed in these colonies under English rule no less than three distinct forms or varieties of government, as widely dissimilar in their nature as it is possible for human governments to be. The unique and extraordinary feature in the colonial history of New York is that she passed through these three phases of government in her upward progress towards the free constitution of 1777, not attaining the last and highest form until she secured that free constitution, but wresting from a reluctant prerogative in the meanwhile many of its most important advantages. This

remarkable progress was accomplished, from point to point and vantage ground to vantage ground, by the intelligent and self-reliant determination of her citizens of every nationality. The record of their constant struggle to achieve their manifest destiny, in the face of obstacles such as no other colony had to contend with, seems to me the most glorious in the colonial annals of America. I believe it to be the only perfect illustration of a clearly-defined political evolution in the history of this continent.

The first and lowest of these three varieties of colonial government is described as the proprietary—a government granted out to individuals, after the manner of feudatory principalities. Such New York became when the colony passed from under the despotic rule of the Dutch West India Company into the personal possession of the equally despotic Duke of York. In other proprietary governments, like Pennsylvania and Maryland, there was from the first an Assembly chosen by the people, which shared the functions of government with the proprietor. New York, without a solitary semblance to a government representative in its character, and without any claim to such a government beyond that which she based upon the quicksand of an inherent right, finally forced the concession of a representative assembly from the Duke of York.

Mr. Taylor is entirely in error in the statement that “representative assemblies, after having been abolished and reconstructed many times under the Dutch and English Governments, were finally established with recognized powers in 1683.” Such a thing as a representative assembly was never known in New York under the Dutch Government. There were many conventions of delegates, and they constantly demanded the introduction of a representative form of government, with some share by the people in the enactment of the laws. But these demands were uniformly and preemptorily refused by the Dutch West India Company. Mr. Taylor states that “in 1641 the Directors called together the first representative assembly.” What Governor Kieft called together at that time was a meeting of all the patroons, masters and heads of families in the vicinity of the fort, to take council concerning a collision with the neighboring Indians. It was not a representative assembly, because it was not constituted by the people, and had no powers in and of itself. Again, representative assemblies, instead of having been “abolished and reconstructed many times under the Dutch and English Governments,” were never abolished but once, and never established but twice. They were established for the first time in 1683, when, in the words of

the historian Smith, "the people, who had been formerly ruled at the will of the Duke's Deputies, began their first participation in the legislative power under Governor Dongan." They were abolished by the same Prince, after he became James II., June 16, 1686. Thereafter the Governor and his Council made all the laws, subject to the approval of the King, until the Leisler revolution in 1689, when an assembly was elected, the legality of whose enactments was never subsequently recognized. But the first Governor who arrived in New York with a commission signed by William and Mary, brought with him an order to re-establish the Assembly, and re-instate the people in their rights. This Assembly, which is called the second, met in April, 1691, and its successors continued to be elected, under the order of Royal Governors, until the thirty-first and last Assembly was elected in 1768, and went out of existence amid the chaos of the Revolution.

Thus New York passed from a purely proprietary government into that variety described as a provisional establishment—in which the Governor and Council were appointed by the Crown, and the constitution depended upon the respective commissions or instructions issued by the Crown to the Governors. Upon the authority of these instructions—and never in recognition of any inherent right of which the Crown took cognizance—Provincial Assemblies were elected by the people, with the power to make laws and ordinances not repugnant to the laws of England or the said instructions, and always subject to the King's veto. Such were the governments of New Hampshire, Georgia, New Jersey after 1702, the Carolinas after 1728, and New York after 1689.

The third form of colonial government, known as the Charter Government, in which the Governor, Council and Assembly were elected by the people, and entrusted with all the powers of the three branches of government under its other phases, was that enjoyed by Plymouth Colony, Connecticut, Rhode Island and originally Massachusetts—the latter, under her second charter, developing a mixed government in which the Governor only was appointed by the Crown.

Thus it appears that there were certain of the original colonies, of which Massachusetts and Virginia were the most conspicuous examples, which were originally possessed, through no special virtue or act of their own, of political privileges and institutions far in advance of those of New York. New York never rose to certain political privileges which Massachusetts and Virginia enjoyed, with but slight intermission, from the first, until the outbreak of the Revolution permitted her to frame and adopt her first and self-granted charter, the constitution of 1777. Mas-



sachusetts and Virginia possessed certain absolute rights, by virtue of charter or ordinance, which New York never possessed as a colony. Laboring under this disadvantage, it was only left for New York to announce the "inherent right" of a free people to govern themselves; to assert and assume particular rights denied to her by the Government of England; to insist that the laws of England were equally applicable at home and in the colonies; and to maintain this stand in spite of the most persistent and strenuous opposition from the Crown, until, as one right after another became clothed with the force and sacredness of precedent, she may be said to have worked out for herself from her own isolated experience a form of constitutional government differing in many respects from the governments of the other colonies, established by her own courageous persistence, resting only upon the vigilant determination of her citizens, and constituting the broad foundation upon which she subsequently erected the constitution of 1777.


In the slow and painful elaboration of this constitution of precedents the political history of the province of New York is more interesting and suggestive than that of any other colony. Massachusetts and Virginia, the neighbors of New York, may be said to have manufactured their own institutions in the manner most pleasing to themselves. The New Yorkers had their institutions manufactured for them. As soon as ever they could they entered in earnest upon the work of conforming those institutions to those which they saw existing around them. All that they gained in this respect they captured *vi et armis* from the prerogative. Whatever they had that was worth keeping, they had wrested from tyrannical and deceitful princes and stubborn or ignorant Governors, at the constant peril of their lives, their property and their liberty. The nearest parallel to this struggle is that which was approaching its consummation in Great Britain at the moment when this began; which started with the Magna Charta, was continued in the Bill of Rights, in the struggle against the Stuarts and Puritan revolution, and secured, if not altogether completed, in the revolution of 1688. It is the purpose of this article to point out some of the successive steps of this constitutional development, and to a slight extent to trace their influence in the subsequent constitutional history of the United States.

In the first place, let it be understood that the first representative assembly in New York, to which I have already alluded, was a concession wrung from a reluctant prince by the persistent refusal of the colony to do honor to a government from the control of which they

were totally excluded. To her Dutch no less than to her English settlers was New York indebted for this first great triumph. In no other colony was such a triumph secured by the same popular influences. Virginia justly boasts that the first representative legislature of any description on American soil was her House of Burgesses. When Sir George Yeardly voluntarily called that assembly together, in 1619, he permitted it to assume and exercise some functions of legislation that were denied to the New York Assembly more than one hundred years afterwards. It was only two years later that the Council in England issued an ordinance which gave to that House of Burgesses a complete and permanent sanction. In 1704, Lord and Governor Cornbury declared that the New York Assembly sat "purely by the grace and favor of the crown;" and as late as 1738, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke described the government of New York as follows: "the constitution of the Government of New York is such as his Majesty, by his commission to his Governor, directs." It is necessary to remember that New York was constantly struggling to maintain those primary rights in which her sister colonies were practically secure, in order to properly estimate the influence New York exerted in the constitutional development of the American colonies.

The first Representative Assembly of New York—that of 1683—asserted the great doctrine of "Taxation only by consent." I know of no more explicit statement of the principle, upon which alone the American Revolution can be justified, at an earlier period in the existence of any colony. This doctrine, first clearly enunciated in New York in 1683, was never receded from by that colony.

The second Representative Assembly of New York defined another principle, which ultimately became the basis of the longest, the most evenly contested, and in some respects, the most important struggle between a colony and the royal prerogative, that occurred in the colonial epoch. "A revenue for defraying the public expenses" was granted by this Assembly, the money raised to be paid to the Receiver-General, and issued under the Governor's warrant. Attached to the Act was a proviso that the law should be limited in its effect to two years. In their subsequent struggles to preserve the limited revenue, the settlers in New York received their magnificent education for the Revolution. For several years the issue was not raised again. When Lord Lovelace, the tenth English Governor, met the Assembly of 1709, he recommended the raising of a revenue for seven years, as had last been done. In communicating to the Governor its unwillingness to



honor his request, the Assembly took occasion to intimate the disadvantage under which the colony labored, because of the difference between its political institutions and those of its near neighbors. "The just freedom enjoyed by our neighbors by the tender indulgence of the Government," says their bold and spirited address, "has extremely drained and exhausted us both of people and stock; whilst a different treatment, the wrong methods too long taken and severities practiced here, have averted and deterred the usual part of mankind from settling hitherto." A dissolute Governor had squandered the money given him without restraint. It was to save the colony from such experiences that the Assembly of 1709 devised the Annual Revenue Bill. The conflict was averted for the time, for upon the very day that the bill was passed, Lord Lovelace died.


His successor, Robert Hunter, took up the gauntlet thus thrown down. Governor and Assembly each was as firm as the other, and Hunter went for three years without the compensation attached to his office. Only the pressing emergency of difficulty on the Canadian frontier prevented the dead-lock from developing into a decisive crisis. Failing to coerce, Hunter finally coaxed a five year's revenue out of this body; and the traditions of the period are not free from the suggestion of bribery in connection with his success. Meanwhile he had written home to his friend, Dean Swift, that "the Assembly has trumped up an inherent right, declared the powers granted by the Queen's letters-patent to be against law, and have but one short step towards what I am unwilling to name. The Assemblies claim all the privileges of the House of Commons. Should the councilors, by the same rule, lay claim to the rights of a House of Peers, here is a body co-ordinate with and independent of the great council of the realm; yet this is the plan of government they all aim at, and make no scruple to own." "If the Assembly of New York," reported the Lords of Trade, 1713, "is suffered to proceed after this manner, it may prove of very dangerous consequence to that colony, and of very ill example to the other governments of America.'

It was nearly thirty years later before the struggle for the annual grant was renewed. When Clarke was at the head of the province, the precedent gained a firm footing. Governor Clinton, who succeeded him, at first gave his assent to the annual bills. Subsequently, under special instructions from the Lords of Trade, he refused his consent, and found himself involved in a controversy with men as obstinate as himself and vastly keener with their wits. As often as he dissolved one

Assembly with indignant reproof, the people returned the same men to torment him by asserting the same principle. When he upbraided them with disloyalty to the crown, they protested that they showed their loyalty to the genius of the English Government by obeying the behests of their constituents. Again he yielded, after two years of acrimonious assertion of his prerogative, and followed his discomfiture by his resignation.

Another Governor came, carrying in his pocket the instructions of Clinton, made more explicit and preemptory. But the magnitude of the task drove Sir Danvers Osborne into suicide before he had even tested the temper of the people he was sent out to subdue. He had been enjoined to declare, in the strongest terms and without delay, the King's high displeasure at the neglect and contempt of New York, to exact due obedience, receding from all encroachments, and considering without delay a proper law for a permanent revenue, "solid, indefinite, and without limitation."

The sagacious obstinacy of the colony was already approaching the period of its conspicuous reward. When James De Lancey succeeded to the Government as Lieutenant-Governor, he did not permit his former relations with the popular party to interfere with a literal regard for the royal instructions he had inherited from the unhappy Osborne. Urging the Assembly constantly to grant a permanent revenue, and refusing to sign the annual bills which were as constantly presented to him, he received no salary as Acting-Governor for three years, and until the spring of 1756, when the Ministry, worn out by the endurance of New York, surrendered at discretion, agreed to the Annual Support Bill, and directed the new Governor, Sir Thomas Hardy, to communicate the change of instructions to the Assembly. Thus ended a contest extending over nearly half a century, in which the citizens of New York learned to withstand the threats of authority, and to defy the demands of the prerogative. New York several times departed from the principle laid down by the Assembly of 1709; but she never relinquished the claim that it was a right, and she effected the most important limitation put upon the prerogative during the colonial period, when she finally secured the recognition of that right. "Nowhere else," says Bancroft, alluding to these struggles, "was the collision between the royal Governor and the Provincial Assembly so violent and so inveterate; nowhere had the Legislature, by its methods of granting money, so nearly exhausted and appropriated to itself all executive authority; nowhere had the relations of the province to Great Britain been more sharply



contravened." Dunlap, referring to the same struggle, says that "here was a sense of right and courage to resist power, equal to anything on record. Yet these people might be said to depend for protection, from both the French and the Indians, upon the power which they defied." The real courage of the New Yorkers can be better appreciated after reading the letters which Clinton poured in upon the Board of Trade, entreating the King "to make a good example for all America, by regulating the Government of New York."

I have already said that this contest for the Annual Supply Bill grew originally out of the reckless prodigality of some of the Governors, who accepted their appointment to the province of New York as an invitation to fill their pockets during the period of their exile. Another check which the Assembly early placed upon the Governor was the Treasurer, elected by itself. The first colonial Treasurer dates from the era of the dissolute and weak-minded Cornbury. The Governor protested that the declaration that the appointment of a Treasurer was to "prevent the misapplication of money in the future," was a reflection upon himself. Appealing in vain to the Assembly, he turned to the Queen. An order came to permit the New York Assembly to name their own Treasurer when they raised extraordinary supplies for special purposes. This was the most important advance in the evolution of self-government thus far achieved by the colony, after the concession of the representative Assembly. Having gained a Treasurer for special funds, the Assembly was not long in insisting that all the funds raised by it for the support of the colonial government should lodge in the hands of this officer of their own selection, and within their own per-view. They followed by natural sequence to the control of all officers necessary for the collection and disbursement of the colonial revenues—a purpose which the Assembly accomplished by naming the name of each public officer in connection with the appropriation for his salary.


The degree of success which gradually attended these efforts to control the finances of the colony may be gathered from the letter which Governor Shirley wrote to Governor Clinton in 1748, in which he described at length the "many innovations tending to create an entire dependency of the Governor and other officers upon the Assembly, and to weaken his Majesty's government in the colony, introduced from year to year contrary to the express directions of his Majesty's instructions. \* \* \* Upon all which innovations and encroachments I shall only observe in general, that the Assembly seems to have left

scarcely any part of his Majesty's prerogative untouched, and that they have gone great lengths towards getting the whole government, military as well as civil, into their hands." (Colonial His. N. Y., Vol. VI, p. 435-6.)

We have already seen that the great leaps towards popular government made by the colony between the years 1743 and 1748 were not surrendered under De Lancey, and were practically confirmed by the Crown under Hardy. It is noticeable that the measures upon which the colony sought issue with the crown were not mere excuses for factitious opposition. Each one of them involved a principle, since recognized both in the Constitutions of our States and in the Federal Constitution, as essential to the efficient administration of a popular government. The colonial Assembly of New York worked out for us, and tested by actual experience, the principles which we have come to regard as the glory and the safety of our constitutional fabric.

It was this same Assembly, the eleventh, which first refused to admit the Council's amendment to a money bill, thus insisting upon the same relative powers, in relation to the upper House, which the House of Commons early took to itself. The Assembly was compelled to yield the point at this time to the adverse decision of the Lords of Trade; but it subsequently returned and adhered to it. This controversy affords another illustration of the fact that the colonial statesmen of New York were close students of the constitutional history of Great Britain, and that they were seeking to plant their own government upon the foundations that had proved safest in England. The guiding theory of their action was that the Assembly of New York bore the same relation to the government of that colony that the Parliament of Great Britain bore to the realm over whose destinies it presided. The mother country has since confessed that they were right, by adopting the principle they first clearly enunciated, in the government of her Canadian provinces. But previous to the Revolution, it was because she insisted upon the soundness of this principle, that New York was regarded in the councils of the crown as the most dangerous and rebellious of the colonies.

It was left for the Assembly of 1708 to appoint a Committee on Greivances, and to pass from that committee a series of resolutions declaratory of what they believed to be their rights under the British Constitution, and the manner in which they conceived those rights to be infringed. These resolutions declared the appointment of coroners in the colony without their being chosen by the people to be a griev-



ance, and contrary to law ; that it was and ever had been the unquestionable right of every free man in the province to have a perfect and entire property in his goods and estate ; that the imposing and levying of any taxes upon the people of the colony "under any pretense or color whatsoever," without the consent of the General Assembly, was a grievance, and a violation of the people's property ; that for any officer to extort from the people any unlimited fees not positively established and regulated by the Assembly, was unreasonable and unlawful ; that the erection of a Court of Equity, without the consent of the General Assembly, was contrary to law, without precedent, and of dangerous consequence to the liberty and property of the subjects."

I have summarized this remarkable paper, because it not only shows some of the peculiar hardships which the New Yorkers were compelled to accept from their government, but the bold and forcible manner in which they proclaimed their greivances and described the only remedy. Perhaps the most notable of their greivances was the establishment of the Court of Equity, or Chancery, with the Governor of the province as the Chancellor. Governor Hunter was first empowered to erect this court ; and the Assembly immediately declared that its erection, without the consent of that body, was contrary to the law of the colony. A Committee on Greivances reported that the court, as constituted, "renders the liberties and properties of the subjects extremely precarious ; and by the violent measures allowed by it, some have been ruined, others obliged to abandon the colony, and many restrained in it, either by imprisonment or by excessive bail exacted from them not to depart, even when no manner of suits are depending against them." The committee was therefore of the conclusion that "the extraordinary proceedings, and the exorbitant fees and charges countenanced to be exacted by the officers of the court, are the greatest greivance and oppression this colony hath ever felt ; and that its establishment, without the consent of the Assembly, was contrary to the laws of England." The Chancery Court having charge of the matter of quit-rents was easily made a machine of blackmail and oppression, and a source of unlimited illegitimate revenue to an unscrupulous Governor and his favorites. The Lords of Trade declared that "her Majesty had the undoubted right to erect as many courts in her plantations as she chose." But the people persisted in their opposition. Shortly after the arrival of William Cosby as Governor, in 1732, began the famous controversy between him and Rip Van Dam, which, in its results, proved to be the most important educator in popular rights the people of New

York had yet had thrust upon them. It involved the constitutionality of the Chancery Court; and from that controversy dates the distinct organization of the popular party, as opposed to the Royalists, or prerogative party, in the colony of New York. Out of that controversy also grew the famous trial of John Peter Zenger, which first established the freedom of the press in America, and encouraged it to the valiant service it subsequently rendered in the cause of American independence. By his removal of Morris from the Chief Justiceship, by his dismissal of Smith and Alexander from the Council, by his secret and arbitrary removal of Van Dam, by his long continuance of a pliant Assembly in defiance of the boldly expressed desire of the people, Cosby did more than any predecessor to render odious the methods of government which the crown permitted to be thrust upon this colony. Before dismissing the struggle over the Chancery Court, we must record that the vigorous denunciation of the Assembly very early compelled an ordinance reducing its fees and forbidding its most odious abuses: and that the popular contempt for the court continued so great that, in the words of the historian Smith, "the wheels of the Chancery have ever since rusted upon their axis, the practice being condemned by all gentlemen of eminence in the profession." It is notable, also, that the right of the King to establish courts of chancery, without the consent of Parliament, was warmly contested in that body in 1734 and again in 1775.

There was one other struggle between the people of New York and the prerogative, the influence of which was important, not only within, but without the province; I refer to the demand of the former for frequent elections of the representative Assembly. In most of the events to which I have thus far alluded, the Assembly appears as the aggressive champion, not only of its own inherent rights and privileges, but of those rights and privileges which belonged to the people at large, in the details of their every day life. But it frequently happened, in New York as elsewhere, that the Assembly fell behind the people, and appeared for the time acquiescent in the claims of the prerogative in matters at issue. It was at these times that the New Yorkers took up their own cause. Whenever such an Assembly was found, it was the natural disposition of the Governor to continue it in existence as long as possible. There was no limit set to such existence, either in precedent or instructions. One Assembly—that of 1716—existed ten years. During the administration of Cosby, one Assembly was continued for six years. The people constantly solicited the Governor for a new election. The Assembly itself several times enacted bills declaring that no



Assembly should continue longer than three years, and that an Assembly should be held at least once in every year. It was largely to compel the wholesome presence of this body that the plan of annual revenue bills was originated and persisted in. Cosby refused assent to all such propositions and was not unmindful of the success of Hunter, by the distribution of offices among the members, in avoiding the friction that indicated the irreconcilable variance between the colony and the home Government. To prevent this indirect bribery, bills were introduced prohibiting Assemblymen from accepting any office of profit after their election. Naturally such a law did not pass. Under Clarke, the successor of Cosby and a Governor who was not above bartering law against law, a bill for triennial elections finally received the approval of all the branches of the colonial Government. But when this law went to England for approval, it was set aside as "a high infringement upon the prerogative of the Crown." The Assembly was obliged at last, under the administration of Clinton, in 1743, to yield its assent to a septennial act. The evils experienced in this province from the use made by the Crown of its power of perpetuating assemblies, were so great and so singular to New York, that when the convention of the people drew up in 1775 certain terms of reconciliation with the parent country, one of them was that the duration of Assemblies should not exceed three years. When Assemblies were refractory they were dissolved and re-elected, sometimes twice in a year. It is sometimes thrown in the face of New York that the last Provincial Assembly was a Royalist body, ready to register the will of the King against the colonists. But in determining the attitude of the people at this time, it is necessary to remember that this Assembly was elected in 1768, and that its existence at the outbreak of the Revolution was one of the most conspicuous of the evils of the government by prerogative, against which New York had been waging her unceasing warfare.

In summing up the several distinct struggles which I have thus briefly traced, I am struck by the fact that they all indicate the determination of the colonists of New York to secure a government, not hostile to the Crown or its legitimate jurisdiction, but equipped with those checks and balances which have since come to be regarded as absolutely vital to the purity and the efficiency of a representative government. There was an evidence of a profound political philosophy in the attitude of New York, which was not reflected in the councils of the several monarchs who found her such a troublesome subject. The sum of that philosophy was, that England having granted New

York a representative Assembly, was bound to abide by the logic of that grant as it was illustrated and enforced in the history of her own Commons. In the consistency of their several claims against the prerogative, as well as in the statesmanship and foresight, to say nothing of the courage and persistence with which these claims were urged upon the Crown, individually and inter-dependently, I hold that New York stands in advance of all her sister colonies.

I have not undertaken to deal in this article with the decade in the history of New York preceding the actual outbreak of the Revolution. The part New York played in the development of the crisis that led to the Revolution is better known than the earlier history with which I have dealt. The conquest of Canada followed close upon the great triumph by which New York consummated her colonial struggle against the prerogative, in gaining the royal assent to the Annual Revenue Bill. After that triumph New York devoted her energies and her resources to the conquest of Canada, with a generous patriotism which challenged the admiration of her neighbors. The triumph to which I have alluded, and the hardly more important triumph of English and colonial arms in Canada, tended to create in New York a feeling of kindness towards the home Government, which had not before existed since old Governor Stuyvesant was compelled to deliver over the keys of the fort. But it is nowhere denied that, during those momentous ten years, signalized by the repressive legislation of Parliament, by the Stamp Act and its resistance and repeal, by the discarding of the tea, by the riots in the streets of New York between British soldiers and American citizens, by the organized exploits of the Sons of Liberty, by the erection of the Pitt statue, by the burning of the Royalist, Colden, in effigy, that New York was always in the forefront of the colonial cause. By reason of her growing importance as the central and commercial colony, New York had been during the one hundred years preceding, the special plantation selected by the Crown for discipline ; and for the same reason she now became a center, around which revolved, both in England and America, the currents which turned into the Revolution. While the leading statesmen of New York were equally distinguished for the earnest moderation of their views and the splendid effectiveness of their arguments, Bancroft records of the people at large, that "in no colony did English dominion find less of the sympathy of the people than in New York."

In conclusion, let me simply call attention to the circumstances,



singular to New York alone, under which that colony contributed so much to accelerate the Revolution. There existed in New York, during the entire colonial period, an aristocratic element such as was found in no other colony. The Dutch West India Company had laid the foundations for it, in the charter of the Patroons, which transplanted feudalism to the soil of the new world. The roots took such deep hold that they were not eradicated until the Revolution tore them up. When the English came into possession of the province, they confirmed the feudalistic tendency by their extravagant grants of land to men who became the lords of manors, and assumed privileges, accumulated wealth, and established retinues which in some instances rivalled the splendid displays of the mother country. The families of these men were naturally bound to the mother country, and to the Government by prerogative, by ties that steadily resisted the popular impulses that dominated the colony. For nearly a century they had basked in the favor of the Crown. I may state as a single illustration of the relations which the home Government maintained with a class in the colony, that that there was but one instance during the colonial history in which the Council was not arrayed in opposition to the Assembly whenever that Assembly was found in antagonism to the prerogative—which was more than two-thirds of the time. Colden was the Lieutenant-Governor of the province during the last colonial decade. A Royalist by instinct as well as by education, and bound to the Crown by the associations and the rewards of a life-time, he became the instrument through whom the Government blocked the patriots, distracted their counsels, and made them appear before the world as a divided colony. He yielded no atom of sympathy to the popular cause. When he found it impossible to enforce his authority, he sought the most vicious motives with which to account for the popular resistance. He was a type of man undoubtedly found more frequently in New York before the Revolution than anywhere else in the country. But because of his frequent appearance there, because of the organized strength of the New York Royalists, because of the luke-warm or hostile attitude of a large landed and monied interest, thus bound to the Crown, the attitude of New York was at once more critical and more creditable. It was assumed and maintained under circumstances more trying than those existing in any other colony. These facts were not unknown nor unappreciated; and hence it was that all the colonies watched anxiously to see what New York would do, and found their best stimulus in what she did.


S. N. DEXTER NORTH

## SPANISH AMERICAN DOCUMENTS, PRINTED OR INEDITED

The Spanish documents and authentic papers relating to the discovery and conquest of America, have been finding their way into print during the last fifty years only. Robertson wrote his history almost entirely without their aid, depending upon the printed materials at hand, and unable often to obtain some of these, owing to their rarity and absence in public or private libraries. Antonio de Herrera was the first to prepare a general history of the New World founded on documentary proofs, but he never gives a reference to their whereabouts, and does not specially quote them. He used, however, many now apparently lost, such as the original diary of the explorer, Juan Ponce de Leon, which appears to have been before him in 1600, but has since disappeared. Barcia, in his reprints of Herrera, adds nothing to the text, and makes no reference to the existence of any documents. Las Casas, in his *Historia*, gives an abridgement of the diary of the first voyage of Columbus,' but the full document has not been seen since. This work, completed in 1559, has been recently printed as part of a series of the *Documentos Inéditos*, to which we shall presently refer.

Many of the most interesting papers of an historical or narrative character may have been loaned to historians, and never returned to their depository, and others were perhaps abstracted as curiosities, when the value of a complete series of such documents in the archives of the nation was less appreciated than now. Most of the archives of the Spanish-American provinces have been despoiled, and are even at the present time fast disappearing. We cannot stop to quote instances that corroborate this statement, but may allude to them at another time.

The historian Muñoz, who had been officially commissioned to prepare an authentic history of America, founded on documentary evidence, had gathered, towards the close of the last century, a vast collection of copies of original papers bearing on the subject entrusted to his charge. Most of the originals were preserved in Simancas and Seville, but many were in private hands, and have since disappeared. Even this body of materials, brought together with great care and labor, was dispersed after the death of the collector, and its fragments have been slowly recovered by the Spanish Government, and are now deposited in the Library of the Academy of History in Madrid.



Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, who had been directed to continue the work begun by Muñoz, was instrumental in recovering the matter collected for that work, and added largely to it. He began publishing a work illustrated with documentary proofs in 1825, and had completed five volumes before his death. These volumes contain the first printed documents relating to the discovery of America by Columbus and his companions, and were eagerly welcomed by all American scholars. Washington Irving hastened to Madrid, at the request of Alexander Everett, our Minister near the Spanish Court, in order to translate the work begun by Navarrete, but soon was led into preparing his immortal *Life of Columbus*, in preference to a dry translation of the documentary and disconnected Spanish *Coleccion*. We know that Navarrete never could overcome his disappointment at the preference accorded to the vivid narrative of Irving by the reading public. Only the three first volumes of the *Coleccion* were translated into French, and no other translation has appeared, while Irving's work was published in almost every European language.

The work begun by Navarrete is, however, precious, and so much interest was manifested at the opening of the Spanish Archives, hitherto jealously guarded from the public eye, that the Government was induced to begin a series of volumes, entitled *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, in 1842, and the sixty-fifth volume appeared in 1876. Besides the papers which relate to the European history of Spain, this series contains many on purely American subjects, some of which relate to Cortes, Las Casas, to New Spain, Peru, Florida, Chili, etc. Volume vi contains a biographical notice of Don M. F. Navarrete, who died in 1844, and whose name appears as one of the editors of the first two volumes. Volume xv contains a memoir by Don E. F. de Navarrete on the supposed voyages of Maldonado, De Fuca and De Fonte, illustrated by valuable notes; and volume xvi contains a memoir on Hernando Colon, and a notice of Bartolomé Colon, by the same. The great manuscript History of America by Las Casas is printed for the first time in volumes lxii to lxiv.

Another series was commenced in 1864, entitled, *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Océania, sacados en mayor parte del Real Archivo de Indias*, etc., This series, as indicated by its title, contains documents relating to America and the Pacific Ocean only, and nineteen volumes had appeared in 1873. Of the deeply interesting nature of the contents of these volumes we cannot here give an idea. They must be

seen to be appreciated. Unluckily no index has appeared to either of these series, each volume containing merely a list of the documents it contains. A list of the papers in the first sixty-one volumes of the first series was printed in 1875.

Prescott was obliged to get copies of documents for his admirable works on the Conquest of Mexico and of Peru, many of which have been since printed in the series above mentioned.' Ternaux-Compans had collected Spanish documents on America, as well as the most extensive library of books on America ever brought together. He printed a series of twenty volumes of translations from manuscripts or rare books, and others in a single volume, and in the two volumes entitled *Archives des Voyages*. His manuscripts are now in private collections in this country.

Obadiah Rich, long a resident of Madrid, collected books and manuscripts on America and dealt in them afterwards in London. Although he published several volumes of *American Bibliography*, he never printed any inedited documents. Such as he had in 1840, passed into private collections in America, after having been offered for purchase to Congress.'

David B. Warden, American Consul in Paris for forty years, made collections of books on America, one of which is now at Harvard College and another in the New York State Library. He wrote the ten volumes forming the American portion of the octavo edition of the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, which was published between 1826 and 1844. Familiar with all the sources of Spanish colonization in America, he must have had many copies of Spanish documents, but we are not able to say anything positive on the subject.

Don Vargas Ponce, President of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, had, like Muñoz, collected many copies of Spanish American papers, which are preserved by the Academy. Lord Kingsborough had also accumulated a number of manuscript copies of papers relating to Mexican and Peruvian Antiquities, which were sold after his death.

Buckingham Smith had collected copies of documents relating to Florida during his visits to Spain, which are now in the Library of the New York Historical Society. Some of these he gave in his *Memoirs on Cabeza de Vaca, Fontañeda and De Soto*. He printed a small collection of such papers in 1858, at Madrid.

Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta printed at Mexico in 1858 and 1866 two fine volumes entitled *Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México*, which we hope to see continued. Don Pascual de Gayangos

various expeditions, the kind of instrument then in use for taking observations for the latitude. It is certain, from Champlain's narrative, that he traveled over the portage road in which the astrolabe was



found. He states that in ascending the Ottawa he reached the *Chaudiere Falls* on the 4th, the *Rapide des Chats* on the 5th and the island of *Sainte Croix* and the *Portage du Fort* on the 6th of June, 1613. At this latter place the old portage road above alluded to commenced, and in passing over it the expedition consumed a part of the 6th and the whole of the

7th of June. It was during their march on the 7th that the astrolabe is supposed to have been dropped. In describing their difficulties on that day, Champlain says: "We were greatly troubled in making this portage, being myself loaded with three arquebuses, as many paddles, my cloak and some small articles. I encouraged my men, who were loaded yet heavier, and suffered more from the mosquitoes than from their burdens." Under the circumstances thus related, it is not surprising that the overburdened party should have lost some of their valuables on the way.

It further appears from the narrative, that Champlain must have had the astrolabe with him on the 30th of May and on the 4th and 6th of June, for under date of May 30th, when at the entrance of Lake St. Louis, he says: "I *took* the latitude of this place, and found it  $45^{\circ} 18'$ ." Under date of June 4th, when at Chaudiere Falls, he says: "I *took* the latitude of this place, and found it to be  $45^{\circ} 38'$ ." Again, on the 6th of June, when at the *Portage du Fort*, he says: "I *took* the latitude of this place, which was  $46^{\circ} 40'$ ." (See Laverdière's Champlain, vol. i, pp. 444, 449 and 451.) These three latitudes could not have been *taken* without the use of an instrument.

The next latitude given by Champlain was that of the island *Des Allumettes*, a day or two after he had passed the abovementioned portage. If, however, he had lost his astrolabe, he could not have "taken" an observation, and must give it by estimation. And so he does. He says: "The island is in 47 degrees of latitude." A little further on he says: "I was in 47 degrees of latitude and 296 degrees of longitude." In neither of the last two instances does he state, as he did before he lost his instrument, "I took the latitude." The presumption is therefore strengthened that after the 7th of June, when, according to his narrative, he had passed the spot where the astrolabe was found, he was forced to *estimate* his latitude in consequence of the loss of that instrument.

O. H. MARSHALL



DIARY OF  
COMMODORE EDWARD PREBLE

BEFORE TRIPOLI—1804

PRELIMINARY NOTE — In October, 1871, I communicated to the American Historical Record a memorandum diary of Commodore Edward Preble, which was published in that periodical in February, 1872. Subsequently I found among the Commodore's papers a more extended diary of his operations before Tripoli. I submit a verbatim copy of the original, even to the erasures. Unfortunately some pages of the diary have been lost. The whole is in the Commodore's autograph.

GEORGE HENRY PREBLE

*Brookline, Mass.*

DIARY

*Tuesday, July 24th, 1804*—Light airs from the westward. Squadron in compy at 10 P. M. fresh breezes from S. E., which soon changed to the S. W. A. M. ordered all the water casks on board the Gun Boats and Bomb-vessels to be filled from this ship; it is a necessary precaution in case of separation, as they carry only six days' allowance of that article; at noon Tripoly bore S. W. b. S. 60 miles.

*Wednesday, July 25th, 1804*—Wind E. N. E., we completed watering the Bombs & Gun Boats, at 2 A. M. fell in with the Syren, at 4 saw the Argus & Enterprize, at 6 A. M. wore ship off shore, with the wind S. E. A heavy sea heaving on the coast. Tripoly in sight, bearing by compass S. W., dis. 15 miles; at 8 the Argus and Enterprize joined compy; made the following disposition

for towing Gun Boats & Bombs—viz : Constitution the 2 Bombs, Argus N. 2 & 3 Gun Boats, Syren No. 5, Vixen No. 6, Nautilus No. 1, Enterprize No. 4; with this arrangement I presume we shall be able to tow them off shore in case of a Norther. Made signal for all Captains, and delivered them the orders of sailing. Lat Ob. °33 10 N.—

*Thursday, July 26th, 1804*—Wind N. E. to N. E., and a heavy sea setting on shore which makes it imprudent to approach near the coast. Tripoly bears S. S. W. about 5 Leagues; at 5 p. m. saw the Scourge in the S. W. We stood to the eastward by the wind all night, at 9 A. M. wore & bore up to the W. S. W.; the Syren Join'd compy; our squadron now consists of one Frigate, three Brigs & three Schooners, men-of-war, two Bombs and six Gun Boats, in all 15 sail, besides the Store ship; the whole are now in company. At noon the squadron becalmed 8 miles from the land, and about 5 Leagues to the eastward of Tripoly, a heavy sea setting on shore. Lat ob °33, 7 N.

*Friday, July 27th, 1804*—Wind N. E. Light Breeze. Squadron in compy; hoisted out the large Cutter. Rigged and armed her. Beat to Quarters, to scrape and black lead the axletrees and trucks of the Gun Carriages, continued to steer for Tripoly till 7 o'clock, when we shortened sail & brought to 4 miles from the land. Tripoly bearing by compass W. b. S. about 5 Leagues, sounded 55 faths, sandy bottom, wind E. N. E. to S. E. all night lay with main Topsails aback, head off shore; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 A. M. wore & stood to the S. W. for Tripoly. Land in sight to the Eastward of the Town

7 or 8 Leagues; we have had a strong easterly current all night; at noon wind E. N. E. Tripoly bearing S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. 4 Leagues dist, a heavy swell heaving towards the land. Surgeons Report 1 sick, 3 convalescent, 1 discharged from sick list. Delivered to each Commander the orders for anchoring before Tripoly on our arrival off the Town, viz: the fleet to anchor in two columns, in lines parallel with the shore, which trends about east & west.— The inshore column to consist of the Argus, Constitution, Vixen & Syren, at two cables length asunder, the Argus to the East, & Syren to the West of the line; the outer column two cables to the South, & to consist of the Nautilus to the West, Enterprize center, and Scourge to the east'r'd.— Store Ship 4 cables length to the Southward of the outer line; the Constitution to lead in and anchor first.

*Saturday, July 28th, 1804*—Moderate Breezes from the S. E. & pleasant; standing in for Tripoly at 1 p. m. observed the Batteries manned, an encampment of Troops about the South side of the Bay and 19 Gun Boats in motion, all pulling out of the Harbour towards us;  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 1, the wind shifted suddenly from the S. E. to North; at 3 p. m. we came to with the small Bower in 20 fath's water,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the shore, the round Water Battery in range with the Bashaw Castle, the Boats all under way, but the wind blowing directly on shore and increasing, they returned into port; the squadron all came in and anchored in order, with the Gun Boats made fast to their sterns. At 5 the wind and sea increasing so much as to make it dangerous riding, made signal for Captains; they

all came on board; at 6 the Capt's all returned to their respective ships. As it was thought prudent to get under way, made the signal to prepare; at 7 P. M. sign'l to weigh, by  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 they were all under way. At 8 we weighed and stood to the N. N. W., wind N. E. and more moderate, but an increasing sea; at 10 p. m. several of the fleet in sight; stood off to the N. N. W. all night, at day light wore & stood for Tripoly. Wind E. N. E. At 11 hauls off to the Northward, & brought to to discharge the Store Ship of water & provisions, and to supply the squadron with powder, shot & other military and naval stores. Lat Obs.  $^{\circ}33.3$  N.

*Sunday, July 29th, 1804*—Wind N. E., lying to with the Squadron, discharging the Store Ship. Tripoly bearing S. S. W., dis't 4 Leagues, the sea too rough to approach the Town with our Bombs or Gun Boats; at 7 p. m. closed the Squadron. Tripoly in sight, bearing S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. 6 Leagues, hoisted our Boats in, lay to all night, wind strong from E. b. S. and a very rough sea; the weather we have experienced for several days past has been uncommonly tempestuous for the season; at 5 A. M. made the signal to wear ship & bring to the wind on the Larboard tack; we wore and 3d Reef'd the Topsails, wind S. E. b. E. at 10 A. M. land about Tripoly in sight S. b. E., 5 or 6 Leagues dis't; at 11 the wind abated, took the store ship in tow to facilitate the discharging her cargo. Brought to with the Squadron, sent Boats with officers & men to assist furnishing the necessary supplies for the men-of-war. At noon wind E. b. S., strong breezes. Observed in Latd  $33^{\circ} 9'$  No.; suppose Tripoly to bear So 5

Leagues, but the atmosphere so close & thick that we cannot see the land.—

*Monday, July 30th, 1804*—Wind E. S. E., moderate, but a heavy swell; the Boats of the Squadron employ'd in discharging the store ship, but the sea so rough as to render our progress rather slow. Sent fuzes, [—] pretty quick match for the shells on board the Bombs, and shott on board the different vessels to which the Gun Boats are attach'd; at 7 p. m. it blew a fresh gale; cast off the Store ship & in Boats; filled away to the Southward, at 8 p. m. wore with the Squadron & stood to the N. N. E., wind East, under double reef'd sails, stood off all night; at 5 A. M. wore to the Northward, & stood for the land; wind from east to S. E., variable. At noon obsd in Lat  $33^{\circ} 10'$  No. Tripoly bearing S. b. E., 6 Leagues dis't.

*Tuesday, July 31, 1804*—Wind E. S. E. to N. E., very variable, and a rough sea; standing to the Southward by the wind, under double Reef'd Topsails; Squadron all in sight; at 1 p. m. saw the City of Tripoly, bearing S. b. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., dis't 5 Leagues.— Stood in S. E., with the wind E. S. E., until 4 p. m.; then wore ship to the Northward.— Tripoly S. S. E., 3 Leagues; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 p. m. the wind shifted to the N. E. b. N., & blew a gale, split our Fore-sail & Main Top-sail; sent down Top Galt Yard, and made the signal for the Squadron to do the same, unbent the split sails, and brought others to the yards; by 8 p. m. we were under a reef'd Fore Sail & closed reef'd M'n Top Sail, the wind blowing very heavy, and a rough sea; from 8 p. m. to 2 A. M. the wind veer'd round gradually to the S. E., until it got to E.

b. S., then shifted suddenly in a squall to the N. N. E. Stood to the N. W. until day light, then wore to the S. E. and made more sail, the squadron all in sight, but much scattered, at noon wind N. E. b. E., steering S. E. b. E.— Lat Obsd  $33^{\circ} 18'$  No. Tripoly bearing by calculation S. S. E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., 28 miles. I ordered the Fore sail & M'n Top sail, which were split last night, to be ripped out of the Bolt rope and turn'd into the Sailmaker as old canvas, considering them not trustworthy.

*Wednesday, August 1st, 1804*—Wind N. E., steering by the wind on the Larb'd Tack; all the Squadron in sight at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 p. m. Tripoly in sight, bearing S. b. E.; the weather very unsettled, and a rough sea; wore ship to the N. N. W.; at 5 p. m. made the signal for the Squadron to close to prevent separation; in the night the wind moderated; at 5 a. m. wore to the S. E., at 8 sent up Top Gall't yard, out large boats and completed discharging the Store Ship; at noon we obs'd in Lat'd  $33^{\circ} 13'$  No. Tripoly bearing S. S. E., 7 Leagues dist.; wind E. N. E., very light.

*Thursday, August 2d, 1804*—Wind E. N. E.; supplied the vessels of the Squadron with a large quantity of Provisions & stores in the evening, the wind came from the S. E. Stood to the E. N. E. all night; in the morning calm; ordered Lt. Dent, Commander of the Scourge, with 30 of his crew to join the two Bombs, which, with the Neopolitans on board of them, completes their crews; ordered Lt. Wadsworth & Mr. Morris (Master) of the Scourge to join this Ship. Wadsworth to do duty as a Lt. on board and Morris to serve in the Boats. Sent

off the Store Ship to Malta under convoy of the Scourge, in charge of Lt. Izard, who is to see her safe into some port in Malta, and return to this Station; the Scourge has 36 men on board, including officers. At noon, Latd 33° 11' No, discharged from the service Louis Baslau, a Seaman, & sent him to Malta in the Store Ship on account of indisposition and his pleading that he was a frenchman. Tripoly bears S. b. E., dis't 6 Leagues.

*Friday, August 3d, 1804*—Wind E. S. E. to E. b. N.; exercised the Bomb vessels & threw some shells; fresh Breezes & pleasant; during the night we had fresh gales, lay to with the ship's head to the N. E.: in the morning wore & stood for the land. Tripoly about 4 Leagues dis't—Bearing S. S. W. at 3 A. M., wind E. b. N. At noon we were within two miles of Tripoly, which is defended by Batteries, mounted with 67 Heavy Cannon, pointing seaward, and 22 Gun Boats, each carrying a piece of heavy Brass ordnance, besides small cannon, muskets, Pistols, Pikes &c., and man'd with 30 to 50 men each; they have also an armed Brig, two armed schooners in the port, full of men. I made the signal to wear and haul off and immediately after the signal to come within hale, & cleared ship for action & beat to quarters.—& made signal to prepare for Battle, intending to attack their Gun Boat & the City, as I observed their Boats without the Rocks.

*Saturday, August 4th, 1804*—Wind E. b. S. Standing off shore on the Starbor'd tack, the Signal out to come within hail, spoke the different vessels, and acquainted their Commanders that it

was my intention to attack the shipping & Batteries, directed Gun Boats & Bombs to be prepared for immediate service; at 12½ p. m. Tack'd & stood for the Batteries. Back'd the Main Top Sail, at ½ 1 p. m. made the general signal to follow the motions of the Commodore, filled the Main-top-sail & stood in towards the Batteries; at ¼ past 2 general signal for Battle; the whole squadron advanc'd to within point Blunt shot of the Enemies Batteries & shipping, our Gun Boats in two divisions, the 1st consisting of 3 Boats, Commanded by Capt. Somers, the 2d of three Boats by Capt. Decatur; at ¾ past 2 the action commenced on our side by throwing a shell into the town, and in an instant the whole Squadron were engaged. The enemies Gun Boats were anchored with springs on in three divisions; the Eastern or van division consisted of 9 Boats, the centre of 7 Boats and the Western or rear of 5 Boats; as the wind was from the eastward, our Boats were ordered to lead in to windward and attack the Enemy; the Rear & Center division of the Enemies Boats are close under their Batteries, and the van division, consisting of their largest Boats, are within grape distance of the Bashaws Castle & fort English. At 3 observed our Gun Boats engaged in close action with the enemies Boats; while a tremendous fire was kept up by this ship and the rest of the Squadron, Capt Decatur with No 4, Lt Tripp of No 6 & Lt Bainbridge of No 5, Lt James Decatur of No 2 attacked the enemy's Boats within pistol shot; No 1, Capt Somers, fell to Leeward, but fetched up with the enemys rear of 5 Boats, which he gal-

lantly attacked, disabled & drove in, although within pistol shot of the Batteries. No. 3, Lt Blake, did not go into close action; had he come, probably they would have captured the rear Boats; Capt Decatur Boarded, and after a stout and obstinate resistance took possession of two of the enemies Gun Boats; Lt Tripp Boarded and carried a third, Lt James Decatur in the act of Boarding to take possession of a fourth Boat was shot through the head & mortally wounded, the officer next in command (Mr Brown) haul'd off. Lt Bainbridge had his latten yard shot away early in the action, which prevented him from taking a Boat, but he galled the enemy by a steady fire within musket shot; indeed he pursued the enemy until his Boat touched the ground under the Batteries. The Bombs kept their stations, which were well chosen by Lt Dent & Lt Robinson, who commanded them, and threw a number of shells into the town, altho the spray of the sea occasioned by the enemies shots almost covered them; three different times the enemies Gun Boats rallied and attempted to surround ours; I as often made the signal to cover them, which was properly attended to by the Brigs & Schooners, and the fire from this ship not only had the desired effect on the enemies flotilla by keeping them in check and disabling them, but silenced one of their principal Batteries for some time; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 p. m. made the signal for the Bombs to retire from action out of gun shot, and a few minutes after the general Signal to cease firing and tow out the Prizes & disabled Boats. Sent our Barge and Jolly Boat to assist in that duty, tack'd ship & fired two Broad-

sides in stays, which drove the Tripolins out of the Castle, & brought down the steeple of a mosque; by this time the wind began to freshen from N. E.; at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  p. m. haul'd off to take the Bombs in tow; at 5 p. m. Brought to, two miles from their Batteries. Rec'd Lt. James Decatur on board from Gun Boat No 2; he was shot through the head (in Boarding a Tripoline Boat which had struck to him); he expired in a few moments after he was brought into the ship.— We lay to until 10 P. M. to receive the Prisoners on board captured in the Prizes, then made sail, & stood off to the N. E., the wind veering to the E. S. E. We have all the Surgeons of the Squadron on board dressing the wounded— During the action we fired 262 Round Shot, besides Grape, double head & Canister from this Ship, and were several times within 3 cables lengths of the Rocks & Batteries, where our soundings were from 12 to 16 fath.; the officers, Seamen & Marines of the Squadron behaved gallantly throughout the action. Capt Decatur in Gun Boat No 4 particularly distinguished himself—as did Lt Tripp of No 6. Our loss in killed & wounded has been considerable; the damage we rec'd in this ship is a 24 pound shot nearly through the center of the main mast 20 feet from the Deck, Main Top Gallant, R. Yard & Sail shot away, one of the Fore shrouds and the sails & running rigging considerably cut, one of the 24 pounders on the Quarter deck was struck by a 24 pound shot, which damaged the gun & carriage and shattered the arm of a Marine to pieces; Gun Boat No 2 had her latten yard shot away, & the Rigging & Sails of the Brigs

& Schooners were considerably cut. We captured 3 Gun Boats, two of which carried each a long Brass 24 pounder, two Brass Howitzers, and 36 men, with a plenty of Muskets, Pistols, Pikes, Sabres &c.; the other mounted a long Brass 18 pounder, two Howitzers & 24 men. 44 Tripolins were killed on board of the 3 Boats, and 52 made prisoners, 26 of which were wounded, 17 of them very badly, 3 of which died soon after they were brought on board; the enemy must have suffered very much in killed & wounded among their [crews] and on shore; one of their Boats was sunk in the Harbour, several of them had their decks nearly cleared of men by our shot, and several shells burst in the Town which must have done great execution.

We have lost in Killed & wounded viz.—

Killed	Wounded
Lt James Decatur	Capt Decatur slight
	Lt Tripp severely
	10 Seamen & Marines wounded
Total 1 Officer Killed	
2 Officers Wounded	
10 Seamen & Marines wounded	
13	

*Sunday, August 5th, 1804* — Fresh Breezes E. b N. at Anchor 7 or 8 miles from the City of Tripoly, bearing south. Squadron and prizes in company; every one busily employed in preparing for another attack on Tripoly, the Argus in chase of a small vessel to the Westward; at 1 p. m. the Argus brought the chase within hail and anchored; she is a french privateer of 4 guns, sail'd from Tripoly for water, being in distress for that ar-

ticle. I prevail'd on him for a consideration in provisions to convey 14 badly wounded Tripoline prisoners to Tripoly, which I put on board him, with a letter to the French Consul & one to the Prime Minister; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 p. m. made signal for all Captains. At 2 p. m. the Body of Lt James Decatur was committed to the deep with the usual Military honors. His funeral was attended by the Officers of the Squadron; at 6 a. m. the French privateer weigh'd & stood into the Harbour. Ordered our three spare Top Galt Masts for masts for the Prize Gun Boats, all hands employed in Rigging & fitting them for service; they each carry a Brass Cannon of 27 lb Ball and 2 Brass Howitzers. Caused General Orders of thanks to be read on board each vessel of the Squadrons.

*Monday, August 6th, 1804*—At Anchor 2 Leagues north of Tripoly with the Squadron; employed this ship's Company in Fitting the Prize Boats, & supplying the Squadron with Provisions, Water & Military Stores; all the Sail-makers in the Squadron are employ'd in making sails for the Prizes; the Vixen was kept under way all night making false signals to alarm the enemy; at noon wind N. N. W.

*Tuesday, August 7th, 1804*—Wind N. o. W., cloudy, at anchor off Tripoly—making arrangements for a second attack; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 made signal to prepare to weigh,—but falling calm, annulled the signal—in the evening the French Privateer came out; at 11 the French Capt came on board with a letter from the Consul of his nation,—in which he do say our attack of the 3d has disposed the Bashaw to accept of reason-

able terms, and invites me to send a Boat to the Harbour as a flag, but as no specific sum is mentioned and no security for the Boat can be depended on, I declined the invitation.— At 9 a. m. the Squadron weighed per signal & stood in shore towards the Western Batteries.— the Gun Boats, 9 in number, with the addition of the Prizes, now completely fitted & manned, and commanded by Lt Crane of the Vixen, Thorn of the Enterprize and Caldwell of the Syren, the whole advanced with sails & oars, with orders to attack the western Batteries & throw shells into the City; at this time we were at anchor 6 miles from the City; calm and a current so strong to the eastward that we remain at anchor, our Top Sails & Top Galt Sails are set ready for the first Breeze. The Argus, Syren, Vixen, Nautilus & Enterprize becalmed three miles within us.— Gun Boats & Bombs advancing to the attack.

*Wednesday, August 8th, 1804* — At anchor 6 miles N. N. E. from Tripoly becalmed, the Gun Boats & Bombs advancing with all their Sweeps; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 a light Breeze from the N. N. E. we immediately weigh'd & stood in for the Town, but the wind being on shore, could not with prudence attack or allow any of the Squadron to attack the Batteries, as in case of a mast being shot away the loss of the vessel would probably ensue; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 made the signal for the Gun Boats & Bombs to attack the Batteries & Town from the west, where they immediately opened a tremendous fire within half cannon shot of the Town & less than that distance of a Battery of 7 heavy 24 pounders; this

Battery in less than two hours was silenced excepting one gun. I presume the others were dismounted, as the walls were almost totally destroyed; the Bombs were well and effectually employed [by] Lt Comdr Dent & Lt Robinson of the Constitution. Lt Robinson from a dangerous position he took threw 28 shells into the Town, but the well directed fire of heavy artillery from the enemy obliged him to shift his station, not however until the cloths of every man in the Boat was wet through with the spray of sea which the Enemies shot threw over them. Lt Dent threw 20 shells from a position not so favorable as Lt Robinson's, but which the strong westerly current in shore would not allow him to change; at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 3 p. m. a Frigate in sight in the offing, standing for the Town; made the Argus Signal to speak, ordered her to chase the strange Sail; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 p. m. the magazine of one of our Gun Boats, No 9, Blew up, & she immediately sunk— She had on board thirty officers, Seamen & Marines, 10 of which were Killed and Six badly wounded, among the Killed were Lt R. Caldwell, 1st of the Syren and Mr Dorsey, Midshipman, two good officers— Mr. Spence, Midshipman, & 13 men were picked up unhurt. The enemies Gun Boats and Galleys, 17 in number, are all in motion under their Batteries, and appear to meditate an attack on our Bombs & Gun Boats; ordered the Argus, Nautilus, Vixen & Enterprize to windward in reserve to cut them off from the Harbour, if they should attack, & the Syren & Vixen to leeward to support and cover any of our Boats that might be disabled. Kept to windward with the Constitution

ready to bear down & support the whole; at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past [—] p. m. the wind began to blow fresh from the N. N. E. made the signal for Bombs & Gun Boats to retire out of gun shot of the enemy and be taken in tow by their respective vessels — at 6 p. m. Argus made the signal that the strange sail was a friend; in the action of this day No 6, Commanded by Lt. Wadsworth, had her Latteen yard shot away, No 4, Capt Decatur, a shot in the Hull, No 8 lost 2 men Killed by a cannon shot, some of the other Boats received trifling damage; the Gun Boats fired about 50 Rounds each; the enemy must have lost many men, & the buildings in the City must have received considerable damage from our shot & shells; all the Officers & men engaged in action behaved gallantly; at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 6 all the Boats were in tow and the Squadron standing off to the N. W.; at 8 the John Adams, Store Ship, Capt Chauncey, joined company,—at 9 being N. W. about 5 miles from Tripoly, made signal to anchor & came to with the Squadron in 35 fath's water, hard Bottom.— Capt Chauncey came on board & brought me dispatches from the Navy O ce announcing that 4 frigates, the President, Commodore Barron, who is to supercede me in the command of the Mediterranean Squadron, the Congress, Capt Rodgers, Constellation, Capt Campbell, and Essex, Capt Barron, were ready and would sail in a day or two after the John Adams. Capt Chauncey brought me a letter from the Navy Office approving my conduct, and stating that the supercedure has been necessary to enable them to send the frigates out, as only two junior Captains to myself were

in the U. S. He also brought me the thanks of the President for my services, which have been conveyed to me by letter from the Secty of the Navy; how much my feelings are lacerated by this supercedure at the moment of victory cannot be described and can be felt only by an officer placed in my mortifying situation. Gave Capt Chauncey orders to remain with the Squadron for the present.—

*Thursday, August 9th, 1804*—Wind N. W., at anchor with the Squadron N. W. from Tripoly 5 or 6 miles, supplying the Gun Boats & Bomb vessels with ammunition and stores.—at 3 p. m. went on board the Argus to reconnoitre the Harbour of Tripoly, stood in for the Eastern Batteries, the enemy fired several shot, one of which was near sinking us, as it struck below the water line and raked the copper down the Bottom, at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. m. made the signal for the Squadron to weigh and haul off, the wind blowing fresh from N. N. E.—At 6 p. m. joined the Constitution; a small Ketch stole into the Harbour under the eastern shore while we were reconnoitering, the shoals prevented our cutting her off; fresh Breezes all night; in the morning calm, at 9 a. m. anch'd with the Squadron, 36 faths, 5 miles N. N. E. from the Town; at 10 a. m. the French Consul hoisted a french Flag & white flag under it at his Flag Staff on shore, in consequence of which I hoisted similar colours on Board the Argus & stood in near the Town & sent a Boat into the Harbour with a flag of truce, and a letter for the Prime Minister, one for Capt. Bainbridge, inclosing an Invoice of Clothing provided by Mr.



Cathcart, and a letter to the French Consul.—The Scourge join'd comp'y; Lt. Izard reported that he convoyed the store ship safe into Malta.

*Friday, August 10th, 1804*—Wind N. N. E. to E. N. E.; at anchor 2 Leagues N. N. E. from Tripoly—all the Squadron at anchor excepting the Argus & Vixen as Guard ships;—at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12, noon, observed the French Flag with a white flag under it hoisted at the staff on Top of the French Consul's House in Tripoly; I ordered the Argus and Vixen to answer the signal by hoisting similar flags, I then sent a Boat into the Harbour with flag of truce; Mr. O'Brien went in as officer of the Boat; at 3 p. m. the Boat returned and brought me a letter from the french consul advising me to offer the Bashaw 150 thousand dollars for ransom of the Prisoners & make peace; that I did not think proper to do, presuming that our Government might not be satisfied with the terms, altho it is my opinion that we shall not be able to obtain them for a less sum. moderate all night; all the squadron employed in preparing for a third attack; at 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  a. m. the French Consul hoisted the french and white flags; sent a Boat into the Harbour with a flag of truce and a letter authorizing the F. Consul to offer the Bashaw 100,000 dolls. for Ransom of the Prisoners, 10,000 as a consular Present, nothing for peace and no tribute; these terms were rejected.

*Saturday, August 11th, 1804*—Wind E. b. N. light Breezes, held commuication with the french Consul in Tripoly by means of flag of truce, but without any effect, the Bashaw's demands are too extravagant to be complied with.

Rec'd on board sundry stores from the John Adams.

*Sunday, August 12th, 1804*—Moderate Breezes E. b. N., lying to 3 or 4 miles to the N. N. E. of Tripoly, the John Adams at anchor 2 Leagues out to prevent the Tripolines from discovering that she has but a few guns, everything is in order throughout the squadron for an attack on Tripoly this night, the enemy has two Galleys, a schooner of 10 guns and 16 gun Boats moored in the Harbour in a line abreast from east to west, heads to the Northward to defend it, a swell heaving on shore prevents our attempting anything at present; anchor'd in 26 fath's water, Tripoly bearing south 3 miles; from day light to 7 a. m. calm, at 8 a Breeze from N. b. E., the swell increasing, ordered all the squadron under way to stand off from the land.—

*Monday, August 13th, 1804*—Wind N. E., a heavy swell setting on shore, haul'd of to the N. N. W. with the Squadron, at 6 p. m. signal to close to prevent separation,—at 10 the wind veered to the E. S. E., haul'd up to the N. E. and stood off all night under easy sail,—at 4 a. m. wore ship and stood for the land at day light, Tripoly in sight bearing S. b. W. 5 Leagues dis't. we are now waiting for a favorable night to attack Tripoly, the wind must be to southward of east and sea perfectly smooth to enable us to attack with any prospect of success—at noon Tripoly bears S. b. W. 5 miles, wind E. N. E., and a considerable swell setting on shore.—

*Tuesday, August 14th, 1804*—Wind E. b. S., standing off and on 4 or 5

miles from Tripoly, at 6 p. m. all the squadron were in close order, ready to push in after dark, the John Adams manoeuvred several deceptions pr. signal for weighing and standing in with the squadron, but as soon as dark she was ordered to haul sails & remain at anchor. Capt. Chauncey, with several of his officers & 50 seamen & marines came on board as Volunteers for the attack, at 9 p. m. the wind freshened from S. b. N., and increased the sea so much as to make an attempt imprudent. I accordingly stood off shore and anchor'd in 37 fath's water. Capt. Chauncey with his officers & men returned to the Jno. Adams, two of our Gun Boats carried away their latteen yards, supplied them with new ones, we had strong Breezes all night and until noon.

Lat'd obs'd 33-2 No.—

*Wednesday, August 15th, 1804* — Strong Breezes from E. S. E., at anchor 6 miles to the north of Tripoly, ordered the Vixen to cast off her Gun Boats & Look out to the eastward & the Jno. Adams to take her Boats in tow,—at 4 p. m. down Royal & Top Gall't Yards, fresh Breezes through the night,—at 10 a. m. wind E. b. N. and a rough sea. Lat'd. obs'd 33° 2' No.—

*Thursday, August 16th, 1804*—Fresh Breezes from E. b. N., at anchor N. b. E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. from Tripoly, all the squadron at anchor except the Vixen on the look out to the eastward.—at 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  p. m. the Enterprise sail'd for Malta, under command of Lt. Lawrence, with Mr. Higgins, directing him to send transports with water & Vegetables, the scurvy has made its appearance among the men on

board of some of the vessels of the squadron, and our fresh water is getting short.—Surgeons report 6 sick, 4 convalescent.—

*Friday, August 17th, 1804*—Moderate Breezes from E. N. E. and pleasant weather; at anchor 5 miles to the N. b. W. of Tripoly; at 3 p. m. out all Boats and armed them for an attack; at 5 p. m. all the squadron excepting the John Adams and Scourge were under way, standing for Tripoly; by this time the wind had veered to N. E. b. E., and the current setting strong to the Westward; in the evening Capt. Chauncey with several officers & 50 Seamen from the John Adams came on board, volunteers for the intended attack; at 7 p. m. we were 4 miles from the Town. Tacking and manoeuvring the Squadron, waiting for the wind to come from the E. S. E.; from 8 to 9 p. m. we stood in for the Batteries with a light Breeze from E. b. N.; at 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  almost calm, the Town fire bearing S. b. W. So, the Batteries fired 11 shot at us which fell short, the current setting to the S. W., pressing us down on the Western Batteries and the wind very light. I thought it prudent to haul off; at 11 p. m. wore ship and stood in again for the Town in hopes the wind might increase, the enemy fired 14 shot at us from their Batteries which fell short, it being by this time past midnight and almost calm, haul'd off and at 1 made the signal to anchor, and come to in 25 fath's. Tripoly S. b. W., 3 miles dist.

*Saturday, August 18th, 1804*—Wind N. E.; we are at anchor 3 miles N. b. E. from the Town of Tripoly, we have our guns all clear,—Boats all out and armed, and

everything prepared for at attack the moment the wind & sea are favorable.—At 8 p. m. I sent Capt. Decatur & Capt. Chauncey in two small Boats to reconnoitre the Harbour and examine the situation of their Gun Boats; at midnight they returned and reported that they rowed to the western rock, within musket shot of the enemies sentinels, and that all the Gun Boats were in the mole, moored in a line abreast with heads to the Eastward;—by 1 a. m. the wind had shifted to the S. E. (which blows out of the Harbour) the sea was smooth but the current strong to the westward, which concludes us to defer an attack until some better opportunity, as the Boats would not be able to reach their stations before day light.—At day light the wind suddenly shifted to the N. N. W., which immediately brought a heavy swell on shore, the sky was clouded and appearances of a gale, made the signal for the fleet to weigh & gain an offing.—At 7 a. m. weigh'd and made sail to work off shore.—At 11½ a. m. double reef'd the Top-sails, fresh breezes and a rough sea,—at noon Tripoly S. b. E., 3 Leagues dis't.—

*Sunday, August 19th, 1804*—Wind N. W.; at 1 p. m., wore to the N. E. & brought to for the Squadron, Capt. Chauncey with his officers & crew rejoined the John Adams. Hoisted in all our Boats, and made signal for all Boats to join their respective ships—at 5 p. m. the wind north, stood to the E. N. E. with the fleet.—at midnight wore to the W. N. W., signal was made to the Squadron to do the same.—fresh Breezes & a rough sea,—at 6 a. m. sounded 75 fath's water, sandy bottom, we have now an offing of

8 or 10 Leagues from Tripoly.—moderate Breezes all the fore noon, with an ugly swell setting towards the coast.—Tripoly at noon bore S. b. W. ¼ W., 9 Leagues dis't.—The clouds are dispersing, and the weather appears favorable for a change of wind.

Lat'e Obs'd 33° 19' No.

*Monday, August 20th, 1804*—Moderate Breezes from the N. E. with a heavy setting to the N. N. W., standing to the N. N. W. with the fleet.—Tripoly bearing S. S. E., 9 or 10 Leagues—at 1 p. m. a strange sail was discovered from the John Adams in the E. N. E., made the Argus signal to cast off her Gun Boats & chase—made the John Adams signal to tow the Argus' Boats, at 4 p. m. the Argus brought the chase to, made the signal to bring her down to me, at 6 the Argus & chase joined company, she proved to be the U. S. Ketch Intrepid, from Syracuse, with water and fresh stock for the Squadron, she brought me letters from Mr. Dyson & Mr. Higgins, the latter informs me that an English vessel left Malta on the 12th inst. with 190 Butts of water & some live stock for the Squadron; we are in great want of the water, but I fear some accident has happened to her to prevent her arrival, as the wind has been constantly fair for several days past,—at 12 midnight the wind E. b. S., steered to the S. b. E.—at 2½ a. m. the wind S. S. E., wore ship to the East.—at 5½ a. m. wind S. E., wore to the S. S. W.—at 8 a. m. all sail sett for the Land.—at 9 a. m. ordered the Argus to the Eastward to look out for the storeship expected (from Malta), sent the Vixen to the Westward on the same errand, ordered





**AMERIGO VESPUCCI**  
**DISCOPRITORE**

*nacque nel MCCCCLI*  
*nell' ISOLE delle TERZIERE*



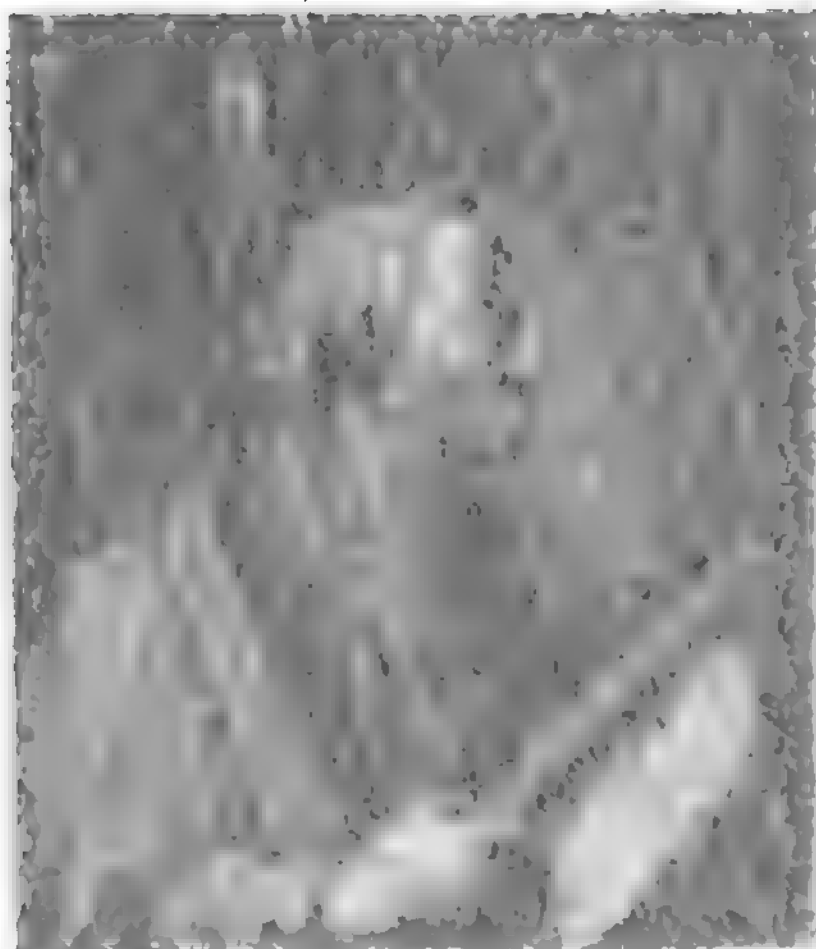
**NOBILE FIORENTINO**  
**DELL' AMERICA.**

*mori nel MDXVI*  
*nel PORTOGALLO*

*Cavato da un Quadro antico appreso l' Ill.<sup>mo</sup> Sig.<sup>ro</sup> Amerigo Vespucci*  
*Giuliano Traballoni del:*

*Fran.<sup>co</sup> Ugolini inc.*





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all the fleet on allowance of water, 2 Quarts pr. day, cooking & grog water included.—The prisoners at 1 quart pr. day, which is more than an equal proportion, as they are not exposed to the sun and have no work to do.—At noon we were about 5 Leagues from the coast. Tripoly bearing S. E. b. S. Lat.  $33^{\circ} 4'$  No.

*Tuesday, August 21st, 1804*—Moderate Breezes from the E. S. E. and pleasant weather.—standing in for the coast off Tripoly, all the Squadron in comp'y excepting the Argus on the look out to the Eastward. At 1 p. m. the Town of Tripoly in sight, bearing by compass S. E. b. S., 4 Leagues; an unexpected westerly current has carried the Squadron 4 or 5 Leagues farther to leeward than we expected, carrying a press of sail all night to gain our station off the Town. Wind variable in the night, by 7 a. m. the wind had shifted from E. S. E. to South, Tripoly bearing S. W. b. S., 5 Leagues.—At 9 a. m. saw a strange sail in the S. E. quarter, gave chase, made signal for the Argus and Vixen to chase; the other vessels of the Squadron repeating; at  $11\frac{1}{2}$  they bore up to comply with the signal.

*Wednesday, August 22d, 1804*.—Wind W. N. W., Light Breeze, in chase to S. E., made the signal for the Jno. Adams to act discretionary. At 3 p. m. brought to the chase, a Maltese ship from Malta, with a supply of water, Live stock & vegetables,—at 5 p. m. wind shifted to the S. E., the Argus was ordered to tow the store ship; at 7 p. m. we were 4 Leagues from Tripoly, standing for the [——] Jno Adams, Syren, Scourge & Nautilus at anchor.

## AMERICUS VESPUCIUS

## I

LETTER OF AMERRIGO VESPUCCI TO THE  
CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO  
(JIMÉNES DE CISNEROS) GIVING HIS  
OPINION UPON THE COMMODITIES  
PROPER TO BE CARRIED TO THE  
ANTILLES ISLANDS. SEVILLA,

9 OF DECEMBER 1508

*Translated for the Magazine from Cartas de  
Indias. Madrid 1877*

Very reverend and magnificent Lord.

I am so desirous to justify the confidence I receive from your most reverend highness that I shall not hesitate to express my opinion, although I am moved by no personal interest whatever and there is no profit to gain from what I may say, and I now answer as to what should be carried to the islands, whether it be better that it should go by one hand and your Highness receive the profit of it, as the King of Portugal has done in the case of the Mina del oro,\* or whether as I believe I understand to be the opinion of your Highness, every one should be free to take thither whatever he may choose.

I find a great difference between the trade of the King of Portugal and this; since the one was to send to the Moorish country, and to one place only, one or two commodities, valued at a certain price, for which his factors there were to respond with value of the same price or with merchandize. Here it is quite the contrary, since in that which should be carried to the islands there is a variety of all sorts of things of which persons may have need, clothing stuffs as well as clothing and many things necessary for buildings and farms, of which they take no account or



thought ; so that I consider that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for your Highness to arrange it in this manner, especially as many of the things which are necessary for the islands must be carried thither from other places than here; such, for instance, as the Canary and Portugese islands, from which they receive cattle, provisions and other necessities ; and for each thing a factor will be necessary, and of many of them no account can be kept, because some of them are consumed, some damaged, and others destroyed ; and for this reason, it seems to me, that this business cannot be transacted in the said manner, and if there be expectations that it may, I appeal to time for my witness.

If, however, your Highness desire to take any profit, from the entry of merchandize which may be carried to the islands, without care or cost, one of two ways occurs to me ; the one, to put a certain duty on every thing which is carried to the islands, such as may seem fit to your Highness, and every one be free to carry thither whatever he may choose ; the other is to entrust this business to merchants, who will share the profits with your Highness and supply everything needful without any care to your Highness, and this rule should govern such a company ; that the treasurer of your Highness in the said islands should be charged to look to the receipt and sale of the merchandize which may be sent thither in conjunction with the factor of the merchants, each one keeping his books, in which by his hands shall be set down an account of all that is sold.

And that an account shall be kept of the cost of all the merchandize which may be sent in each vessel, certified to by the Merchant and the Treasurer or other factor deputed by his Highness at Seville or in Cadiz, in order that, by it, an account may be closed in the islands of all that may be taken over by each vessel, and each may take his share of the profits, paying to the merchant his share of the merchandize with cost and freight, that thus order and accord may be had and no fraud or deceit be possible ; and as regards such things as may be brought hither from thence and from the islands above mentioned, and to know the cost thereof, the merchants and the factor of your Highness at Seville or Cadiz may confide the case to such person as they may judge proper.

This, with deference to those who know more than I, is my opinion.

From Seville, the 9th day of December, fifteen hundred and eight.

I humbly kiss the hands of your most reverend Highness.

AMERRIGO VESPUCCI  
master pilot.

*Endorsement.*—To the most reverend and magnificent Señor Cardinal of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo.

<sup>1</sup> *San Jorge de la Mina ó Elmina.* A factory and fortress on the northern coast of the Gulf of Guinea ; situated in 5° south and 15° 30' east of the meridian of Tenerife.

NOTE.—The original text of this letter, with a translation, and an introduction by Mr. George Dexter, has been recently reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Our own translation and the illustrations were prepared some time previous, but their publication delayed by the press of matter upon the columns of the Magazine. EDITOR.



name of Amerigo Vespucci has been immortalized, given, perhaps without his claiming it, to the extensive regions which the Spaniards discovered in the New World. Some fantastic reports which he sent to his Italian friends before 1505, added to and commentated by some writers no less fantastic, and which were spread over Europe, were the cause of all this; later, persons cognizant of the authentic writings which circulated in Spain concerning the discoveries, began about 1509 to call the land to which the reports referred, the land of Amerigo, of Américo, or Américas, while our nation continued to give it the name of the Indies without making any correction of the former, until, by the lapse of time, the imposition was commonly accepted.

Such is the caprice of fortune !

### III

#### THE SIGNATURE OF VESPUCCI

*Translated from Biographical Notes to Cartas de Indias*

In the greater number of the numerous documents which refer to Amerigo Vespucci the word is written in these different ways. In one letter, the third of those which he wrote to Lorenzo de Medicis, dated in 1504, and published in Latin in 1505, in which he referred to his voyage to the Indies, he styles himself AMERICUS VESPUTIUS; in the relation of the *Cuatro Navegaciones* (M. F. Navarrete, vol. iii, p. 191), Americi Vesputii; in other publications of the first year of the sixteenth century, ALBERICUS VESPUTIUS, ALBERICO VESPUTIUS Y VESPUTIO; in one of the letters written by Cristobal Colon to his son, Don Die-

go, he called him AMERIGO VESPUCHY; in a royal ordinance of the 11th of April, 1505, authorizing him to touch 12,000 maravédís gratification, AMERIGO DE ESPUCHE; in another royal ordinance of 24th of the same month and year, granting to him letters of naturalization in the kingdom of Castile, AMERIGO VEZPUCHE; in certificates of 1506-1507, AMERICO VESPUCE; in an ordinance of 22d March, 1508, granting other gratifications and extra pay, AMERIGO VISPUCE; in the Commission of Piloto-Mayor, which was sent to him the 6th of August, 1508, AMERIGO DESPUCHI; in a writing of the 12th of June, 1509, upon the sale of canvas, he signed (Navarrete, vol. iii, p. 323), AMERIGO VESPUCCI; in an ordinance of the 28th of March, 1512, devising a pension to his widow, Maria Cerezo, he calls himself AMERIGO VESPUCHI; his nephew Juan signed himself VESPUCII, and wrote in the same manner the surname of AMERIGO; the Abbé Bandini published the *Vita et lettere di Amerigo Vespucci*; and Antonio de Herrera called him, as he is to-day called, AMERICO VESPUCIO. Alone Don Juan Bautista Muñoz, who concealed the letter published in the *Cartas de Indias*, called the Florentine merchant *Amerigo Vespucci*.

### NOTES

LAFAYETTE'S LOST MASS.—The editor's article on Lafayette (II. 724) recalls an incident recorded in a letter addressed to the writer some time since by a member of the Order of Ursulines. Speaking of Sister St. Henry, who died at Brinley Place, Roxbury, Mass., from

the effects of the excitement when the convent on Mt. Benedict was burned by a brutal mob, the author of the letter in question refers to the funeral of Sister St. Henry as follows: "Sister St. Henry died at Roxbury \* \* \* \* \* forty days after the fire, and she had a most splendid funeral. At that time Lafayette died in France, when the Catholics in Boston made the finest preparations to have a Requiem Mass said for him; but when it was known that he died as he lived, they could not get the Mass said for him, so the dear St. Henry partook of *all* that was done to honor Lafayette." Sister St. Henry may be regarded, without exaggeration, as a martyr.

C.

#### A REMINISCENCE OF "RED JACKET."—

The following particulars respecting this celebrated Indian Chief and unrivalled native orator are extracted from the letter of a deceased New York merchant, Mr. William Hall, written in the year 1862. "I now send you a memorandum of my attending the Great Indian Treaty" (held at Buffalo. The venerable writer's ms. was deposited shortly after in the archives of the Buffalo Historical Society.) "The next time I saw Red Jacket was about the year 1820, at East Bloomfield, Ontario Co., N. Y., in company with an Indian chief who talked English. Asking him the age of Red Jacket, his companion addressed the inquiry to the chieftain, whose reply was, 'sixty years.' He was a shrewd cunning man, very proud, and although he could probably understand and speak some English, never would let it be heard from his lips. Some

three or four years after I saw him again at the Indian Treaty, held at Moscow, Livingston Co., N. Y., held in the Academy, at which time General Brooks and Messrs. Clarke and Gibson purchased the Gardeau Reservation of Mrs. Jameson, 'the White Woman'" (whose remarkable history has since been published in a volume). "Red Jacket and 19 other chiefs were there. He did not make a speech, and their assent to the sale was obtained. I had been to Mr. Clute's and took old Mrs. Jameson with me over to Moscow in my carriage, as also a lady from New Jersey, Miss Haines (an aunt of the late ex-Governor Haines) and then back to Mr. Clute's residence. The 'White Woman's' age was, at that time, as I should judge, about eighty. Mr. C. had made a dinner for the Chiefs in a long row, and nineteen sat at the table. Red Jacket was so much *intoxicated*\* that the host made him go out of the room and his seat at the table was vacant. The Chiefs behaved with great decorum, and in fact dignity. Pollard, one of them, was said to be pious, and as they all sat still for a few moments, it is thought that he asked a blessing. Miss Haines stood by me, looking at them, and remarked that she never saw nineteen gentlemen anywhere at table who behaved and appeared better."

\* The writer of this note once heard the late ex-President Fillmore, on an historical occasion, state that shortly after a certain business interview with Red Jacket in Buffalo, he had seen him furiously galloping through the streets, very noisy and quite under the power of liquor. What a melancholy contrast to the character of the venerable Cornplanter, a firm friend of temperance, as well as of peace and of Washington, so justly honored by the State of Pennsylvania with a noble monument to his memory.

W. H.

FOLLOW THE DRUM.—I think I have obtained at last, after twenty-two years occasional search, the old song of "the Drum," which Alexander Hamilton sang at the Dinner of the Cincinnati, July 4, 1804, just before the duel with Burr. Colonel Burr was present on the occasion, and the two men never met again till they met at Weehawken.

#### FOLLOW THE DRUM

'Twas in the merry month of May,  
When bees from flower to flower did hum,  
Soldiers through the town march'd gay,  
The village flew to the sound of the drum !  
From windows lasses look'd a score,  
Neighbours met at every door,  
Serjeant twirl'd his sash and story,  
And talk'd of wounds, honor, and glory.  
'Twas in the merry month, &c.

Roger swore he'd leave his plough,  
His team and tillage, all, by gum !  
Of a country life he'd had enow—  
He'd leave it all and follow the drum.  
He'd leave his thrashing in the barn,  
To thrash his foes right soon he'd learn,  
With sword in hand he would not parley,  
But thrash his foes instead of the barley.  
The Cobbler he threw by his awl,  
When all were glad, he'd ne'er be glum,  
But quick attend to glory's call,  
And like a man would follow the drum.  
No more at home he'd be a slave,  
But take his seat amid the brave ;  
In battle's seat none should be prouder,  
Stead of balls and wax, he'd have balls and powder.

The Tailor he got off his knees,  
And to the ranks did boldly come :  
He said he ne'er would sit at his ease,  
But follow the rest, and follow the drum.  
How he'd leather the foes, good Lord !  
When he'd a bodkin for a sword,  
The French should find he didn't weedle,  
When he'd a spear instead of a needle.

Three Old Women—the first was lame,  
The second was blind, and the third nigh dumb,  
To stay behind was a burning shame,  
They'd follow the men, and follow the drum !  
Our wills are good, but lack-a-day,  
To catch the soldiers we will try for it,  
For where there's a will, there's always a way,  
We'll walk a mile or two if we die for them.

The song comes from a friend in England (T. Buttes Gunn, well known

here). It is just the kind of rude song men of that day liked to sing after dinner. If we could only get the music now the thing would be complete. The effect of the song was probably due to the singers' personification of the characters, particularly the old women.

*Newburyport.* JAMES PARTON.

THE AMERICAN DARBIES. — In the name of several families residing on the eastern shore of Virginia occurs the strangest case I ever met with of variation in the spelling and pronunciation of a proper name. It leaves the familiar Cholmondely, Beauvoir, and even Arcedeckne (which is pronounced Archdeacon), far behind ; for in these there is *some* relation between orthography and orthoepy. But in the families I refer to there is not apparently the least reason for pronouncing the patronymic in the way it is pronounced, rather than in any other way that might be arbitrarily selected. The name is written Enroughty, and is pronounced Darby. I learned this undoubted fact during a visit to Virginia many years since, and was assured that the people who bear the name know no more than this, that their forefathers spelled and pronounced their name as I have given it. A few years since I happened to be placed at a *table d'hôte* in Italy beside a very agreeable Englishman ; and in the course of our talk discovered that he was a collector of strange surnames. I told him about these Virginians, and he was forced to acknowledge that this beat, if not the Dutch, certainly the English. After a few moments he turned round to me and exclaimed with triumph, "I know why

your Enroughtys are called Darbies." "If you do, you are wiser than they are," I answered. "I do. My wife was a County Clare woman; and I remember hearing that some generations ago certain families of the county, named Enright or Enracht (they spelled the name in both ways), emigrated to the States. They belonged to the sect known as Derby-ites, and the common term of derision used to one of that sect was, 'He's an old Derby' (pronounced Darby)." My agreeable neighbor was, as I afterwards learned, the late Bishop of Gibraltar.

A. D.

*Boston.*

THE FOOLISH PURITANS.—Nor doth London abound with all things so plentifully for the belly alone, but also for the back, either to keep it warm or make it gay; what varieties of woollen Stuffs there are in every Shop, with broad Cloth equal to the price of Silk, being come to that height of perfection that some hath bin made of ten pounds a yard in price; But the Hollanders and others have now got the art of making our Stuffs and Cloths, by those foolish giddy headed Puritans that pretended to fly for persecution of their Consciences, whereby they have done their own Country no little mischief in this particular, as in many things besides.—*Howell's Londinopolis*, 1657, page 397.

W. K.

QUEENSTON PRISONERS.—The following list of prisoners taken at Queenston, October 13, 1812, paroled 19th October, may interest some of the readers of the Magazine:

Gen. Wadsworth, Cols. Strenchan,

Mead, Allen; Majors Spencer, Holand, Smith; Captains Brown, Clark, Patten-gill, Bacon, Root, Stanley, Ireland, Bacon, Clark, Eldridge, Elice, Sutton, Barber, Brinkerhoff, Cronk, Whitney; Lieutenants Smith, Shepard, Culley, Haight, Phillips, Robartson, Randal, Price, Field, Holcomb, Kirkler, Daniels, Richmond, Wilan, Gray, T. Smith, Alexander; Ensigns Cobb, Sperry, Waldron, White, Haight, Denton, Peck, Boughton, Ireland.

J. F. T.

*Niagara Falls.*

\* CUSTOMS OF THE CHEROKEES. — In turning over the files of the Weekly Recorder, published at Chillicothe, O., I found in the number bearing date August 21, 1816, an "Interesting extract of a letter from Col. R. J. Meigs, dated Cherokee Agency, July 6, 1816," in which he describes the Green Corn Dance, or the Feast of the First Fruits, as he had "attentively seen it performed." I make the following extract from it, as illustrating some remarkable coincidences with the Jewish customs:

"Formerly they had practiced frequent washings; these were resorted to after going through bodily exercises—perhaps of dancing; the whole meeting, on such occasions, went to the clear stream and plunged in. This was intended to express that they were then cleansed of all moral impurity—that however they might have done wrong before, the wrong was now done away, and no more to be considered as any part of their character. This corresponds with my personal observation; for they never reproach each other of former deviations from right.

"They formerly had cities of refuge, whither a person who had killed a Cherokee might flee. This was an excellent institution, as it gave time for the passions of the deceased to subside. In some cases compromises were made for pecuniary compensation, especially in cases of an accidental character. They have since deviated from that wise custom, and in every instance required life for life as forfeit, without any qualification; but they have now returned to a more humane procedure, and in some instances make equitable discrimination."

*Zanesville, Ohio.* J. HOPE SUTOR.

DUCKING A FEMALE SCOLD. — The barbarous sentence recently pronounced in Philadelphia of ducking a female, as a punishment for being a scold, has roused the indignation of every reflecting person in the community. Is there to be no end to the introduction into our courts of practices which even despots have become ashamed of, and erased from their codes of law. We had thought that the extension of knowledge as to criminal matters would have served as a guaranty against such abuses. Instead of this, we seem to have retrograded a century at least in our ideas as to the fitness and utility of punishment. The instance before us is only equalled by the practice of boring the ear, and branding the hand, which obtains in Rhode Island, where men who call themselves republicans submit to be governed by virtue of a *royal* charter. We are glad to find that steps are taking to wipe off the disgrace consequent on pronouncing so abhorrent a sentence. — *The Globe, New York, November 6, 1824.*

IULUS.

JEFFERSON'S SUMMARY VIEW. — In Thomas Jefferson's Autobiography it is said of the author's pamphlet of 1774, entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," that "it found its way to England, was taken up by the Opposition, interpolated a little by Mr. Burke, so as to make it answer Opposition purposes, and in that form ran rapidly through several editions." But there are no interpolations in the English reprint. It has, however, a prefatory address, evidently not by Burke. *New York.* F. BURDGE.

UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL OF THE BURGoyNE CAMPAIGN. — General Horatio Rogers, of Providence, has recently become possessed of several important original documents relating to the Burgoyne campaign of 1777, the chief of which, a ms. journal kept by a British Lieutenant (afterwards Major-General) Hadden, who served in the Royal Artillery on that expedition, Mr. Rogers is now preparing for the press. In this historical treasure are also several Orderly Books of the artillery corps under the command of General Phillips, which are of great importance, as they fill the two gaps in the Burgoyne Orderly Book, published by himself, some leaves of which were missing. One of these leaves contained a general order from General Phillips, which reflected upon the use of army carts by the Commander-in-Chief, Burgoyne, for the transportation of his personal baggage. W. L. S.

A JACKSONIAN TOAST. — At a dinner provided for a select number of Democratic politicians at Washington, July 4,

1830, the following extraordinary toast was offered by Ambrose Lynch, and drank with all the honors :

Jackson's fair political bark  
The certain emblem of Noah's Ark.  
The deluge bark preserved eight human beings,  
Jackson's bark saved full eight millions ;  
Sons of the brave Columbus, can you ever sanction  
The defamation of brave Andrew Jackson ?

PETERSFIELD.

A MEDAL TO COOPER.—I have in my possession a curious medal. It has on one side the bust of Cooper in relief, with the inscription "The personification of honor, truth and justice." On the other side is the inscription "To Fennimore Cooper, the offering of a grateful heart for his disinterested vindication of his brother sailor Jesse D. Elliott."

The medal is two inches in diameter.

J. S. BLACKBURN.

Alexandria, Va.

HUMBLE PIE.—Captain Edward Mott's company being insulted by a couple of rascally *tories*, as they passed through the town of Litchfield, the two offenders found it necessary to extinguish the flames of resentment they had kindled by eating a hearty meal of what is vulgarly called HUMBLE PYE.—*Hartford Letter*, June 9, 1775, *Conn. Gazette*.

CONTINENTAL.

## QUERIES

LORD PERCY AT BRANDYWINE.—(II, 121, 311.) An English member of the Society of Friends, Robert Sutcliff, in his "Travels in some parts of North America, 1804-5-6," published at York, England, 1815, mentions at that early

date the tradition that a Percy was slain at the battle of the Brandywine. On page 223 he says, "2d month, 20. The ground I travelled over this day was the scene of much bloodshed during the revolutionary war ; it being that part of the country where the battle of Brandywine was fought. *My companion was present at the time*, with several other friends, who were led forth by the dictates of humanity, in order to lend some assistance to the poor wounded and dying soldiers that lay scattered over the fields through an extent of several miles. On this occasion, Friends' meeting house of Birmingham was converted into a hospital, in which many of the poor mangled creatures breathed their last, &c., &c. Amongst those who ended their earthly career in this meeting house were several officers, who were buried in Friends' burying ground. *One of these, a near connection of the Duke of Northumberland, was a young man of the name of Percy*, whose amiable and exemplary conduct, under his severe sufferings, had procured him the particular regard and esteem of the friends about him."

Was the companion to whom he refers the Joseph Townsend mentioned [II, 311], or another witness to the death of young Percy ? Sutcliff's account is certainly earlier than that of Colonel Stone, or Watson, and written at a time not so remote from the year of the battle, gives the legend an aspect of truth.

HORACE EDWARD HAYDEN.

Brownsville.

OLD AND NEW CHRISTMAS.—Hearing this expression used by an "old country body," and asking its meaning, I learned



that in some parts of Scotland, and in the north of Ireland, the term "Old Christmas" is used to designate Twelfth-day, or Epiphany (the sixth of January); whilst the twenty-fifth of December is known as "New Christmas." I find that this distinction is familiar to the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, who are noted for their strict *non*-observance of canonical feasts. How is it to be accounted for? The difference between old and new style would not explain it, for Christmas-day, old style, would be January *fifth*, new style.

It is at least a curious coincidence that this distinction should agree precisely with the facts as recorded in church history. "The greatest Part of the Eastern Church," says Bingham, "for Three or Four of the first Ages kept the Feast of CHRIST's Nativity on the same Day which is now called *Epiphany*, or the Sixth of January." (*Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book xx, c. iv, § 2.) "After the 25th December was solemnized in the fourth century in the west as the birth-festival, this day," according to Gieseler, "came soon to be looked upon as the day of birth." (*Compendium of Eccles. History*, vol. I, p. 60, note.)

I learn that among the Irish Roman Catholics the two festivals are sometimes distinguished as "Great and Little Christmas," a distinction more easily understood, between the beginning and the closing days of the Christmas season.

Is any such usage maintained among the descendants of the Scotch-Irish emigrants to this country? C. W. B.

THE CLINTON FAMILY.—Can any of your English readers give information regarding the parentage of William Clinton, who was an officer in the army of Charles of First? On the downfall of that monarch, he was obliged to fly to the Continent for safety, went from thence to Scotland, where he married a lady of the family of Kennedy, and from thence to Ireland, where he died, leaving one son, James. James, who became an officer in the army under Queen Anne, went to England as soon as he reached manhood, to recover his patrimonial estates, but failed, on account of the limitation of an Act of Parliament. His son Charles emigrated to America in 1829.

I would like to know, also, what positions were held in the British army by William and James Clinton.

New York.

M. E. B.

LAFAYETTE AND FATHER MATHEW.—Did Lafayette ever become an American citizen?

Did Kosciusko?

Did Father Mathew?

If any correspondent can give correct information and authority in this matter it would be a great favor.

New York.

ISAAC F. WOOD.

THE QUIDEN.—Will some student of the Indian tongues inform the readers of the Magazine of the exact meaning of the word "Quiden," used by the New England Indians. Did it refer to a bark canoe, to a "dug out," or to a larger vessel? QUID.

LOST LOCALITIES.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me of the whereabouts of the following localities :

The Forest of Dean in England is an old country historical locality. The Forest of Dean, in the Colony of New York, was its namesake. Where was the former, and where was the latter ; and as to the latter, who were the grantees, and what is its history and its present status ?

Where was "the Slote," an interesting locality in the colonial and revolutionary history of New York colony and State ?

Where was the Manor of Mask ? In what one of the American colonies, and what is the history of this Manor ?

Where was, or is, Conowago Chapel ? It was an early Catholic mission in northern Maryland or southern Pennsylvania. What is its history ?

J. B. B.

SAMUEL DODGE.—In the New York line of the Continental Army two officers of this name served ; one in the 4th and the other in the 5th N. Y. They served through the War, and at its close, joined the Cincinnati in 1783, one with the rank of First Lieutenant and the other that of Ensign. One was prisoner of war in 1780, and writes from Long Island as such. Were they father and son ? Members of the same family ? How can their record be separated and distinguished ? And what was the place of their original enlistment ?

R. D.

ANDRÉ'S REMAINS.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine of American

History inform me where I can find an account of the removal of André's remains from their burial place, at Tappan, to Westminster Abbey ? W. N.

*Paterson, N. J.*

NATHAN HALE.—In an article in the Sun of the 28th December last, occurs the following passage: "There is some doubt as to the precise spot in this city where Nathan Hale was hanged, but the most trustworthy tradition locates it between the present County Court House and the Hall of Records."

What is the tradition to which the Sun refers, and on what is it founded ?

MANHATTAN.

DON GALVEZ. — Elliott's Debates, Supp. Vol. 5, p. 88, notices the fact that a portrait of Don Galvez, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana during the Revolution, and a warm friend of the American colonies, was presented to the United States Congress by Oliver Pollock, Esq., United States Commercial Agent at New Orleans. This statement of Elliott's is corroborated by a manuscript letter of Oliver Pollock, preserved in the United States Archives, at Washington. The portrait was presented on May 8th, 1783, when the Congress was in session at Philadelphia. Can any one state whether the said portrait is still in existence and where ?

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

*Brownsville, Pa.*

THE BELL OF INDEPENDENCE.—Who rang the bell on Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 4, 1776 ? George Lippard, in his Legends of the American

Revolution, says it was "an old man with white hair and sunburnt face." Barnes' Centenary History also describes him as an aged man, I think, but in neither is his name mentioned.

*Meyerstown, Penn.*

R. E. W.

GATES' BURIAL PLACE.—Where was the hero of Saratoga buried? The newspapers of the day describe the funeral as having been attended by the Cincinnati Society. He was buried without parade, as he particularly requested in his will, but where I have not been able, after long search, to ascertain.

SARATOGA.

### REPLIES

BATTLE OF MONMOUTH. (II, 408, 569, 758; III, 58.)—This reply is addressed, collectively, to Trenton, T. H. M., and R. C. So far from conceding any errors, further examination confirms all my original statements.

Lafayette, advising Washington, 25th June, when the enemy were already at Allentown, did not seem to consider that the British moved slowly. "We (Americans) will be obliged to march pretty fast, if we want to attack them." "Wil. Livingston, Gov. N. J., addressing Lee, 22d June, judges correctly that the British halted at (Mount) Holly throughout the 21st, simply to bring up their rear, i. e., close up. He mentions no expectation of defending this, a very strong or any other position.

Marshall says, "General Maxwell, who had been posted at Mount Holly, retired on his (Clinton's) approach, and joined General Dickinson, who was col-

lecting the Jersey militia; but they were able to give *very little other interruption* to the march of the enemy, than was produced by breaking up the bridges in his route." (Marshall, III, 419.)

Mount Holly was a very important tactical point, and ought to have been tenaciously held. Gov. Livingston's idea, however, "was *not* to *retard* the British, but to drive the rascals thro' the State as soon as possible."

What did "the militia of New Jersey in the highest spirit and almost to a man in arms" accomplish towards retarding Clinton. It did not require soldiers to break down a few petty bridges, to cut down trees, and to drive horses and other live stock away from the British line of march. Common laborers, old men, or even good sized boys sufficed for such work.

Colonel Laurens, addressing his father, 30th June, remarks apparently even of the day of Monmouth. "The militia of the country kept up a random, running fire with the Hessian Jagers; no mischief was done on either side."

Washington did not believe in militia proper, a bit more than do the entire mass of military critics, but doubtless found it politic sometimes to let fall a few drops of commendation in the shape of honeyed-words, which made no draft upon the army chest.

Clinton was retarded by the exhaustion of his men and horses, in consequence of the unparalleled heat—a muggy suffocating temperature, alternating with heavy showers—difficult, deep, and sandy roads; the superfluity of *useless*, as well as of necessary equipages, &c., &c., out of all proportion to

his fighting forces, and the extra vigilance requisite to stop the wholesale desertion of his disaffected Germans. Eight months Capuan occupation of Philadelphia had entirely relaxed the troops—uniformed and equipped as they were to the extreme *possible* of disabling red-tape-minuteness—so that they broke down at once upon a fresh start under tropical heat. For like reasons the horses gave out rapidly. The militia swarming around may have favored, or rather countenanced, desertion by their mere presence at a distance, and prevented the sweeping in of fresh horses, &c., of which Clinton stood in absolute need.

Even at Crosswicks Creek—a very defensible line—"When the advanced party, under Lt.-Col. Simcoe, appeared, they (the Americans) prudently retired, taking up the planks of the bridge \* \* \* and *making an appearance* of contesting the passage \* \* \* the Rangers \* \* \* crossing over on the timbers of the bridge, and gallantly pursuing without catching the retreating militia."

Consider the advantageous positions of Dickinson's N. J. militia, 1,200 to 1,300, and Maxwell's Brigade of Continentals, on Clinton's left flank; of Gen. Cadwalader with Jackson's Continental regiment and Gen. Lacey's Philadelphia Volunteers and militia in his rear; and of Morgan, with 600 riflemen—the best troops of the kind in the whole world—on his right. Except by the application of manual labor is there any evidence that either of these bodies stopped or altered the march of the British for one hour. Even at Monmouth, the militia were repulsed, Clinton says, "by the pickets of one, the

40th Regt., and one troop of the 17th Light Dragoons."

Clinton had marched about, if not more than, 60 miles in six small *parts* of days. Six *small parts* of days are emphasized, because two days out of eight were consumed in handling and changing the relative position of his material and getting his most reliable troops into closest proximity to the only enemy he feared, the acclimated men of Valley Forge—the regiments which Steuben had drilled. From 10 A. M., 26th, to 8 A. M., 28th, Clinton took his ease at Freehold. His movements in retreat were not hastened or retarded by any interruption from the Americans in pursuit, who had to move at the same rate as the British on account of the high temperature (G. W. G., II, 87; Sparks' Writings of Washington, V, 416; 423).

"Trenton" quotes Sir Henry but *italicises* the wrong sentence. He emphasises the words which refer to simple manual labor, he does not italicise the words "without any interruption," that reflect upon soldiership. If "*Trenton*" wishes me to concede that the American militia were industrious *citizens*, capable of accomplishing, daily, a great amount of manual labor, the argument is at an end.

Finally, as to when Clinton moved from Monmouth, Washington Irving adopts Clinton's statement that "at 10 o'clock, when the Americans were buried in their first sleep, he (Clinton) had set forward." The same magic slumber that sealed the senses of the Americans at Monmouth, fettered the faculties of the pickets of both armies (Union and Rebel) after the carnage and confusion

of the third day's conflict at Gettysburg (3d July, '63). If Clinton did so depart, then, founding my calculations on Gordon's data, the British, moving in a flat country eastward, i. e., *from the moon's setting*, had the benefit of an hour's moonlight, if not more. This judgment was not jumped at, but reached after consultation with experts, as well as personal observation during the past summer.

There is no doubt that N. J. militia individually were as brave as any militia enjoying equal advantages, but no militia that ever existed has ever been worth anything, as Washington observed, in the open field when opposed to regulars. (Sparks' Writings of Washington.)

Wayne, who fought the best at Monmouth, and fought well always, everywhere, has left a curious corroborative opinion on record. In a letter to Washington he speaks of his "insuperable bias in favor of an elegant uniform and soldierly appearance; so much so, that I would much rather risk my life and reputation, at the head of the same men, in an attack, clothed and appointed as I could wish, merely with bayonets and a single charge of ammunition, than to take them as they appear in common, with sixty rounds of cartridges. It may be a false idea, but I cannot help cherishing it." (Moore's Wayne, 83.)

If the British army *retreating* moved slowly, what epithet will apply to the American forces *pursuing*. The latter must have marched much more slowly, because it is certain that if Washington's soldiers did come up with Clinton it was not through any action of the militia—the holding or arresting power of

the military, or even their labors—but simply because the British commander deliberately halted a day at Mount Holly, another at Allentown, and 46 hours at Freehold. (Further testimony omitted for want of space.) J. W. de P.

METAL OBJECTS FROM INDIAN TUMULI.—(III. 47). Considering the proximity of the gold mines of North Carolina and Georgia, whose auriferous regions must have been to some extent known to the aborigines of that section, it is very remarkable that the primitive gold ornament mentioned by Hon. C. C. Jones, Jr., as found by him in a mound in Georgia should be such a rarity. It is much more surprising than the fact mentioned by Col. Jones in his valuable contribution to the history of the early races of the South, that "of the many mounds opened by him along South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, not one copper implement or ornament of native manufacture was found." Lake Superior copper very seldom found its way south of the Ohio river, even in the crude state in which it has been picked up east of the Alleghenies.

But considering the proximity of the vast treasures of copper in the Lake Superior district; the wideness of primitive mining mentioned by Foster; the superstitious veneration in which the Indians held the ore in its native state, noticed by the Jesuit missionaries; the rich find by Mr. Perkins, in Wisconsin, of copper implements described by Prof. Butler—it is a still more remarkable fact that so few copper implements or ornaments of native manufacture have been found in the mounds lying

east of the Ohio river, in West Virginia and Western Pennsylvania.

In the State of West Virginia, along the line of the Ohio and Kanawha rivers, exist a great number of very interesting tumuli and some fine fortifications, which have apparently escaped the notice of archaeologists. Many of these tumuli have been carefully examined by myself, as well as by others, especially those lying in the bottoms along the Ohio. Yet not one implement or ornament, gold, silver or copper, of native manufacture, has been found to my knowledge, except those unearthed in the Grave Creek Mound. In the valuable and extensive collection of mound relics owned by Dr. Samuel G. Shaw of Point Pleasant, West Virginia, there is not a single specimen.

In his account of the investigations of the Grave Creek Mound, published in the *American Pioneer*, Mr. Tomlinson mentions the discovery of five copper bracelets. These are spoken of by Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft in the twelfth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1842, as "five copper bracelets or arm bands, but without being soldered at the point of juncture."

Mr. McFadden, the present owner of the Grave Creek Mound, says, in a letter published in "*Cherry's History and Vindication of the Grave Creek Stone*," that his wife still possesses "a few bone beads that were strung on COPPER WIRE around the neck of the large skeleton which was found in the shaft, 30 feet from the top of the mound."

Mr. Foster (p. 257) mentions a copper bracelet, found by him in a mound

in Charleston, Ohio, as "not an uncommon ornament," but I do not remember reading any where else of *copper wire* as among the manufactures of the moundbuilders. The malleability of Lake Superior copper in its native state is so great that a wire could be hammered out without the use of heat.

But the implements noticed by Mr. Foster and Mr. Butler among the rich collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society as manufactured by the smelting process, are not the only evidences that the moundbuilders possessed the knowledge of working metals by fire. Mr. Alfred Huidekoper, a gentleman of archæological taste, living in Meadville, Penn., showed me this past summer a string of eight or ten copper discs, taken from a mound on French Creek, below Meadville, which were evidently *cast*. They are about an inch and a half in diameter, concave, with a thickness of one-sixteenth of an inch, perforated in the centre, and about the shape of the base and stem of an ordinary wine-glass. They were evidently meant for ornaments, and possibly were strung originally on skin or copper wire, with circumference to circumference, or apex to apex, thus forming a graceful ornament, as each disc follows very nearly the "line of beauty" in its conformation. There may have been other discoveries of metallic remains among the Western Virginia and Pennsylvania mounds, but during a residence of eleven years among them I have heard of no others of primitive manufacture. It may be worthy of mention that the drawing of the Grave Creek Mound tablet, as published in the *Journal of the*

Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XII, p. 260, differs in several of its characters very materially from the drawing as published in American works; and also that Mr. Cherry has made out a very strong case, in favor of the tablet, in his brief pamphlet lately issued.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

*Brownsville, Penn.*

STINKING LINGO INDIANS.—(II. 632.) The Muskokee or Creek Confederacy, in the eighteenth century, was composed of the Muskokees, or Creeks proper, and a number of broken tribes in alliance with them, some of which spoke languages closely akin to the pure Muskokee.

The *Alabama* and *Cusawte* spoken by the towns about the head of the Alabama river and for some distance below, and the *Hitchitee* or *Chelokee* spoken by many towns on the Chattahooche and Apalachicola rivers were dialects of Muskokee, with a large infusion of Choctaw, or Chickasaw words, in their vocabularies.

These impure dialects were called by the white traders and Indian countrymen the *Stinkard* language. This name is probably a translation of the Muskokee, *Opunaka fumpeepe* ("language stinking").

The Muskokees always regarded themselves as the blue blood of the Nation. They claimed that their language was the mother-tongue, and that the Choctaw and Chickasaw were only dialects of Muskokee. See Bartram's *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, etc.* London Ed., 1792,

pp. 463, 464, 517. Bartram (pp. 461, 462) gives a list of the principal towns on the Chattahooche, Tallapoosa, and Coosa rivers, with a statement of the language or dialect spoken by each.

The "Cussitau town" mentioned in the Charleston letter, from which "Petersfield" quotes, was on the Chattahooche, not far below the site of the modern city of Columbus, Georgia. The Cussetas spoke Muskokee, but the Chehaws, who lived in a town hard by, spoke a Stinkard tongue, probably Hitchitee.

Among the Natchez the common people, whose language differed in many respects from that of the nobles, were called *Michemiche-quipy*, and this expressive term was translated by the French, *puants*, "stinkards." See Le Page du Pratz, *Hist. de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, Tome II, pp. 321-325, 393, 394. W. S. WYMAN.

*Tuscaloosa, Ala.*

IOWA SAC AND MISSION PRESS.—(III. 55.) This press was located at the Iowa Mission, near what is now Highland, Doniphan county, Kansas, under the charge of Rev. S. M. Irwin and William Hamilton. A grammar of the Iowa language and an elementary speller and definer were printed. Of the first, I know of two copies, one perfect in the Kansas Historical Society, another, imperfect, in my possession. Of the second, I do not think there is a copy in existence, having searched for one for twenty years without success. *Deposit.*

J. B. D.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By MOSES COIT TYLER, Professor of English Literature in the University of Michigan. Vol. I, 1607-1676. Vol. II, 1677-1765. 8vo, pp. 292-330. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1878.

These are the first in a series of volumes, in which the author proposes to write the history of American literature, from the earliest English settlements in this country to the present time. The year 1765, when the Stamp Act Congress first crystallized the elements of national life, and first gave it expression in the famous protest against the inequality and injustice of English rule, is appropriately chosen as the close of the period when American thought, and consequently American literature, was too subordinate to English teaching, example and control to deserve a distinctive national name; for it must not be forgotten that even the most peculiar traits of each of the separate colonies were not original with themselves, but derived from the various sections of the mother country from which they emigrated; the faults as well as the virtues of the colonists are directly and easily traceable to their kin beyond the sea; even the peculiarities of speech, which afford so much amusement to our English cousins, while rapidly disappearing from among ourselves, are to be found in all their original drollness in the counties of our mother country. During the period covered by the two volumes before us it can hardly be claimed that an American literature existed, except in a local application of the term. Not only the great masters of style were English, but the channels of thought, and to a great extent the thought itself which moved through these channels, were English also. Examined without reference to their influence upon the literature that followed, which was and is perhaps only within a quarter of a century so distinctive in character as to entitle it to the name of American, this account of our earlier writers has little beyond an antiquarian interest. Examined on the other hand with reference to the literature which is now our pride, this careful recital of the long and gradual processes by which the American mind emerged from the trammels of foreign control, this admirable analysis of the literary conditions which governed the widely differing communities of the Eastern, Middle and Southern Colonies, assumes its true place and importance. In itself it demonstrates that American literature is no longer in its swaddling clothes, and that American authors no longer need the cuddling care of English nurses. The time is long past when of any American work in any

line of literature it can be doubted, as of Bryant's masterpiece, when it first made its appearance, "that it could have been written in America."

The universal praise which Mr. Tyler's work has elicited is warrant not only of its excellence, but of its timeliness. Its manner of treatment is admirable. It is what it sets out to be—not a biography of American writers, nor yet a repertory of their writings, but a history of American literature, with just enough of personal anecdote to interest us in the one and sufficient extracts to give illustration of the other; the general sketch thus acquiring a racy flavor, while each particular branch has its own particular aroma.

In his style Mr. Tyler is himself thoroughly American. In every page he reveals some of the strong traits of his New England origin. He is assertive, without being didactic, in the expression of his opinion and judgments, and always original, while a vein of humor gives zest to his narrative, and carries the interest of the readers safely over many a rough rock and slippery quicksand. And there are occasional passages of extreme beauty as well as vigor. In the utter impossibility of giving even a bald analysis of these excellent volumes, we quote from his chapter on the Verse-writers of New England a passage remarkable for fine critical point and verve of expression, while presenting some of the exaggerations of his forcible style: "The Puritan," he says, "very naturally turned away likewise from great and splendid types of literature—from the drama, from the playful and sensuous verse of Chaucer and his innumerable sons, from the secular prose writings of his contemporaries, and from all forms of modern lyric verse, except the Calvinistic hymn. Nevertheless the Puritan did not succeed in eradicating poetry from his nature. Of course poetry was planted there too deep even for his theological grub-hooks to root it out. Though denied expression in one way, the poetry that was in him forced itself into utterance in another. If his theology drove poetry out of many forms in which it had been used to reside, poetry itself practiced a noble revenge by taking up its abode in his theology. His supreme thought was given to theology; and there he nourished his imagination with the mightiest and sublimest conceptions that a human being can entertain—conceptions of God and man, of angels and devils, of Providence and duty and destiny, of heaven, earth, hell. Though he stamped his foot in horror and scorn upon many exquisite and delicious types of literary art; stripped society of all its embellishments, life of all its amenities,



sacred architecture of all its grandeur, the public service of divine worship, of the hallowed pomp, the pathos and beauty of its most reverend and stately forms; though his prayers were often a snuffle, his hymns a dolorous whine, his extemporized liturgy a bleak ritual of ungainly postures and of harsh monotonous howls; yet the idea that filled and stirred his soul was one in every way sublime, immense, imaginative, poetic—the idea of awful omnipotent Jehovah, his inexorable justice, his holiness, the inconceivable brightness of his majesty, the vastness of his unchanging designs along the entire range of his relations with the hierarchies of heaven, the principalities and powers of the pit, and the elect and reprobate of the sons of Adam. How resplendent and superb was the poetry that lay at the heart of Puritanism, was seen by the sightless eyes of John Milton, whose great epic is indeed the epic of Puritanism."

There is a unity in the period treated of in these volumes, which makes them complete in themselves. Indeed, an excellent index ties them together. In those that are to follow the author will have to deal with material of quite another character. If they shall realize the full promise of the present perfect performance, Mr. Tyler will take rank among the best analytic literary critics, not only of American literature, but of the written English tongue.

ADDRESSES AND SPEECHES ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS FROM 1869 TO 1879. By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. 8vo, pp. 506. LITTLE, BROWN & Co. Boston, 1878.

In 1852 Mr. Winthrop gathered together and published, under the same title as that of the volume now before us, the principal speeches and addresses made during his public career in the State Legislature of Massachusetts and the National House of Representatives. He was one of the recognized leaders of the Whig party during the hey-day of its power and glory. His opinions, therefore, of men and events during the hot controversies which culminated in the political cataclysm of 1856, when the Republican party sprung into full life in a single campaign from the free soil element of both the great national parties, are a valuable, if not indispensable, aid to a full understanding of the reasons which withheld men like himself from acquiescence in the new order of political division.

Retiring from political life at this time, he nevertheless continued to devote his leisure, which an ample fortune permits him to direct at will, to public concerns. In 1867 he published a second volume, containing his speeches and addresses from 1852 until that date, which may properly be termed the second epoch in his career. In these the whole circle of charitable

and educational institutions is treated, and always with broad philanthropy and practical good sense. Still, in the midst of these engrossing and elevating occupations, in which he was daily called upon to grace by his presence and dignity, by his character, the outward manifestations by which the promoters of good either made or vindicated their claim to public favor, the blood of the old partisan stirred at the well-known trumpet sound. In his letter of October, 1855, to the Whig Executive Committee he defined, as it has been nowhere else so clearly defined, the principles of the Whigs of Massachusetts and pleaded for the life of the doomed party. In September of the next year he presided over the Whig Convention, which met at Tremont Temple, and pronounced himself in favor of Mr. Fillmore for the Presidency. In 1860 he followed the fortunes of Bell and Everett, and was one of the devoted handful who were squeezed to death between the upper and nether millstones. In 1864 Mr. Winthrop supported McClellan, and even spoke in his behalf in New York City at the ratification meeting. But in all these speeches, warm as many of them are, the natural amenity of the man subdued and tempered the spirit of the partisan. It needed the awful historical crime of April, 1865, to force upon universal attention the remarkable, almost providential, characteristics of the lamented Lincoln, and it is not surprising to find that among the tributes to his courage, moderation and magnanimity none was more instant, hearty and appropriate than that of Mr. Winthrop before the Massachusetts Historical Society, the dignified body of which he is still the honored President.

The new volume, apart from the literary or oratorical character of any of its contents, is interesting, as covering with greater elaboration one special field of his own career of usefulness. It describes the origin and progress of some of our great public institutions—the Peabody Education Trust, the Peabody Museum, the Charity Bureau, the Sanders (Harvard) University Theatre; and interspersed are numerous appreciations of the character of the notables of our public life, the record of whom it has fallen to Mr. Winthrop in his many official posts to dignify and honor.

These volumes show what use a man may make of his talents in this republican country of ours, and we are not ashamed to challenge a comparison of the practical usefulness of the life of their author with that of any of the leaders of civilization on the other side of the Atlantic.

ORATORY AND ORATORS. BY WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 456. S. C. GRIGGS & Co. Chicago, 1879.

Rarely does it fall to the reviewer's task to call the attention of his readers to so fascinating

a book as this ; to one so full in every sense. The work is a plea in favor of the orator, and one early chapter poses the question, "whether oratory is or is not a lost art ?" in his answer to which the author says it is certain that civilized men in proportion as they increase in culture will avoid whatever is highflown in oratory, study brevity and plainness, and keep to the subject before them. This is too broad an assertion. None more than highly cultivated men enjoy true oratory, where lofty thoughts are married to sonorous speech, while mein and gesture give illustration and point to the argument. But when the details of a book are so charming, it is invidious to quarrel with what after all is simply too broad a generalization.

Mr. Mathews brings a generous scholarship and wide reading, a fine critical acumen and a delightful enthusiasm to his analysis of the different powers of the famous orators of the world. Most interesting to us are his chapters on English and American statesmen, and his comparison of the two giants of the British and American forum, Webster and Burke, the Gog and Magog of English oratory. To neither does he assign the palm ; and indeed their different orders of genius (for we utterly repudiate Mr. Mathews' dictum, that the one had *talent* and the other *genius*) do not admit of comparison.

In a final plea for oratorical culture, some excellent advice is given to all those who would command or lead by word of mouth. We commend these thoughts with hearty praise, and with no less satisfaction the forcible and lucid language in which they are clothed, and the admirable construction of the phrases which carry them to the reason with resistless force.

#### RECORDS OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF VERMONT. Vol.

VI. Edited and published by the authority of the State by E. P. WALTON. 8vo, pp. 574. Montpelier press of J. & S. M. POLAND. 1878.

This continuation of the printed records of Vermont opens with the Minutes of the Thirty-seventh Council, October, 1813, and ends with those of the Forty-fifth, October, 1822, an interesting period in the history of the country. A voluminous appendix contains the speeches of the Governors, the New York boundary questions, amendments to the Federal Constitution, the Hartford Convention, Vermont in the war of 1812, Slavery and the Missouri question, and the Rights of the States to the Public Lands. It is well indexed, and is illustrated by portraits of Governors Chittenden, Skinner and Smith, of whom biographical sketches are given.

The value of this publication to historical collections is self-evident.

THE LIFE, CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. A Commemorative Address delivered before the New York Historical Society at the Academy of Music, December 30, 1878. By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 8vo, pp. 64. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. New York, 1879.

In the history of American literature no single name stands out to-day so distinct in its brilliancy as that of Bryant. No one has ever had so strong a hold upon the general heart as he ; and this because he was the most national, as he was the most American of our poets. His inspirations were drawn from sources familiar to us all. The various beauty and grandeur of our nature are our as they were his birth-right. And certainly the death of no American private citizen has ever occasioned a lament so national or a pæan of praise so general as his.

Last and most complete of all the glowing eulogiums upon his unique and beautiful character, fitly closing the series, was the classical, elegant oration of Mr. Curtis on an occasion which will remain forever memorable in the history of our literature, as it was, to use his own felicitous expression, "the last formal commemoration of our poet," and his final commitment "to history and fame."

The occasion was memorable, not alone that it was still another in a long line of intellectual and oratorical displays before the same venerable society, but that it was graced by the highest dignitaries of the nation, who had journeyed through the mid-winter day to join in the national tribute to the illustrious dead, one of "those sceptered sovereigns who rule our spirit from their urns."

In this address, which is a masterpiece of arrangement and careful analysis of character, adorned with passages of extreme beauty, the outward public character of Bryant is drawn in broad familiar lines, his inner poetic nature in delicate pencillings, the whole forming a portraiture Grecian in its chaste simplicity. Those who listened to the address marvelled at the serene beauty of the orator's periods, and only those to whom the fortune has fallen to have heard and now to read have had the full measure of their enjoyment in this appropriate and perfect tribute.

MARYLAND DOCUMENTS, 1692 to 1800. 4to, pp. 18.

With a view of printing at some future day a full bibliography of Maryland documents, the Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society has issued a few copies of the list to the year 1800.

**DIE CULTURLANDER DES ALTEN AMERICA**, von A. BASTIAN. 2 Banden. 8vo, pp. 704, 965. BERLIN WEIDMANNSCHE BUCHHANDLUNG. 1878. B. WESTERMANN & Co., 524 Broadway, New York:

**THE CULTIVATED COUNTRIES OF OLD AMERICA**. Vol. I—One Year's Travel. Vol. II—Notes for Historical Researches.

Professor A. Bastian, the well-known German geographer and African explorer, gives us in Volume I an account of his adventures and some historical notes on the cultivation of old Peru. His explorations were devoted to Chili, Peru, Ecuador, Columbia, the Isthmus and Guatemala. The customs and religion of Peru are narrated in an interesting form. The first chapter relates to his sea voyage, its various incidents, and the different ports and scenery of the coast. In chapter second he lays before us in a pleasing manner his adventures, discoveries and scientific researches in Peru and Ecuador. The third refers principally to Columbia; and the fourth is devoted to the Isthmus and Guatemala. Volume II contains the history of the ancient Incas of Peru, the Chibchas with the tribes of the Magdalena and Cauca Valleys, the tribes of the Isthmus and the Antilles, and of Guatemala with Yucatan; the history of old Mexico, comprising its tribes, customs, religion and politics.

Dr. R. Kiepert contributes to volume one three maps, viz., the routes followed by Dr. Bastian in Ecuador, Columbia and Guatemala. Volume II is illustrated by seven plates, which are taken from Piedrahitas' edition of 1688. It closes with an elaborate index, and is preceded by two well-compiled prefaces.

These two volumes are edited in a masterly manner. The printing is excellent in every way. This work is worthy of praise as a standard of reference for the geographer and historical student. Dr. Bastian proposes to put before the public a third volume upon the Collection of American Antiquities in the Ethnological Department of the Royal Museum of Berlin.

**HISTORY OF THE GREAT FIRE IN SAINT JOHN, JUNE 20 AND 21, 1877**. By RUSSELL H. CONWELL. 12mo, pp. 359. Boston. 1877.

A detailed account of the terrible disaster which befell St. John last summer, adding another to the long series of colossal disasters which have periodically fallen upon our hastily built American cities. It is illustrated with views of the conflagration and a map of the burned district. A chapter gives miscellaneous matters of

interest. The St. John Daily News, started in 1838, was the first newspaper. A just tribute is paid to the character of Lieutenant-Governor Tilley, a gentleman well known on both sides of the line for his liberality of opinion, urbanity of manners and genial hospitality, and, as the author says, justly endeared to the people of the United States for his open sympathy and firm defence of the cause of the Union during its struggle with the rebellion. Of his charming traits of character, we speak from personal experience, having enjoyed his hospitality.

**THE WOODRUFF SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION AROUND THE WORLD**. Sailing May 8, 1879, and returning September, 1880; giving all the information required for a full understanding of the enterprise. JAMES O. WOODRUFF, Director. 8vo, pp. 52. Printed at the RIVERSIDE PRESS. Cambridge. 1878.

On the 23d March, 1878, President Hayes approved of the Act of Congress authorizing the granting of an American register to a foreign-built ship for the purposes of a scientific expedition around the world, on the condition that no mercantile ventures should form a part of it, or the Government be subject to any expense.

Availing of this authority, Mr. James O. Woodruff, the director of the enterprise, purchased the war steamer General Werder of the North German Lloyds line, of sufficient capacity, built on the Clyde in 1874, which has been examined by a competent board of officers, and pronounced suitable for the expedition. President Clark of Amherst College, who has made extensive voyages with practical results in Europe and the East, will manage the instruction branch of the enterprise. The quota of scholars is limited to two hundred and fifty, of which number we learn sufficient have been secured to warrant the purchase of the vessel, and ensure the success of the expedition. The fee is fixed at twenty-five hundred dollars, on easy terms of payment.

**A SYSTEM OF PUNCTUATION FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS**. By C. W. BUTTERFIELD. 8vo, pp. 33. WM. J. PARK & Co. Madison, Wisconsin.

This is another effort to solve the difficult problem of punctuation. There is no doubt of the importance of punctuation; indeed, the English written language is not intelligible without it. Its principles are difficult of analysis, and we doubt whether any rule will command a general respect. The divisions of the subject are separately treated and in an intelligible manner.

**THE THIRD BOOK OF RECORDS OF THE TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.** With other documents of historic value, including the records from 1717 to 1807; transcribed with notes and introduction by WM. S. PELLETREAU. 8vo, pp. 411, and Index, xix. JOHN H. HUNT, Printer, Sag Harbor. 1878.

The first volume of these records was printed in 1874; the second followed in 1877; the present completes the series. In the dedication of the work the conscientious editor informs us that he is indebted for a large part of the early history of the town to the minute descriptions of one Henry Pierson, who was the town clerk from 1653 to 1669; the third is likewise dedicated to the memory of Christopher Foster, who held the same post from 1717 to 1742.

A patent from James Farrett of Long Island, Deputy to the Right Honorable the Earl of Stirling, Secretary for the Kingdom of Scotland, made on the 17th April, 1640, empowered Danyell How, Job Sayre, George Wilbe, William Harker, together with their associates, to "sitt downe upon Long Island there to possess, improve and enjoy Eight miles square of land."

The Earl of Stirling held the patent of Long Island from the King. Farrett's grant was confirmed by Governor John Winthrop, upon condition of a yearly rent to the Earl of four bushels of the best Indian corn of the patentee's growing. The plantation was called Southampton. The title was made secure by a deed from Pomahect and his associates, "the native Inhabitants and true owners of the eastern part of Long Island," by a deed of all the lands eastward of Shinecoke plain for the consideration of sixteen coats, three score bushels of Indian corn, and protection against hostile Indians. The records continue from these beginnings to the year 1804. They abound, as the careful compiler informs us, in the richest and rarest authorities for the antiquarian, genealogist and historian.

#### THE RIGHT FLANK AT GETTYSBURG.

An account of the operations of General Gregg's Cavalry Command, showing their important bearing upon the results of the battle. By WILLIAM BROOKE-RAWLE. 8vo, pp. 27. Philadelphia. 1878.

The story of Gregg's fight, says Mr. Rawle, had never been told. It is fortunate the relation fell upon one who witnessed and participated in the events he describes, and who writes in clear and becoming style. The occasion was the determined effort of the Confederate cavalry to

reach the Baltimore pike in the rear of the Army of the Potomac, then hotly engaged in the repulse of Pickett's assault on Cemetery Ridge. Gregg and Custer led their columns against Stuart, Hampton and Fitz Lee, and in a hand to hand fight, sabres only being used by the Union troops, the Confederate cavalry were swept from the field. What remained of it was withdrawn by Stuart to the York pike to cover Lee's retreat towards the Potomac. Custer, in his report of the action, said: "I challenge the annals of warfare to produce a more brilliant or successful charge of cavalry than the one just recounted."

#### MEMORANDA OF THE DESCENDANTS

OF AMOS MORRIS OF EAST HAVEN, CONN. 12mo, pp. 103. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York. 1878.

Our attention has been invited to this genealogic sketch of a well-known Connecticut family, which will prove of interest to students of this branch of knowledge. Thomas Morris was the first resident proprietor of the tract of land known as Morris Point in East Haven, New Haven County, Connecticut. He arrived in Massachusetts on the 3d June, 1637, and the next year moved westward to Quinnipiac, now New Haven. He was a ship-builder by trade, and purchased the convenient tract now known as Morris Point on the 16th March, 1671. His son Amos was one of twelve children. He married Lydia Camp. Their descendants are here recorded; among them many of the well-known and respected names of the old Connecticut Colony. An appendix gives an account of a meeting held on the old family ground, July 4, 1850.

#### SWINTON'S CONDENSED UNITED

STATES. A condensed School History of the United States, constructed for definite results in recitation, and containing a new method of topical reviews. By WILLIAM SWINTON, A. M. With colored Maps and many Illustrations. Revised edition. 12mo, pp. 329. IVISON, BLAKEMAN, TAYLOR & Co. New York and Chicago. 1879.

Professor Swinton is too well known to our readers to need any commendation at our hands. This is designed as a working book for the use of teachers in our common schools who seek for definite results from their labors. The need of such a work was demonstrated to him in the course of his experience in class-room recitation. It abounds in text illustrations, which from their simplicity are clear to the youthful mind.

**BARNES' POPULAR HISTORY—A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.** By the author of Barnes' Brief History of the United States for Schools. 8vo, pp. 631. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, Chicago and New Orleans. 1878.

Here we have in one volume a complete history of the country, from the earliest times of which any account or tradition exists until the present day. Five parts cover the entire period. Part I, an introduction, is devoted to chapters on the early history of America; its explorations and settlement, the colonial wars and colonial life. The last of these is a novel feature, and contains a mass of detail concerning the daily habits of our ancestors "in the good old colony days" condensed into compact space. Here we find descriptions of the days of muster, of thanksgiving and Christmas in their old mode of observance; of the ways and manner of travel, of the feasts and junketings of the fathers, sombre among the Puritans of New England, seriously comic among the Dutch of New York, gay and rollicking in the Southern region. Part II tells the story of the revolution. Part III unfolds the history of the development of the republic and the assurance of our nationality. Part IV, the gloomy, yet glorious period of the civil war. Part V, the decade of reconstruction. An appendix supplies some side sketches. Especially we invite attention to an admirable chronological table of the War of the Revolution, which in its arrangement and distribution of texts is in itself worth to the student, who needs to make daily references to establish the exact dates of events and their correlative importance, the price of the volume.

The style is admirably clear, and the judgments of the author impartial and dispassionate. For daily use, we know of no more excellent companion. It is in every sense a working volume, and we commend it with unstinted praise.

**ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,** showing the operations, expenditures and condition of the Institution for the year 1877. 8vo, pp. 481. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE. Washington, 1878.

The Report of the Secretary, of January of last year, bears the signature of the lamented Henry, its late distinguished Secretary, whose loss the world of science and the nation at large was called on to mourn last year. The report shows the total Smithsonian funds invested to have been on January 6, 1878, \$710,645.90. The receipts for 1877, \$49,007.62, and the expendi-

tures in same period, \$44,952.90, leaving a cash balance at the beginning of the year 1878, including \$4,054.52 unexpended income of 1877, of \$25,083.90.

Some of the papers appended to this report, for instance, the Stock in trade of an aboriginal lapidary and Aboriginal structures in Florida, have already received notice at our hands from advance sheets of this publication. We now invite attention to the papers on the Antiquities in Colorado, by George L. Cannon of Idaho Springs; Antiquities in Wisconsin, by Moses Strong of Mineral Point; The Mounds and Osteology of the Moundbuilders of Wisconsin, by Dr. J. N. de Hart of Mendota; the Moundbuilders in the Rock River Valley, Illinois, by James Shaw of Mount Carroll; Ancient Earthworks in Ohio, by Dr. George W. Hill of Ashland; Antiquities of Tennessee, by W. M. Clark of Franklin; and other minor papers on kindred subjects, which make together one of the most valuable collections of the results of American archæologic investigation yet published. With such earnest laborers, the prehistoric history of the American continent will soon have no secrets unrevealed.

**THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY,** FROM ITS DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS TO THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF ITS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. Embracing an account of its discovery; narratives of the struggles of its early settlers; sketches of its heroes; the history of the war for independence and the war for nationality; its industrial successes, and a record of its whole progress as a nation. By ABBY SAGE RICHARDSON. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 635. [The Riverside Press.] HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

It would be idle to expect to find anything new in a work of this character. The utmost we can look for is a variation in the manner of presentation of the old story. This the publishers may justly claim to have reached in the admirable colloquial style of the accomplished lady, whose pen they have called into service. Women are born teachers, and make more lasting impressions with their suave manners than the ruder sex with its imperious sternness.

The arrangement adopted is simple. Part I recites in fifty-three easy chapters the Story of the Colonies, from Infancy to Independence. Part II, the Story of the Nation; its birth, conflicts and triumphs in fifty-one chapters, closing with an appendix, giving an account of the Centennial International exhibition at Philadelphia.

Numerous cuts illustrate the volume.

## A REVIEW OF THE HALIFAX FISHERY

AWARD—AS IT STRIKES A PRIVATE CITIZEN.

By ALEXANDER BLISS. 8vo, pp. 24. Washington. 1878.

The American mind is fully made up as to the injustice of the award of the Commissioners in this long protracted dispute. In this argument Mr. Bliss considers the subject fairly and dispassionately and shows clearly that the award was based upon incorrect and unjust premises, and extravagant in amount. The President, to whom it was referred to decide whether the sum awarded be now paid, or further delays had, has very properly ordered immediate payment. As Mr. Bliss justly remarks, "The saddest result perhaps of this award will be the shaken confidence of the American mind in the efficacy of arbitration as a remedy in international disputes." The diplomatic management of this dispute on the American side is severely criticised.

in the galaxy of heaven is best ascertained by distinct observations from different points of view. Perhaps one quality of his writings alone remains untouched—his wonderful mastery of the strongest, simplest forms of the English tongue, in which Milton in poetry and Webster in prose were alone his equals. Superiors in his happiest moods he had none. To this quality no adequate tribute has yet been paid.

The examination of Dr. Osgood is essentially physiological in its treatment. He analyses the elements of his moral and intellectual character, and shows the influence of each upon the other, and of both upon the society in which he moved and the larger world whom his poetic power reached and instructed. Most pleasing is the orator's description of the softening influence of age upon his nature, and the mellowness of the sunset of his years.

## ARTIST—BIOGRAPHIES—ALLSTON.

16mo, pp. 192. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

In this short, but pleasing and readable sketch all that is known of this distinguished artist, whose fame was once national, has been gathered with tender hand. His own sayings have been carefully preserved, and every allusion to him culled from the memoirs of his artist contemporaries, with many of whom he was on intimate terms. Mr. Sweetzer considers him one of the highest products of American civilization and European culture combined, possessed of the full affluence of literary genius, artistic knowledge, refinement, purity and religion, as few other men of the Western World have been before or since. He was perhaps better known in England, where he painted many of his earlier pictures, than at home, and was elected an associate of the Royal Academy without the usual form of solicitation.

His correct taste early led him to avoid the mannerism of West, misnamed classical, and to follow nature closely, while his ambition was not content except with the most sublime subjects, and on the largest scale. Of these his most celebrated treatments were the great painting of Belshazzar's Feast, which was never wholly completed; Elijah in the Desert, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and Jeremiah, the property of Yale College.

For his richness of coloring, he received at Rome the name of the American Titian; yet in no work of his life did he realize the promise of his genius. His versatility may have been the cause of this. It is not to every one that the gods have permitted, as to Michael Angelo, to be great in everything. In this the life of Allston may serve as a lesson to artists. It is here written in a graceful and pleasing manner.

## BRYANT AMONG HIS COUNTRYMEN:

THE POET, THE PATRIOT, THE MAN. An Oration before the Goethe Club, Wednesday evening, October 30, 1878. By SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., LL.D. 8vo, pp. 34. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1879.

To us of New York one of the most pleasant recollections of the poet-sage of America was the reception given to him by the Goethe Club at the art rooms of Mr. Kurtz in the fall of 1877. In reply to the welcome words of Dr. Ruppaner, the honored guest made a response which can never be forgotten by those who listened to it. The close thought, the choice and appropriate English clothing in which it was rendered were anticipated; but the vigor of utterance, the unfaltering, unwavering diction were simply a marvel coming from one of his venerable years. Not Everett himself in the plenitude of his powers was ever more precise, more accurate in his delivery. It was with appropriate reverence and a just conception of the fitness of things that the Goethe Club, which he had so honored, paid a tribute to his character and genius. Nor could an orator more peculiarly fitted to render that tribute, in the precise measure that became the occasion, have been selected than the accomplished scholar, orator and man of letters, whose relations with Mr. Bryant had combined those of pastor and friend.

In nothing has the hold Mr. Bryant had upon the thought and the affection of the community been more strikingly shown than in the diversity of the tributes paid to his memory. No single biographer could have displayed his multiform nature as happily as it has been presented in separate detail, just as the precise place of a star

THE HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE FREDERICK TEMPLE, EARL OF DUFFERIN, LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA. By WILLIAM LEGGO. 8vo, pp. 901. LOVELL PRINTING AND PUBLISHING CO., Montreal. G. MERCER ADAM, Toronto. 1878.

In this elaborate volume Mr. Leggo, a well-known barrister of Ottawa, has collected from the State papers of Canada all that concerns the administration of its late enlightened, liberal and distinguished Governor-General, and added all of his speeches on occasions of public interest, festive as well as political. No small task, when we consider the facility with which the Earl undertook the work of oral instruction whenever an opportunity presented itself; and they were not rare, as any one who has experienced the hospitalities of our kinsmen over the border, public and private, will understand.

The purpose of the book, the author announces, is to point out the gradual development of the system of "Responsible Government" in Canada, the central stone in the now complete arch, of which he ascribes to the Earl of Dufferin the honor of posing. It is not to be expected that the people on this side of the line will take much interest in the detail of this movement, although its general bearings are not without their consequence to us. Those who are personally acquainted with the late Governor will find interest and amusement in his speeches, which are replete with the humor peculiar to his Irish origin, a humor with which we also are not without means of large acquaintance. Of this class of oratory, the most characteristic is his reply to the joint address of the municipal corporation of Ontario on his departure from Canada, in which he claimed all mankind as kin, because, with rare exceptions, of Irish descent, or the next thing to it; Lord Lorne, his successor, included. Not the least difficult of the tasks of the husband of the Queen's daughter will be that he has to succeed a man as genial and a statesman as liberal as the Earl of Dufferin.

#### NEW PERIODICALS

PROGRESS; A MIRROR FOR MEN AND WOMEN. [A weekly periodical; pp. 20.] JOHN W. FORNEY, Editor and Proprietor. Philadelphia, 1878.

The first number of this excellent weekly periodical appeared on the 16th of November, 1878. It has since continued to grow in grace and favor. No man in this country knows better what the American people need in the way of periodical instruction and amusement than the accomplished gentleman who has taken this new start in journalism, and leaping from the

traces of established usage has led the way in a new style, which he appropriately terms Progress. Abandoning the old practice of long and labored editorials, he treats of all that affects our life in short and pregnant paragraphs. Politics, old and new history, biography, foreign travel, the drama and opera—all receive appropriate attention; and indeed no one of these fields has been explored with more profit to American culture than by Mr. Forney himself. None so well fitted as he to direct an enterprise where each of these subjects has its assigned place.

We most heartily wish him a complete success.

THE SATURDAY MAGAZINE; A JOURNAL OF HOME AND FOREIGN LITERATURE. [A weekly periodical.] 8vo, pp. 32. LEE & SHEPARD, publishers. Boston.

This new periodical announces its intention to be mainly a selection from the best material of foreign periodicals. It is printed in the style so familiar to us in a number of the lighter and more popular English issues of this character. The editors ask for opinions and suggestions as to its conduct. We venture the opinion that it devote a part of its pages to translations of the French and German reviews. Here is a field almost untouched and full of rich material. There is not a number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* or the *Contemporaine* which does not contain something attractive. Take, for instance, Admiral de la Gravière's sketch of the navy of the past and of the future. Not all the published histories of Greece contain such vivid accounts of the great battles between the hosts of Xerxes and the Grecian bands as this masterly exposition; or look again at the descriptions of ancient architectural Rome as drawn from recent explorations, which appeared last year.

These are hints which may or not be valuable. In its greeting the editors announce that the magazine means to be "agreeable, useful, cleanly and honorable; a fountain of pleasant thoughts and fresh knowledge, and a helper of all that is good." That this it would be the names of the editors gave sure warrant. That this it is the reader can easily see for himself. We commend it heartily to every household. Its success is certain. It is the very thing for an after-dinner lounge of man or woman, youth or damsel of good degree.

#### NOTICE

The page entitled Letters from Washington, and signed by the Editor, which prefaces this number, was accidentally omitted from the February (Washington) number by the binders. In binding the volume at the close of the year it can be transferred to its proper place.

EDITOR

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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VOL. III


APRIL 1879

No. 4

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## THE INFLUENCE OF NEW YORK ON AMERICAN JURISPRUDENCE

WE cannot feel the full interest of the history of the opening of the new capitol of the State of New York unless we bear in mind the events running through nearly three centuries, which have consecrated the ground on which it stands. There is no place in the Union which is associated with so many varied and far-reaching facts, which have influenced the destinies of this continent, as the city of Albany. For more than two hundred and fifty years the flags of Holland, of Britain, or of the American Union have waved over it. Before our Independence they were hung out upon the battlements of forts, built there to guard against savage foes or to resist the invasions of the armies of France or of Britain during the French or revolutionary wars. From its earliest settlement to the present day, under all governments, what has been done at this point has concerned not alone its citizens, or those of this province or State, but the people of all the colonies which entered into our Union, and in no small degree nearly all sections of this great continent. A glance at its history will show that Albany was in fact the colonial capital; the point at which councils were held, treaties were made, armies were organized. It was the base from which they moved upon hostile regions; it was the point which in all wars our enemies sought to conquer. It was not an accidental thing that the project of a union between the colonies was first put in form in Albany by Benjamin Franklin in 1754. The seeds of that conception were sown many years before, and slowly but surely germinated under the influence of events constantly occurring within the province of New York. Albany has been justly termed the birthplace of the Union; not on account of some accidental gathering, or bold conception of a leading mind. A long series of events had made for many purposes a practical union of the colonies. The citizens who had





lived for half a century under the flag of Holland, had been taught the value of the maxim which bound its provinces into one nationality—*"In unity there is strength."* It was at this point that the agents of the colonies on the Atlantic coast first learned about the interior of the continent and its systems of lakes and rivers. These taught them that the people who lived upon their banks and courses should be united by some bond of union which would give them not only the benefit of united strength, but freedom of intercourse and benefits of commerce.

When in 1609, Hendrick Hudson, in search of a direct water route from Europe to the eastern shores of Asia, reached the site of Albany, his hopes were blighted on finding that he was ascending a great river and not floating upon an arm of the sea, which would bear him to the Pacific ocean, and crown with success the search to which he had devoted his energies and life. It is a sad thought that in the following year he perished without knowing that he had made a discovery in value far beyond the one which he sought; that what he deemed a failure would give him enduring fame. He did not know that the wind and tides which had swept his ship through the gorge of the highlands had borne it beyond the mountain range, which, for more than a thousand miles, made a barrier between the Atlantic coast and the interior of this continent. He perished, miserably betrayed by his seamen, without the knowledge that the range of hills which he saw from this point, stretching westward through the southern part of this State, was one of the most remarkable watersheds on the face of the earth; that from its northern and southern slopes were poured streams which found outlets in the frozen region of the north or tepid waters of tropical seas. He never knew that the noble stream which gives him enduring fame would be the pathway between the ocean and a system of rivers which are God's bonds of union, holding together all sections of our country in ways more lasting than covenants or constitutions. He did not in the madness of delirium, which weakened nature often brings to hide the horrors of approaching death, imagine anything so wonderful as the fact that he had discovered a valley through which would pass the greatest movements of the human race which history has recorded. Not one which by the invasions of wild hordes, or the march of armies, carried death and desolation in their tracks, but a movement of civilization upon barbarous wastes, which has filled this great continent with arts and commerce, and prosperous towns and cities. If, at a moment when

crushed hopes, cruel treachery and a terrible death overwhelmed him, he could have had but a glimpse of all that followed his discovery of the grand river flowing by the Capital of our State, how would the gloom of despair have brightened into the joy of glorious triumph!

Commercial enterprise followed close upon the discovery of Hudson. Before the character of our Atlantic coast had been learned the Hollanders sent trading ships to the port of Albany, and in 1614 they made a settlement on an island adjoining the lower part of the city. Fort Orange stood upon the bank of the river. To protect the citizens palisades were put up around the settlement, and guard houses built upon the high ground now crowned by the Capitol. This hill, then flanked by deep ravines on either side, and by a steep bluff in front, overhung the site of the city. The foot of this high cliff closed up State street where St. Peter's Church and the Geological Hall now stand. Upon its top, during more than two centuries, have been put up a succession of rude blockhouses, wooden forts, stone fortress, the old Capitol, the vast structure now brought into use, which ranks among the great buildings of the world. It was not until the beginning of this century that the face of the bluff was graded down so that State street could be made an avenue leading to the western part of the city. In 1614 from Nova Scotia to the Spanish forts in Florida lay a wilderness unbroken save by the feeble and disorganized settlement at Jamestown; and as that was afterwards abandoned, Albany is the oldest town and oldest chartered city in the thirteen original States. At the time of Hudson's discovery a large share of the earth's surface was unknown to civilized nations. It was a period in the history of Holland when, in the words of its New England historian, "in every branch of human industry these republicans took the lead." Its navigators were bold and enterprising. When they decided upon a permanent settlement on this continent they did not, like other people, plant themselves upon the seaboard, but boldly pushed through the highlands to the head of navigation and laid the foundation of a city *west of the Allegheny barriers*. This fact has been potent in its influence on the history of our country. They placed themselves upon the pivotal point, upon which so many of its great events were to turn. The flow of the Hudson would bear them to the Atlantic through the very roots of the Alleghenies. The level valleys of the upper Hudson and the Mohawk opened easy pathways to the St. Lawrence on the north, and to the great lakes and tributaries of the Mississippi on the west. We, who are proud of our English descent, must admit that no other people were so well fitted as the Hollanders

to hold this commanding position, and to defeat the designs of the French upon this continent. Their commercial enterprises in every quarter of the world had taught them how to deal with savage tribes. Here they were brought into contact with the Iroquois. This powerful confederacy held control over the country from the coast to the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, and from north of the great lakes to the present State of North Carolina.

Those who have not studied with care the details of our colonial history can have but a faint idea of the power wielded by this Indian Confederacy, or the terror with which they had filled the minds of other tribes. In his exploration in Virginia, Captain Smith was told by the Indians whom he met in that region, that the Iroquois were so powerful that they waged war with the whole world.

Colden says in his history, "I have been told by old men of New England, who remembered the time when the Mohawks made war on their Indians, that as soon as a single Mohawk was discovered in the country these Indians raised a cry from hill to hill, 'A Mohawk, a Mohawk,' upon which they all fled like sheep before wolves, without attempting to make the least resistance, whatever odds were on their side. All the nations around them have for many years entirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly tribute to them in wampum."


For nearly a hundred years the monarchs of France and Britain sought their alliance, and used every subtlety of diplomacy to gain their good will. It was felt upon both sides that these savages held the balance of power. It was only through them that Great Britain could make a claim to any part of the territory of New York west of Rome, or north of the dividing ridge from which flow the waters into the St. Lawrence and the Hudson.

I wish to bring into view those facts in nature and in the course of events which have given our State its prominence in jurisprudence. From the outset, the government of the territories of New York, under all flags, has excelled in this respect, and has exerted an influence in that greater than it has had in other departments of our social and political systems. The assertion of this fact does not grow out of any undue partiality with regard to my native State. It is upheld by the testimony of those who were not at all times disposed to speak well of those who founded or controlled it. John Adams wrote to Chief-Justice Jay that the first constitution of New York excelled that of all other States. Attorney General Randolph, of Virginia, states that the contests of its colonies with the royal Governors were

conducted with signal ability, and he pronounced their protests and arguments to be the ablest expositions of the rights of popular representatives. The historian, Pitkins, of Connecticut, says that the resolutions of the New York Colonial Assembly were drawn with consummate ability; and "breathed a spirit more bold and decided than of any other colony." When we read the constitutions of the Western States, or the decisions of their courts, or note the Acts of their Legislatures, we see that our judiciary and our civil polity have exerted a marked influence in the newer sections of the Union. I have said that the first colonists were confronted at Albany by the Indian confederacy. We must not fall into the error of thinking that this merely involved a savage warfare, or led to a system of over-reaching ignorant savages after the fashion of our times. The Iroquois were not only the proud and powerful conquerors of a vast territory, but, by the testimony even of their enemies, they were a politic people.

D. La Potière, a Frenchman and an enemy, says in his history of North America: "When we speak of the Five Nations in France they are thought, by a common mistake, to be mere Barbarians, always thirsting for blood; but their characters are very different. They are indeed, the fiercest and most formidable people in North America, and at the same time are as politic and judicious as can well be conceived, and this appears from their management of all affairs which they have not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all of the Indians of this vast continent."

Colden, alluding to their civil polity, says in 1747: "Each of these nations is an absolute republic by itself, and every castle in each nation is governed, in all public affairs, by its own sachems or old men. The authority of these rulers is gained by and consists wholly in the opinion the rest of the nation have of their integrity and wisdom. Their great men, both sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people, and they affect to give away and distribute all the presents or plunder they get in their treaties or in wars, so as to leave nothing to themselves. There is not a man in the members of the Five Nations who has gained his office otherwise than by merit. There is not the least salary, or any sort of profit annexed to any office to tempt the covetous or sordid, but on the contrary, every unworthy action is unavoidably attended with the forfeiture of their commissions; for their authority is only the esteem of the people, and ceases the moment that esteem is lost." To maintain peace with this powerful confederacy, to hold them in alliance against the Crown of



France, demanded prudence, courage and ability of a high order. These were developed to such degree that after the power of the Hollanders was overthrown, and during a century of struggle for supremacy on this continent, the British government mainly relied upon the influence of citizens of Albany to keep the Iroquois from going over to the French. In doing this they had not only to cope with the suspicion of the Indians, with the military power of France, but also with influence of French missionaries, who exhibited the most remarkable religious zeal, self-sacrifice and courage ever displayed on our continent. These did not content themselves with founding colonies in which their religious views should govern, but they boldly pushed their way through the vast wilderness of this continent to unknown savage tribes, with no protection save that which zeal and faith might give them in the eyes of those who looked upon all strangers as those whom they should destroy. Outstripping the march of armies, or the enterprise of trade in its greed for gold, they traversed North America to such extent, that the scenes of their labors were not in many cases reached by our pioneer settlers until the lapse of nearly a century. This zeal, this courage, that never shrunk from martyrdom, was exerted to detach the Iroquois from the British alliance. Many lost their lives in these attempts, suffering cruel torments; one was burned at the stake in the valley of the Mohawk. To contend against their efforts was no mean training in diplomacy and in statesmanship. Mainly through the influence of the citizens of Albany this was done. The Iroquois were taught to look upon the ground on which the new Capitol stands as a place sacred to keeping bright the chains of amity. With that great regard for usage which marks unlettered tribes, they called it the *ancient place of treaties*; and this term, in their minds, meant more than mere antiquity; it meant a higher degree of solemnity, and more lasting obligations in treaties made at Albany than elsewhere.

The diplomatic dealings with these tribes did not relate to the safety of Albany, or to the interest of the province of New York alone, but they concerned the safety and the interest of all the British colonies on this continent. Whoever will study the records of our State from the earliest days, will find that from Nova Scotia to Georgia, nearly one thousand miles, agents and officers of all the colonies resorted to Albany to gain the aid of its citizens in making peace with the Iroquois, or to obtain their help against other Indian tribes in warfare, or to get them to act as the defenders of the feeble settlements when menaced with destruction. When the Governor of Nova Scotia sought to check Indian war

upon its borders, agents were sent to this point. When King Phillip threatened the existence of the Puritans in New England, Massachusetts and Connecticut sent their commissioners here to invoke the aid of the Mohawks. When the Carolinas were reduced to desperate straits by Indian wars, their Governor sought in Albany to persuade the Five Nations to interpose in their behalf. Such events mark almost every year of colonial history, and their mere lists show clearly that this was the political center where consultations were held, and where the common interest and policy were considered. Not only did Indian affairs thus train men in jurisprudence, but the struggle between France and England did much to educate all the colonists. It concerned the greatest of all questions which have been settled on this continent, namely: Should its civilization, customs and laws be those of France or of England? The result for many years was uncertain. The warfare was not merely that of savage tribes, or of rude border men almost as wild, for both of the great powers sent here their disciplined armies, led by men of rank, skill and culture. The contest was not waged here alone, but it was connected with the ambitious designs of Louis the Great for the domination of Europe. His wars, which fill so many pages of history, and so deeply affected the rights and liberties of nations, were watched with interest by the colonists, who were made intelligent with regard to them by the events on their own soil, in which they bore a part. The battles of Marlborough and the victory at Blenheim concerned this continent more than that of Europe; for had the result been reversed, the British would have been confined to the narrow strip of seacoast lying between the Atlantic and the eastern slope of the Alleghenies. In that and all other foreign wars in which our country has been engaged, Albany was the point from which most of the forces were sent out. In the history of our country, from the first invasion of the French in 1665, that part of New York lying along Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson has been the field of strife and blood in fifteen campaigns; an equal number of expeditions have followed the course of the Mohawk. So important was the position of this province during the colonial period, that the Lords of Trade and Plantations urged the Crown, in 1721, to make it the seat of government of a Captain-General, who should have control over all the colonies in matters relating to military affairs and the interests of the King.

The colonial French war involved the combatants in greater cost of blood and money than the revolutionary contest. In many ways it

was more important in its influences. It determined the character of the civilization of this continent, its habits and usages. Its independence of Europe, whatever might be the result, was a matter of time. In 1757 Lord Chatham, determined to expel the French from this continent, placed Lord Amherst at the head of an army of fifty thousand men; a greater force than was employed against us at any time during the Revolutionary war. One division was sent up the valley of the Mohawk from Albany, another by the way of the upper Hudson through Lake Champlain, to Canada, while the British fleet forced its way up the St. Lawrence. This campaign ended in the capture of Quebec, the dramatic deaths of the rival heroes Wolfe and Montcalm, and the extinction of the French power on the eastern side of this continent. The cost of that war makes a large item in the present debt of Great Britain. More than ten millions of dollars were spent in fortifying Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, although the work was never finished.

This great war, from the nature of the struggle and from the contrast between the British and French governments constantly presented to the minds of the colonists, did much to educate the people with regard to public affairs. The center of military operations became the center of public knowledge; for at that day there was but little intercourse save that which grew out of the exigencies of war. All the aspects of the colonial history of New York show that its people were never limited in their views to the interests of their own province, but that the course of events at all times trained them to a knowledge of, and an interest in the affairs of other colonies.

But the lessons of war and diplomacy with foreign enemies fell short of the knowledge the people of this province gained in their contests with the royal Governors. Some of these, like Lord Cornbury, the cousin of Queen Anne; the colonial Governor, Clinton, an Admiral in the British navy and a relative of the Duke of Newcastle, then head of the British administration, were men wanting in capacity and integrity. All their efforts were directed to get money to mend their broken fortunes. New York had no charter which defined the rights of the colony. In their defence they were forced to plant themselves upon principles of jurisprudence, and were thus educated to clear ideas of the rights of governments, and of the governed. Their discussions can be read to-day with profit by those who care to learn where the political wisdom was gained which enabled our fathers to frame the government under which we live. Many years before the crown drove the colonies to united resist-

ance to its action, the delegates to the Colonial Assembly in New York had asserted and maintained the rights for which our fathers battled in the Revolution. The Act declaring what are "*the rights and privileges of their Majesty's subjects inhabiting within their province of New York*," passed in 1691, in the reign of William and Mary, is as clear and firm in tone as those which were asserted nearly one century later at the outbreak of the war for independence.

Besides the facts I have set forth which educated the people of this province with regard to their rights, to the policy of legislation and the duties of the judiciary, there was another which gave breadth and wisdom to our jurisprudence, beyond that exhibited elsewhere. While the Hollanders of that day did not come up to our ideas of toleration, they were in advance of other nations in this respect. They were also free from the prejudices against the people of other countries, which was a marked feature of their times; and particularly with the English. We are apt to charge upon the theology of the Puritans of New England much of the harshness that was due to their nationality. When Theodore Ward, one of the authors of the Code of Liberty of Massachusetts, in his book entitled, "Letters from the Simple Cobbler of Agawam," said that he hated religious toleration which make a hell upon earth, and that he hated to have foreigners come to dwell in the land," it was the Englishman more than the Puritan that spoke.

The same spirit was shown by that race in other colonies. Even in Maryland, where the first Catholic proprietor, by his charter, granted religious freedom to all; when those who differed from his religious views gained power they persecuted those of his creed. Nor was this hostility shown alone towards those differing from them in faith: the English in Carolina for a long time protested against giving Huguenots the rights of citizenship or of holding property. The same spirit involved them in constant wars with the Indian tribes. The rule that English interests and not the rights of others should regulate action, has not lost its power. It involves Great Britain in constant wars in all quarters of our globe, and it convinces the British people that they are wronged and imposed upon by the most remote, feeble and ignorant tribes. If the English instead of the Hollanders had first settled Albany it is doubtful if they would have kept an alliance with the Iroquois. If they had failed to do this they would have lost their claim to the country drained into the St. Lawrence and Mississippi; for their only offset to the French right of discovery of these rivers was the title of the Iroquois to the



regions in dispute. We who are of English descent, and who are proud of our lineage, have reason to rejoice that the Hollanders first occupied this State. Their wide commerce had brought them in contact with all races. Their wealth and power grew out of intercourse with others. They welcomed all incomers to their territory. This drew to this province a greater variety of nationalities than can be found in the histories of the foundations of other States. This made our population cosmopolitan; and beyond all other facts gave to our jurisprudence its superiority. It saved us from provincial prejudices, and from the narrowness engendered in the minds of those who hear but one side of questions, and witness but one phase of teaching. The influence of this fact has not been limited to our State. Its people, holding the gateways into the interior of our continent, have welcomed all classes of immigrants. It is our faith that the same natural features and diversity of lineage and creed that have made New York the Empire State will, on a grander scale, give to our country a higher civilization than the world has yet seen. The history of this State enables us to forecast the future of our union. Its great rivers and lakes and valleys will ever make living channels of commerce. Its varied climate and productions will keep alive active and constant intercourse and exchange among its people. Its differing creeds and its varied lineages will teach a larger liberality and more generous sympathies than exist on smaller theatres with narrower ranges of thought, and more limited views of social or political subjects.

Since the independence of our country, the natural features of New York and the character of its population have been potent, not only in promoting its own growth and greatness, but that of our whole country. Its first constitution showed a greater knowledge of jurisprudence than was exhibited elsewhere. It is a striking, and I think an unparalleled fact in the history of constitutions that upon the Committee of thirteen appointed to draft that instrument, there were men representing no less than six nationalities. This diversity of races which, from the earliest day to the present time, marks the list of those who have filled the office of Judges, Legislators and Governors, has had a great influence in shaping the civil polity of our State.

While the basis of our civilization is English, it has been re-inforced and liberalized by other elements. Our great country will not be cut up as Europe is into smaller districts, whose people are made strangers by differences of languages and laws. On our continent,

in the future, with its vast population, all forms of merit will gain higher rewards, and the applause of greater multitudes than elsewhere. Our literature will receive a wider support, and will draw its inspiration from the legends, the histories, the aspirations, not of one, but of many nationalities. The position of New York, with its command of the harbor which first welcomes the incomers from Europe, and of the great pathways through which they seek their homes in the interior, has done much to shape our social organization, and to hold in check the prejudices which sometimes show themselves in the minds of those who are only familiar with social ideas which prevail outside of the great theatres of action.

The most important subjects of our legislation also relate to facts which concern other States as well as our own. These have always kept alive in the minds of our people their relationship to the interests and prosperity of other parts of our Union. We have a striking proof of this in the history of our internal improvements. When we were inferior to Virginia and Massachusetts in numbers, wealth, and power; when the hardy settlers in the then wilderness of Western New York were impoverished because there was no way of reaching markets with their products; when in the days of our poverty we undertook the work of uniting the great lakes with the harbor of New York, which was then deemed, not only in our own country, but in Europe, one of the bold enterprises of the world, it was not urged alone upon the ground of our necessities, or the gain it would bring to ourselves, but rising above local interests, in the preamble of the Act by which this State entered upon this great work, these words were used: "Whereas—navigable communication between Lakes Erie and Champlain and the Atlantic ocean by means of canals connected with the Hudson river will promote agriculture, manufactures and commerce, mitigate the calamities of war and enhance the blessings of peace, consolidate the Union, and advance the prosperity, and elevate the character of the United States; And Whereas, it is the incumbent duty of the people of this State to avail themselves of the means which the Almighty has placed in their power for the production of such signal, extensive and lasting benefits to the human race," etc. These grand, patriotic considerations, and not merely local gain, were urged by leading men as reasons for taking the hazard of an undertaking deemed by many too great for our resources.

Acting upon this wise and enlarged policy of identifying ourselves with the common interest of our Union, although Congress and the

Legislatures of other States refused to aid the project, our State has not sought, like the robbers upon the Rhine, to make its command of the avenues of commerce the means of extorting tribute from those who have used our channels, but it has reduced tolls upon its canals to the lowest point, and has thrown off from our lines of railroads the income which, by charters, were to be paid into the treasury of the State. It cannot be charged against New York that it has ever sought to build up any of its special interests, or to support any of its peculiar industries by taxation levied upon the people of this Union.

It has never faltered in the support of the General Government in its war with foreign enemies, although its territories were most exposed to attack, and most frequently the scenes of battle and of bloodshed. At the outset of the revolution, although New York of all the colonies had been the first, the most clear and persistent in asserting its rights through a long series of years, the British King hoped its people would not be united in resistance to his authority. The patronage of the Crown and the expenditures for armies and free grants of land had built up strong interest in its favor. But its great reliance was upon the exposed condition of the province in the case of war. Its western sections and the valley of the Mohawk were filled with Indian tribes governed by the agents of the King. These were ready to kill without regard to age, sex or condition. Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson made a pathway from Canada into the heart of the province, and British fleets could control the harbor of New York. The patriots of the colony had been taught by the past that when they took up arms they were to suffer the horrors of Indian warfare and the calamities of invading armies. They knew the contest must turn upon the control of their territories, and that war could never cease here until liberty was won or lost. Other sections might at times be invaded, but neither party could withdraw its forces from the banks of the Hudson while the conflict lasted. They did not shrink from perils clearly foreseen. They were ready to encounter savage hordes, disciplined armies, or domestic foes. In no other quarter was the contest so fierce and unrelenting. It did not merely demand the enlistment of men to fight upon the battlefields, but the exposure of their homes and their families to the torch, the tomahawk, and the brutality of hireling soldiers. The massacres at Cherry valley, along the Mohawk, and on the hills which border it, show the terrible sufferings in the homes of those who lived upon that frontier. While New York and New Jersey were the great centers of the revolutionary struggle, there are no shadows upon the patriotism of

either. Adherents to the Crown increased the dangers of the patriots and in some cases caused the destruction of their lives; but this added to the lustre of their services, and gave a higher value to their patriotism by the demands thus made upon their vigilance and energy.

In the war with Great Britain in 1812 New York was ardent in the support of the cause of our country, its rights and its honor. While elsewhere there were murmurs of discontent, and threats of resistance to measures for filling the ranks of our armies, this State was resolute in the support of the policy of our government, although it led to the invasion of its territories by the same pathways which had been traversed by hostile forces on so many occasions. In the sad civil war New York sent to the support of our Government more men in proportion to its population than any of the States bordering on the Atlantic, and in proportion to its enrollment, more than any in the Union. In some instances, single Congressional districts furnished quotas greater than those of other States with more than twice their population and representation.

This is shown by one of the calls made by the Government for soldiers.

The average ratio of enrollment to the male population in Western States was . . . . .	19 per cent.
In New Jersey, . . . . .	20 do.
In Pennsylvania, . . . . .	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.
In New England, . . . . .	17 do.
In State of New York . . . . .	22 do.
Massachusetts, with ten Congressmen and a population of 1,231,006, had to furnish under a call for 300,000 men . . . . .	15,126
The first nine Congressional districts of the State of New York, with a population of 1,218,949, were called upon for . . . . .	25,166
The quota of Vermont and New Hampshire, with a united population of 641,171, and six Representatives in Congress and four Senators, was . . . . .	7,099
The quota of two Congressional districts in New York, the 4th and 6th, with a population of 283,229, was . . . . .	7,628

Although these excessive demands were modified, they were still larger than the calls made on other States.

The policy of our State with regard to education has been enlarged and liberal. It has sought by all methods to give knowledge to all classes, and to carry learning in its widest forms into all sections of our State, to enable all, at the least cost, to gain the benefits of higher education; so that those who could not themselves follow all branches of science, or literature, could reap their benefit by association with those who, having had greater advantages, would diffuse them to the mass of community, as electricity passes from one object to another, in ways subtle and yet perfect in results. The early men of our State saw the wants and advantages of our social structure and our equal-intercourse. They felt that the teachings of the pulpit and press, the lecturer's stand and speaker's rostrum, could be brought into action as means of instruction, and they put upon our statute book a grand declaration "that the University of the State of New York is hereby created." These few words meant that our whole territory, not some favored spot, was to be a seat of learning. It taught the grand truth that learning in its best estate is the right of all who seek it, and should be placed within the reach of all.

It will add to the interest with which the new Capitol, just completed, will be viewed, if it shall be looked upon not only with regard to its size, its proportions and adornments; not only as a structure devoted to the legislation of a great State, but also in some degree as a memorial of its past history, and of the events of the place on which it stands, and of that wonderful system of valleys and hills of which it is the center. No man can enter its walls, devoted as they are to the grave and sacred purposes of legislation, without a fervent prayer that those who shall exercise in it the powers of Governors, of Judges and of Lawgivers, may equal the virtues and wisdom displayed by those who have heretofore held the high office of guarding the rights and promoting the welfare of the people of this State. But those who are to make or to administer laws are not to allow their aspirations for usefulness to be limited by the measures of the past. When they have studied its history, when they have seen the height in power to which New York has been lifted, they will be admonished that its motto demands still greater results at their hands, for the word **Excelsior** glitters upon the escutcheon of our State, teaching the duties of higher motives and more lofty patriotism than even those which have marked its past history.


HORATIO SEYMOUR

## THE CONVENTION OF SARATOGA

Among the events of the war of Independence, upon which the American cannot look with unmixed satisfaction, is the Convention of Saratoga, for it is not a military, but an ethical question. Did Congress fulfill its part of the agreement? If not, upon what grounds did she break it? Were those grounds sufficient to justify the violation of a solemn compact? Such are the questions which still lie at the threshold of this inquiry, and which Mr. Deane has discussed in the true spirit of historical research.\*

Of the enthusiasm and exultation with which the tidings of this convention were received, both by the army and by the country, the histories of the northern campaign are full. A thoroughly trained British army had laid down its arms at the feet of militiamen and volunteers. The danger of losing the great military line of the Hudson was passed. The communications between the Eastern and Middle States were secured. Well might the Americans feel that the rebellion had become a war, and was entitled to all the rights and privileges of civilized warfare. But was King George ready to acknowledge this position of his rebellious subjects? He had put them out of his protection; was he prepared to receive them back again on their own terms? Thus, though the first feeling was that of triumph on the part of the Americans, the second was that of doubt whether all the conditions of the Convention would be fulfilled by England. In all questions connected with the war of the Revolution, it is safe to begin by ascertaining the opinion of Washington; for Washington's opinion was always carefully formed, and may be considered as expressing that of his most trusty counsellors. The second article of the Convention declares that "A free passage be provided to the army, under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order."

But the presence of the troops in Boston was considered a great hardship. "I must entreat your Excellency's endeavors," writes General Heath, commander of the Eastern Department, to Washington, "to facilitate their removal as soon as possible, as their continuance for any considerable time will greatly distress the inhabitants, both as to provisions and fuel, particularly the latter.



Heath, we see, was thinking of fuel and provisions ; for Washington, there was another question, of far more importance. "I have been duly honored with your favor of the 25th ultimo," wrote Washington, to Heath, "and join your honorable Board most heartily in congratulations on our success in the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army, an event of great importance, and which reflects the highest honor upon our arms. In respect to the embarkation of the prisoners, I take it for granted that the beneficial consequences which the British nation would derive from their arrival in England, will be sufficient motives for General Howe to use every possible exertion to get them away, and that no application for that end will be necessary. For as soon as they arrive, they will enable the Ministry to send an equal number of other troops, from their different garrisons, to join him here, or upon any other service against the American States. I shall be sorry if their remaining should subject you to the inconveniences which you seem to apprehend ; and, if they can be accommodated, I think, in point of policy, we should not be anxious for their early departure. As to the transports, if General Howe is in a situation to send them, it is to be presumed that they will be properly appointed with provisions and wood, the terms of Convention not obliging us to furnish their prisoners for a longer time than their continuance in our hands."


It is evident from this and other letters that Washington saw a serious danger in the immediate return of the Convention troops to Great Britain. It is equally evident that, to meet that danger, he thought of no other means than those which are supplied by the Convention itself, and soon a new question arose ; might not the English commanders, in order to secure a prompt return, ask to change the place of embarkation from Boston to Rhode Island or the Sound ? "Should such a requisition be made," writes Washington to Heath, "it ought not to be complied with upon any principle whatever. It cannot be asked as a matter of right, because, by the articles, Boston is assigned as the port. It should not be granted as a matter of favor, because the indulgence will be attended with most obvious and capital disadvantages to us. Besides the delay, which will necessarily arise from confining them to Boston, as the place of departure, these transports, in a voyage round at this season, may probably suffer considerable injury, and many of them may be blown as far as the West Indies. These considerations, and others needless to be added, have struck me in so important a point of view, that I have thought it expedient to write to you by express. Lieutenant Vallancey, who came with General Burgoyne's

despatches, left this on his return yesterday morning, and I make no doubt in a little time after his arrival, General Burgoyne will request the port of embarkation to be altered. Independently of the impolicy of granting the requisition, it appears to me that no one has authority to do it but Congress." The requisition was made, and Congress, acting upon the suggestion of Washington, refused it.

Meanwhile the troops had reached Boston, where their reception had been anything but cordial. "I cannot speak with satisfaction," writes Burgoyne to Gates, "upon what has passed, and still passes here. The officers are crowded into the barracks six and seven in a room of about ten feet square, and without distinction of rank. The General officers are not better provided for. I and General Phillips, after being amused with promises of quarters for eight days together, are still in a dirty, small, miserable tavern, lodging in a bed together, and all the gentlemen of our suite lodging upon the floor in a chamber adjacent; a good deal worse than their servants have been used to. The only prospect that remains to me personally, is, that I shall be permitted to occupy a house without a table, chair, or any one article of furniture, for the price of an hundred and fifty pounds sterling, till the first of April, but the same sum is to be paid though I should embark in ten days. While I state to you, sir, this very unexpected treatment, I entirely acquit General Heath and every gentleman of the military department of any inattention to the public faith engaged in the Convention. They do what they can, but while the supreme powers of the State are unable or unwilling to enforce their authority, and the inhabitants want the hospitality, or, indeed, the common civilization to assist us without it, the public faith is broke, and we are the immediate sufferers. I cannot close my letter without expressing the sense I entertain of the honor, the candor, and the politeness of your proceedings in every respect towards the army and myself, and I am with sincere regard, sir, your most obedient, humble servant, J. BURGOYNE."

This is a painful picture, and does but little credit to the civil government. But what struck Congress the most, was the charge that the Convention had been broken. Was this a serious accusation, or an expression hastily dropped from the pen of a man justly irritated? It cannot be denied that Burgoyne had good grounds for his complaint. He had signed the Convention in good faith, and as far as he was concerned, fulfilled its obligations.

Still, it was natural that the suspicions of Congress should be awakened. It was well known that the King was not disposed to look





leniently upon the short-comings of his rebellious subjects. It was altogether probable that, if an occasion of calling any article of the Convention in question should present itself, the English Ministry would not hesitate to put upon it the most favorable interpretation for themselves. Still nothing had been done, thus far, to justify the calling in question of the good faith of Burgoyne.

Another question came to complicate the relations between Congress and the British General. The relation of debtor and creditor. The expense of the conquered army were very great; large sums of money were required to meet them. Wherever paper money went, it carried with it the contamination of its evil spirit. Congress required that Burgoyne should pay in silver and gold, but that its own payments should be made in continental currency, which had already reached a ruinous depreciation. Congress had the power and used it with no scrupulous hand.

The rest of the story may be quickly told. We will not accuse Congress of having been altogether without a pretext, for pretexts are easily found. If Gordon be correct, the Convention troops had behaved very badly in their march through New England. But we must remember the excited state of the public mind, and the wild stories that are exaggerated and believed. It is evident that Congress feared that their captives might be employed against them, and after much discussion, it was resolved that Burgoyne's army, instead of being sent to England, should be sent to the interior of Virginia, to remain there, "till a distinct and explicit satisfaction of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the Court of Great Britain."

The question, as has already been hinted, is purely a question of ethics. When suspicion takes the place of facts, men are easily led to accept the most groundless charges, but here the suspicion was not wholly unjustifiable. George the Third still looked upon the colonists as rebels, and was firmly resolved, if he should prove stronger than they, to visit the royal indignation upon them with all its terrors. Men who had fought at Culloden were still living, and the terrors of high treason execution were still fresh in their memories. The German mercenaries, who formed so important a part of the British army, had grown up full of reverence and devotion to their sovereign; never having known rights in their own intercourse with the world, their conceptions were bounded by duty; to hear and to obey, to look upon their sovereigns as irresponsible masters, and their officers as the representatives of those sovereigns, was the creed in which they had grown

up and were ready to die. Thus there was a natural antagonism between them and those whom they had come to bring back to their duty at the point of the bayonet. For them the word rebel was hateful, and the living rebel a monster. Were they bound to keep faith with monsters?

The hatred of the Loyalist for the Whig was equally bitter, and all were either Whigs or Loyalists. In this fertile soil political passions bore an abundant harvest. When Congress went home to take counsel with its constituents, it found in their prejudices a faithful mirror of its own. Can we wonder that it should be guilty of much questionable legislation.

It was under the influence of feelings like these that Congress declared that the Convention had been violated. The Florentine Secretary would have approved their decision; but the Christian statesman of the nineteenth century must reluctantly confess that their deliberate infraction of a solemn compact was unworthy of the representatives of an honorable people.

GEORGE W. GREENE

\* See the Report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, October 22, 1877, by Charles Deane.

## THE DIGHTON ROCK INSCRIPTION

### AN OPINION OF A DANISH ARCHÆOLOGIST

After the publication of my "Observations on the Dighton Rock Inscription," in this Magazine (February, 1878), I sent special impressions of the article to Mr. J. J. A. Worsaae, Director of the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquities, at Copenhagen, and Vice-President of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. I received from him in reply a letter (dated November 1, 1878) which relates almost exclusively to the Dighton Rock question, and will be duly appreciated by those who are interested in that topic. Indeed, an expression of opinion coming from such weighty authority cannot fail to command the highest consideration.

"CHARLES RAU, ESQ.,

*Smithsonian Institution, Washington.*

"I fully agree with your observations on the Dighton Rock inscription. But the statements of Dr. Farquharson are incorrect in the highest degree. As Vice-President of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, I am enabled to give you an official account of the whole proceeding concerning the intended removal of Dighton Rock.

"In the year 1861 Mr. Niels Arnzen (a Dane), citizen of Fall River, Massachusetts, presented a deed of transfer of Dighton Rock to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, as a token of his esteem for the Society, and for the editor of 'Antiquitates Americanæ,' Professor C. C. Rafn. This donation was thankfully accepted by the Society. Many members, however, myself among them, had not the slightest confidence in the deciphering of the figures upon the rock, and rejected the idea of their being in any way connected with the old Northmen. Later researches have fully convinced us that the figures are due to the Indians, and *not* to the Northmen.

"In December, 1876, and January, 1877, the above-mentioned Mr. Arnzen wrote to the Society that some Boston gentlemen had recently directed the attention of the people of Boston to the necessity as well as the propriety of the preservation of Dighton Rock, proposing at the same time the erection of some suitable and permanent memorial in honor of the Northmen, as the first European discoverers of the American continent. Mr. Arnzen suggested that the Society should

waive all rights to the Dighton Rock, thus enabling him to get Boston funds to protect it. The idea of the Boston Committee was to have the rock raised and conveyed to some public place in Boston.

"At a meeting of our Society of Northern Antiquaries, held January 30th, 1877, the leading Committee of the Society was authorized to answer :

" 'That the Society was ready to give up its rights to Dighton Rock, in order to promote its protection and eventual removal by the Boston Committee ; that the Society in general, however, did not approve of monuments being removed from their original places without urgent necessity ; that the Society, if the Boston Committee really insisted upon bringing the Dighton Rock in connection with a monument of the Northmen, regarded it as a duty to declare that the Dighton Rock figures, according to the ideas of all modern Northern Antiquaries, are not the work of the northern discoverers of America, but rather of the Indians ; and, finally, that, as the first discovery of America by the Northmen was, nevertheless, fully established by the accounts of the Sagas, and of the German historian Adam of Bremen, the Society could not but feel gratified by the prospect that a monument was to be erected in Boston in honor of the northern discovery of the great American continent.' "


"To this resolution of the Society the Boston Committee returned the following answer :

" 'J. J. A. Worsaae, Esq.,

Vice-President of the Royal Society of  
Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

" 'A communication from the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, dated February 22d, 1877, has been received by the Committee at Boston, appointed for the purpose of erecting a monument to the Scandinavian discoverers of America. The Committee desires to express warmly its satisfaction regarding the acceptance of its suggestion as to the surrender of Dighton Rock to our custody. We shall protect it, and see that it receives no injury, and, perhaps, shall have it placed in our new Art Museum ; but our Society is chiefly interested in securing a monument to the Norsemen. It is hoped it may take the form of a statue, for we have no portrait of Leif or any of his successors.

" 'We desire to erect a statue of a Northman landing in New England, clad in the characteristic shirt of mail and helmet, the legs bound



with thongs. One foot is planted on a rock, while the other leaves the small boat in which he had rowed from his ship. A grape-vine and New England flowers will be indicated; it will be unmistakably a Northman landing in New England, telling at once the whole story. We hope you will approve of our idea as suitable.

“ ‘ With sentiments of distinguished consideration,

(Signed) T. G. Appleton, Chairman.’ ”

“ Here you have the facts, which are quite at your disposal. I should like to see them published as a continuation of your paper.

“ With my best wishes, believe me always, dear sir,

Most sincerely yours,

J. J. A. WORSAAE.”

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The letter being written in the English language, my task merely consisted in transcribing it.

CHARLES RAU





BELVEDERE—HOME OF COL. JOHN EAGER HOWARD—BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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## THE HOWARDS OF MARYLAND

To no Marylander would the allusion in the oft-quoted line, "not all the blood of all the Howards," seem inappropriate if applied to the family of John Eager Howard and his distinguished sons; and its members are fortunate in the transmission of a name as distinctive in this republican country, of honorable and high lineage, as is that of their supposed ancestry, the Norfolk-Howards in the kingdom of Great Britain. Although there are other families of Howards in the State, this one, through its historic, political and social prominence, is more particularly designated "The Howards of Maryland."

The most illustrious member of this well-known family was Colonel John Eager Howard, who rose to distinction in the Revolutionary war. The deaths of the father and grandfather of Colonel Howard appear to have left him to derive his knowledge of family traditions from his mother (who lived to a good age), there remaining little documentary evidence beyond bare records of bequests of property, deeds, marriages, births and deaths. He was himself reserved and uncommunicative. None of his children ever knew him to speak of the origin of his family, or of matters concerning it, to any one. His only surviving child, Sophia C. Read of Baltimore, describes very precisely, however, a painted and framed coat of arms, about two feet square, inscribed "Howard, Earl of Arundel," which hung over the desk in her father's private office at Belvidere. This painting passed into the possession of his son, Mr. James Howard, but unfortunately during his long illness, and consequent removal from the family estates of Cowpens and Cliffholme, this valuable and interesting relic was lost or mislaid. It is described as painted on copper, and had probably descended from that ancestor, "who" (to quote from a short family record found after his death in Colonel Howard's handwriting) "turned out, though very young, to support James at the time of Monmouth's rebellion, and preferred coming to this country rather than return to his father, who was displeased at his leaving home in the manner he did." The head of the Norfolk family at the date of Monmouth's invasion was attainted of treason and deprived of his dukedom; therefore only "Howard, Earl of Arundel." The dukedom was restored to William, his son and successor. Thus the inscription upon the painted coat-of-arms in Colonel Howard's possession curiously tallies with that fact, and appears to settle its age and

date. The same coat-of-arms is on the tombs of their colonial ancestors in the Howard burial ground at "the Forest." The Forest was a large tract of land in Baltimore county, recorded as granted by the Crown to Joshua Howard, the grandfather of Colonel Howard, in 1699. The family are no doubt content to possess an honorable American genealogy of five generations; but the traditional theory of descent from the Norfolk-Howards is based upon this use of the Arundel escutcheon by their colonial ancestors, and by a man so unsparing in contempt for pretence or false statement of any sort as Colonel John Eager Howard, who is described by one of his biographers as "scrupulously just," with a memory "painfully minute, and the most accurate repository of the history of his own time in this or any other country." The possibility of the theory is sustained by a recent declaration of Cardinal Howard and the present Duke of Norfolk, that a branch of their family was "known to be in America," referring to the Maryland Howards.

The military spirit, independence and resolution which inspired their ancestor at an immature age to take arms against Monmouth, and to emigrate to this country, has shown itself in each generation of his descendants, whenever war or other opportunity has given it play, though none have achieved lasting renown but the revolutionary hero, Colonel Howard.

Colonel John Eager Howard, was born June 4th, 1752, at "The Forest," in Baltimore county, Maryland. His father, Cornelius, was the third son of Joshua Howard, whose wife was Miss O'Carroll, whose father emigrated to America from Ireland. To this nationality may be attributed the name "Cornelius." Their two elder sons, Thomas and Francis, seem to have left no descendants. Joshua Howard bequeathed the bulk of his estate to his son Cornelius, who married Ruth Eager, heiress to John Eager, son of George Eager of Maryland. From her descended to her son, John Eager Howard, the estate of Belvidere, a tract of land adjoining the "Town" of Baltimore of three hundred acres, which later formed the beautiful park and grounds around the handsome mansion erected by its owner soon after the war of independence. Not a vestige of the park or mansion remains. They have gone down before the inevitable advance of the rapidly spreading city, a result to which Colonel Howard's munificent gifts of land for public purposes greatly contributed. Thus in his park was raised *the first* "Washington monument."

Bred to no profession, sympathy with the resistance of the Colonies decided John Eager Howard to that of arms. Bodies of militia, called

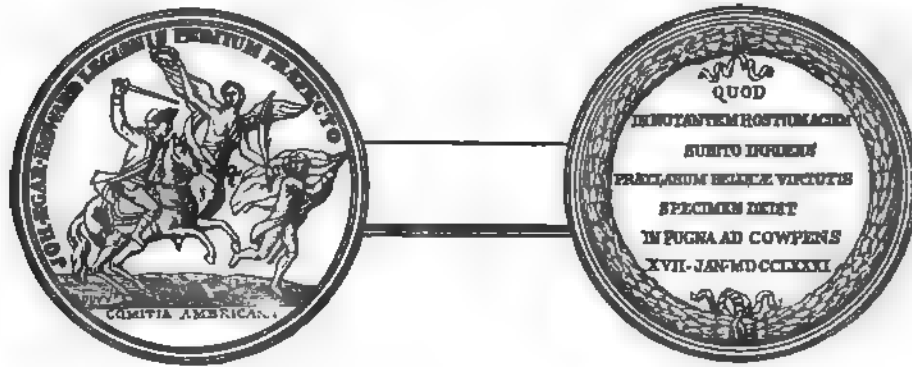
"Flying Camps," were formed in Maryland. Modestly declining a colonelcy, he accepted a captaincy in this corps June 25, 1776, and was present at the battle of White Plains in the autumn of the same year. When Congress in place of this system of defence required each State to furnish regular troops, Captain Howard was given a majority in one of the seven Maryland regiments. In this capacity he was engaged in the battles of Germantown and Monmouth in 1777, and in June, 1779, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Regiment of Maryland Infantry, transferred to the Sixth, and then, after the battle of Hobbick's Hill, given command of the Second.

Colonel Howard's services in the war have been set forth in several memoirs. The earliest appeared in the "National Portrait Gallery;" the latest in Mr. Hanson's "Old Kent of Maryland," a recent publication of merit. Reference is therefore only made to those battles in which, under the command of Generals Greene, Gates and Morgan, in the South, he was conspicuous for conduct and gallantry. In these he rendered such efficient and eminent service that Greene, an exact discriminator of merit, declared him to have conferred great obligations on himself, and greater on the public. "He deserves," said Greene, "a statue of gold, no less than Roman or Grecian heroes." "At the battle of Cowpens Colonel Howard seized the critical moment, and turned the fortunes of the day," writes Lee, "and at all times and on all occasions was eminently useful."

Of intrepid, personal courage, he was distinguished for pushing his troops into close fighting with fixed bayonets, a weapon rarely crossed in battle even by veterans. This manner of fighting was first inaugurated by Colonel Howard during the battle of Cowpens. In the heat of the struggle an order for a flank movement was mistaken by Colonel Howard's men for an order to retreat, and they fell back. Upon this General Morgan rode up, exclaiming that "the day was lost!" "Look at that line," replied Howard; "men who can retreat in such order are not beaten." Morgan ordered him to take a position which he pointed out, and make a stand; but halting his men, and facing them about, Howard poured in a sudden fire upon the advancing enemy, and then, on his own responsibility, dashed on them with the bayonet. The result was a brilliant victory, while the method of the attack reversed the opinion, which even Washington had held, that American troops could not cope successfully with tried British veterans in the use of the bayonet. Afterwards the Maryland line was put to this service so continually as almost to destroy that brave corps. At Cowpens Howard

held at one time in his hands the swords of seven officers, surrendered to him personally; and saved the life of the British General O'Hara, who clung to his stirrup, claiming quarter. His gallantry was rewarded by Congress with a medal.\* In the succeeding battle of Eutaw he was so seriously wounded as to impair his health later in life.

Five years after the close of the war Colonel Howard became Governor of Maryland for three terms, and gave his influence to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In 1796 he first entered the Senate of the United States, having previously declined the appointment of Major-General by the State.



Washington offered him a seat in his Cabinet, and in several letters deplored his refusal to accept the post as a loss to himself and the public. After requesting the interposition of a friend, and finding all efforts vain, Washington finally wrote: "The reasons you have assigned for not doing so carry conviction along with them, and *must, however reluctantly, be submitted to.*" To persuade Colonel Howard against his own judgment or will, would have been difficult indeed; a characteristic equally developed in his descendants. But it was said of him that "such was his integrity, wisdom and justice, they gave his opinions an almost absolute sway." In 1798 he consented to accept from General Washington the rank of General, should the threatened war with France be declared, a calamity which was happily averted.

Colonel Howard married one of the beautiful daughters of Benjamin Chew of Clifden, Germantown, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. These brilliant women were reigning Tory belles in Philadelphia during its occupation by the British. When the war closed Mrs. Chew attended the ball given to welcome General Washington to Philadel-

phia, and described to her daughter Margaret, who, from "loyalty," had refused to accompany her, a wounded officer, who stood aloof from the assemblage, Colonel Howard of Maryland, as "the only one who interested her." Miss Chew, curious to see this young hero, went to the next ball herself, and lost her heart. The result was their betrothal, and marriage soon after. Colonel Howard's first view of Clifden, the home of his bride, had been during the battle of Germantown, when "Chew's House," fortified by the British, welcomed the "Maryland Line" with a shower of balls.

Miss Chew was the lady for whom Captain André rode in the "Tourney" of "the Mischianza" Fête. After her marriage, when on one occasion she and her sisters were speaking in eloquent terms of André's attractions and accomplishments, her husband silenced them with the stern rebuke, that he was only "a damned spy!"

The union seems to have been happy beyond the ordinary lot of humanity. Mrs. Howard's correspondence presents the most natural pictures of enviable domestic harmony and love. She writes of her stern husband as her "Lord and slave;" her "good squire." Her eldest son, John (whose death she did not long survive), is especially her "beloved son;" the others, "dear urchins," or "the young flock." Her sisters (one of whom was married to the only son of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and lived near her) are spoken of in every variety of affectionate expressions. These are the charming letters of a cultivated woman of lively wit, endowed with warm affections and superior wisdom; overflowing with sparkling happiness, and blessed with a perfect life. In one she describes what she calls "a grand jumble" at Belvidere, so often the scene of brilliant assemblies. Carriages now roll over the very site of the hospitable mansion, where then carriages were "moored in the slough" on their return to town after the ball.

Colonel Howard's reticence was so extreme that even at this distance of time it seems scarcely right to look behind the curtain of his domestic life, though it be but to reveal his virtues and worth. This account may fitly close with the remarks of The Baltimore Gazette, on the occasion of his death, October 12, 1827: "A fortune, which might have been deemed princely, was not used to increase the lustre of his station, or the weight of his authority. Amidst the frantic agitations of party, he, almost alone of his generation, won the universal confidence. The most inveterate popular prejudices seemed to yield to the affectionate conviction of his impregnable honesty, and that personal independence, which neither party zeal could warp from its

course, nor passion subvert, nor faction alarm: his fellow-citizens turned to him as to a fountain of undefiled patriotism. The example of such a citizen is a legacy to his country, of more worth than the precepts of an age."

The main building of the Belvidere mansion contained two small rooms, one on each side of the hall; three large drawing-rooms on the rear, the central an octagon, with windows opening upon a noble view of town and country, the Patapsco river and Chesapeake Bay. The stairway, imported from England, was partly of iron, the woodwork of mahogany. Its broad, shallow steps wound in a semicircle above the entrance, without apparent support, to a balcony above the drawing-room doors. It was built in the thick walls, which were substantial enough to have stood for centuries had time and not progress besieged them. To "Howard's Park" Baltimore's citizens resorted for parades, lover's walks, and even duels. In one of these encounters a gentleman was shot near the present site of Mount Vernon Place.

Colonel Howard's eldest brother, George, married, but left no descendants. His four other brothers died bachelors. Two of his sisters were married. Ruth to Charles Elder of Maryland; Violetta to Joseph, Lord West and Earl de la Warr, though he is written down very properly in the Howard family record as plain "Joseph West." From one of this gentleman's family the State of Delaware took its name.

Two of the bachelor sons, James and Cornelius, lived to see their elder brother, John Eager Howard, famous. James died a martyr to gout; but Cornelius lived, an eccentric recluse, at his home on his portion of "The Forest" to an advanced age, dying in 1844. Law-suits were almost unknown in the county while he lived to arbitrate disputes. Among many anecdotes illustrating his high reputation for probity and truth, it is related of a jury, reproved by the Judge for a verdict contrary to the weight of evidence, that its foreman replied: "Well, yes, your honor! but if all Baltimore county swears one thing, and Mr. Cornelius Howard the other, no jury in this State will give a verdict against him." Singularly enough, though too young to take part in the struggle, he did not approve of the Revolution, and sturdily refused to make oath of allegiance to the United States, paying double taxes for his recusancy.

Colonel Howard had two daughters, Juliana and Sophia; and six sons, John Eager, George, Benjamin Chew, William, James and Charles. In the war of 1812 the four eldest took up arms in defence of Baltimore,


and were in the battle of North Point, which resulted favorably to the city. When the proposal was made to avert the destruction of Baltimore by capitulation, the old hero, who had organized its defence, said: "I have four sons in the field, and as much property at stake as any one, but sooner would I see my sons weltering in their blood, and my property reduced to ashes, than so far disgrace the country."

His daughter Juliana died in the second year of her marriage with John McHenry, a gentleman of large fortune, the son of Secretary McHenry of Washington's Cabinet (in whose honor Fort McHenry was named). Mr. McHenry did not long survive his wife. She left one son, James Howard McHenry, who married Miss Cary, a lady in whose veins flows the best blood of Virginia and Maryland. Mr. McHenry's fine estate of Sudbrook, near Baltimore, contains a part of "The Forest," inherited from his grandfather's grandfather, although the mansion is modern. The owner has assembled within it many curious pieces of antique furniture and rare objects of art.

Sophia, the second daughter of Colonel Howard, married Mr. William George Read, whose sister (described by a contemporary as a "Juno" in beauty) was married to her eldest brother John. They were the son and daughter of General Read of South Carolina. Mrs. Read has been many years a widow. Though now 79 years of age, she retains her vigor of mind and body, and has met the trials and bereavements of a long life with a brave fortitude worthy of her noble sire. Mr. Read was a distinguished scholar (graduating at the head of his class at Harvard University), as was also his only son, William George Read, Jr., lately deceased.

Of the sons of Colonel Howard, John Eager Howard died early, leaving one son, John Eager Howard, who distinguished himself in the Mexican war by conspicuous gallantry, being the first on the walls at the storming of Chapultepec. Major Howard bid fair to rival his grandfather as a soldier; but the war ended abruptly, and he returned home to die a lingering and unhappy death from softening of the brain. He never married.

George and James married daughters of General Charles Ridgely of Hampton, a fine entailed estate near Baltimore. Margaret Howard, daughter of James, was afterwards married to her cousin, a grandson of General Ridgely and heir to Hampton, where she now resides, a widow. Four of the sons of James Howard (three by his second marriage with Miss Ross) fought in the Confederate army; one was severely wounded.





George was elected Governor of Maryland. Howard County was named in his honor. His friend, the great Henry Clay, pronounced him to have as brilliant a mind as he ever encountered. His wit was of the readiest; his humor unflagging; his puns even, for their easy originality, were forgiven him. A friend read from a newspaper that a man had slipped from a housetop, and was killed. "Served him right," said the Governor, "for eavesdropping."

Governor Howard's eldest son died unmarried. His second son, Charles Ridgely Howard, was a man whose bravery had no parallel, being utterly reckless of results. He obtained of General Jackson, on his personal application, when only twelve years old, an appointment in the United States Navy, and so distinguished himself in the Florida war (where he was detailed under David Porter for land service) that he was made Brevet Captain, and given command of a sloop-of-war when only nineteen years of age. His turbulent spirit led him into many pranks, escapades and scrapes when on land, deprived of the vent of war duty or sea life. Among the anecdotes told of him is one of his successfully performing the difficult feat of driving sixteen horses, attached to a sleigh, up and down the crowded Broadway of New York; another of his dropping from a third-story window of Gadsby's Hotel, in Washington, upon the pavement below, without other result than the collecting of an astonished crowd to witness his walking away unhurt. Active as a squirrel and as fearless in climbing, he was once present in the Washington Navy Yard when a fellow midshipman was ordered up the flagstaff to unfurl the flag. His senior by four years, this midshipman had made himself offensive to young Howard by his overbearing, bullying nature. Daily encounters passed between them in which Howard was always mastered; the superior officers permitting no one to interfere, saying, "the plucky little rascal may as well learn the necessity of submitting to superior force." Now the youth saw his enemy in a position where strength and size would not avail against courage. Quick as thought he dashed up the tall flagstaff after him. Threatening to seize him and jump off the boy ordered him down; the bully obeyed, leaving his victor to unfurl the flag amid the shouts of the applauding spectators, and to gain ever afterward immunity from affront.

During his courtship of the young girl who became his wife he found that the noted Baltimore roughs permitted none of the gentlemen who visited her and her sister to pass their headquarters, "The New Marke

Engine House," after nightfall. This he could not submit to, as did his more cautious companions. Regularly every evening he fought his way through, appearing before his fiancée with blacked eyes and bruised, swollen fists, till at last the "roughs" themselves, when Howard presented himself as usual singly to fight his way through the two or three dozen of them who opposed his passage, set up a shout of welcome, opened to right and left for him to pass through in triumph, gaily bidding him "Good night! Captain!" which he returned with hearty good will.

Finally, for some infringement of the rules of the post at a West Point ball, he was court-martialed and dismissed from the Navy, though unjustly, as he was restored by President Tyler, with back pay and rank. Unfortunately he conceived the freak of visiting the President on a Levee-day in an equipage thought disrespectful, and the order for his reinstatement was revoked. Finding shore life insupportable, he obtained the command of a Pacific mail steamship, and died of yellow fever at Panama. His brother officers erected a monument to his memory in the beautiful graveyard in that port. He left four daughters and one son, James Morris Howard, who, by the law of primogeniture, would have been the only one of the family to receive the Cincinnati badge at the death of Major John Eager Howard, had not the great merits of his venerable grand-uncle, General B. C. Howard, and the desire to enlarge the Society, induced the Society to change that single aristocratic feature of their organization, to admit of its being given to any distinguished descendants of Revolutionary officers the Society should elect to the honor.

General Benjamin Chew Howard (son of Colonel Howard) was greatly beloved by his family and friends, and highly respected by the community. He was graduated from Princeton College in 1809, and took early part in political life. He represented Maryland in Congress from 1829 to 1833, and again from 1835 to 1839. As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations he was author of the remarkably able report on the North Eastern Boundary Question, which has been frequently ascribed to Cushing and Winthrop. President Van Buren offered him the Mission to Russia, which he declined. In 1840 he was chosen State Senator. In 1848 he was thought the most available candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Democratic ticket. He long held a position in the United States Senate, and afterwards in the United States Supreme Court. In 1860 he was one of the Washington Peace Commissioners

who sought to avoid the impending Civil War. He died in 1872 at the advanced age of eighty-one years, universally esteemed and regretted even by those who had not shared his opinions. A few words from the pen of a political adversary, testify to the general esteem for his character: "The name of Howard has always been especially dear to the people of Maryland, and perhaps more thoroughly identified with its honor and chivalry than any other. They have always been leaders in the councils of the nation as well as on its battle-fields, and have blended at the same time the highest social amenities and culture with strong character and intellectual endowments." He accepted a nomination for Governor, which he had before declined, from the party adverse to the authorities at the breaking out of the civil war, knowing that he ran great risk of arrest, and had no chance of being elected. His widow retains possession of his country-seat, "Roslyn" (adjoining "Sudbrook"), which is also part of "The Forest" still in the family since 1699. Mrs. Benjamin Chew Howard was Miss Gilmor of Baltimore, and is a lady of superior intellect. A young grandson represents General Howard's name.

William Howard married Rebecca Key, niece to Francis Key. He alone of Colonel Howard's sons developed a taste for science, travel and art. He is said to have been one of the earliest to reach the summit of Mount Blanc. Several buildings in the city of Baltimore are evidences of his taste. His only son, William Key Howard, entered the Confederate army.

Charles, youngest son of Colonel Howard, was as distinguished for courage and integrity as his brothers. For denying the right of the military to deprive the city and State officials of their authority, and for refusing to resign their positions as such, when the late war broke out, he and his eldest son, Frank Key Howard, were imprisoned at Forts Lafayette and Warren, in company with S. Teackle Wallis and other distinguished Baltimoreans. He was at one time Judge of the Orphans' Court. His five younger sons served in the Confederate army with distinction. James Howard, as Colonel, commanded two battalions in defense of Richmond, and Captain McHenry Howard held several positions of high trust and responsibility; another, a Surgeon, Dr. Edward Lloyd Howard, was also conspicuous for self-devotion on the Yellow Fever Commission last summer. Mrs. Charles Howard was a daughter of Francis Scott Key, author of the Star Spangled Banner, composed while a prisoner on a British

man-of-war, moored opposite Fort McHenry, during the battle of North Point. In conclusion, it may be said that few names in our land bear a more honorable record than that of "The Howards of Maryland."

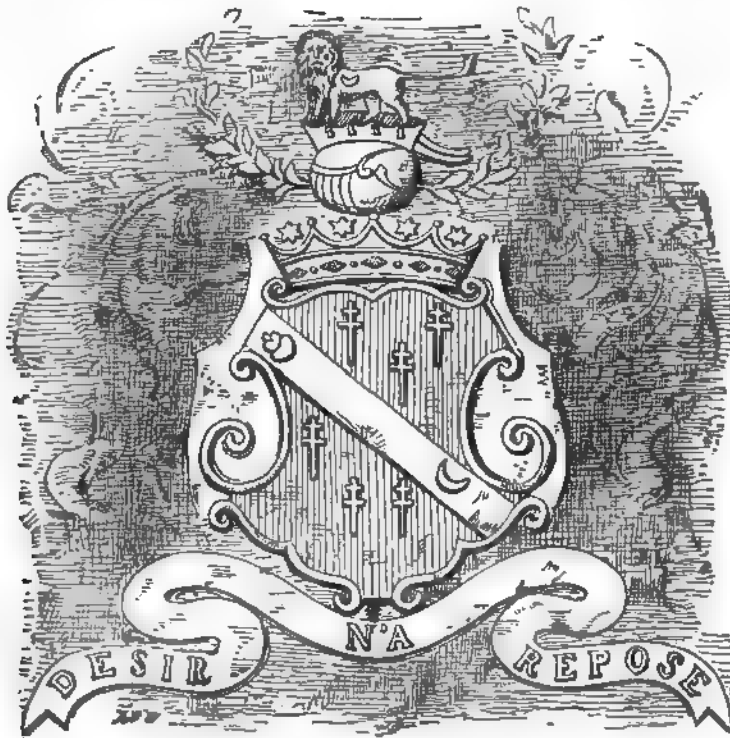
## ELIZABETH READ

<sup>1</sup> Cornelius Howard died June 14, 1777, and is buried in the family burying ground, at the "Old Place," Baltimore County. The escutcheon given at the foot of this article is from his tomb.

<sup>2</sup> This medal, voted by Congress March 9, 1781, was of silver, and is thus described by Mr. Loubat in his recent superb work, *The Medallic History of the United States of America*:

"JON (*Johannis*) EGER (*sic*) HOWARD LEGIONIS PEDITUM PRAEFECTO COMITIA AMERICANA (*The American Congress to John Eager Howard, Commander of a regiment of infantry*). Lieutenant-Colonel Howard on horseback is in pursuit of a foot-soldier of the enemy, who is carrying away a standard. A winged Victory hovers over him, holding in her right hand a crown of laurel, and in her left a palm branch. DUVIV (*Duvivier*).

Within a crown of laurel: QUOD IN NUTANTEM HOSTIUM ACTEM SUBITO IRRUENS PRAECLARUM BELLICAE VIRTUTIS SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA AD COWPENS XVII. JAN. (*Januarii*) MDCCLXXXI. (*Because by rushing suddenly on the wavering lines of the enemy, he gave a brilliant example of martial courage at the battle of the Cowpens, January 17, 1781.*"



THE PAPERS OF FATHER  
BRUYAS

JESUIT MISSIONARY TO CANADA

1689-90

Communicated by B. Fernow, late Keeper of  
the Archives of the State of New York

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The news of the bloodless revolution in England, which placed William of Orange upon the throne of England, found the province of New York in charge of Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson; Sir Edmond Andros, then just appointed Captain-General of New England and New York, being absent in Boston. They came first as an unauthenticated rumor, but created, nevertheless, great sensation, especially among the Dutch inhabitants, who perhaps saw in this event a chance of becoming again a part of the United Netherlands. Other rumors, offsprings of Anti-Stuartism and Anti-Popery, wrought the minds of the population up to fever heat, and made it comparatively easy for Jacob Leisler, a prosperous merchant and senior captain of the militia, to get control of the government of the province.

Leisler, who had come to New York as a soldier of the West-India Company in 1660, was a coarse, vulgar man, whose head was quickly turned by the honors which subservient creatures heaped upon him, and he soon began to prosecute all who opposed him or whom he suspected, not even sparing members of his family. Thus he found also an excuse to proceed against Robert Livingston, a prominent Albanian, who being a Scotchman and a friend of the Jesuit missionaries among the Mo-

hawks and Oneidas, was easily accused of leaning towards the cause of the de-throned Stuart. Under the plea that he had not accounted for the revenues of the King in Albany during twelve months, his house was searched for the accounts. Livingston, however, had fled and taken all his papers with him, so that the Commissaries found only a chest containing papers, etc., of the Jesuit Vaillant. They got several people to swear to Livingston having made use of language derogatory to King William, and in sending these affidavits to Leisler, they write, "We send your Honor herewith six affidavits against the aforesaid Livingston regarding his Majesty, and with them goes a package of papers, which are found in an old chest with some jewels, formerly the property of the Jesuit Vaillant, from Canada. We have inventoried for his Majesty's behalf."

François Vaillant de Gueslis had joined the Society of Jesus at Quebec, in 1675, and four years later he took Pere Bruyas' place as missionary at Tionnontoquen (Fort Hunter). According to a letter from the Marquis de Denonville, Governor of Canada, to Governor Dongan (New York Col. Doc. Vol. III, p. 518), Vaillant remained among the Mohawks until about 1683, and in 1688 was sent by Denonville to Albany to treat with Governor Dongan. During this visit to Albany he probably left at Livingston's house the chest mentioned in the letters from the Commissaries, which originally seems to have been the property of Père Bruyas, his predecessor at Fort Hunter. The papers criticised and enumerated in the

following translation are, without doubt, the writings of Père Bruyas, who was the best philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled many works in that tongue and on its construction. Hennepin journeyed from Fort Frontenac to the Mohawk valley to examine his Dictionary, and Cotton Mather had a copy of his Catechism. The dictionary and catechism are still extant (N. Y. Col. Doc. III, p. 719, note).

The criticisms given herewith are dated "Boston, 29th April, 1690." The correspondence of Leisler with the Governor of Boston fails to show that the papers were sent there, and it remains an open question how the papers came there, what became of them afterwards, and who wrote the "Inventory?"

B. FERNOW.

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INVENTORY OF CERTAIN PAPERS FOUND  
IN A PRIVATE HOUSE (LIVINGSTON'S)  
NEAR ALBANY DURING THE LATE  
TROUBLES.<sup>1</sup>

As not everybody understands French I am very glad that these papers have been brought to me for examination, for the majority is in that language; I hope that I shall satisfy those who have had the curiosity to know what they contained. They are the writings of a Jesuit missionary for the conversion of the Iroquois; his name is Father Bruyas,<sup>2</sup> as is shown by several directions of letters, addressed to him and used by him to cover his manuscripts. He mentioned, also, several other Fathers of the Society. We see, therefore, that the good Fathers are to be found everywhere, and that if they have had no hand in what has taken place at Albany

lately, it is any way certain that they have been in that neighborhood a long time. However, I leave it to the reader to think of it what he pleases, and to make such remarks, in regard to the details which I shall give, as he thinks fit; after that I ask permission to make remarks of my own.

After having examined all these papers, I have found all the following pieces:

1. The form of the consecration of the Host with the sacramental words surmounted by a cross. This is the only printed thing found among the papers.

There is further a writing-book marked with a tree. It is a catechism, in the Mahingan tongue and in Latin, with Popish prayers, as the Pater, Ave Maria, Credo, etc. The whole directed to Father Bruyas at Agnié. Then six writing-books, which the writer has himself marked with numbers, and which contain a little Iroquois dictionary in alphabetical order. They are covered by several letters written to the Rev. Father Bruyas.

There are seven other writing books, and several loose leaves of a grammar to learn the Iroquois language, the Huron, Onneista, etc. The writer adds remarks to teach these languages, the tenses, conjugations, pronounciations, etc. There is also a table of a grammar (une table de grammaire) on a sheet of paper, containing certain paradigms of Huron verbs.

Also, an invoice directed to Rev. Father Thierry Bechefer, Jesuit at Quebec, where, in one list, hosties of all sizes, small crucifixes are marked down together with paper bags, raisins, prunes,

tobacco and rosaries, all to be used in making treaties with the Indians.

There are further, two writing-books with discourses in Iroquois, interlined with Latin sentences, which latter proved the one to be an instruction of the savage, who was to be converted, and the other a treatise on the manner of making treaties with them by giving them presents.

There is another cahier, containing 100 cases of conscience with their answers in Latin, for the Iroquois missionary, and carried into practice after having been confirmed by the Rev. Fathers, the Jesuites of Quebec. Finally, there is a Catechism written in two books in the language of the Oneidas and Latin, which has 24 chapters.

This is the inventory of all the papers which have been handed to me. My remarks will be 1st, on the letters; 2d, who are the Jesuit Fathers mentioned in these writings; 3d, on the remarkable doctrines which they teach the Iroquois. After having examined these points, I believe to have acquitted myself of the task imposed upon me.

I. Father Bruyas used several letters as covers for his manuscript writing-books and the Indian dictionary. I believe he did so to preserve them with so much more care and to prevent their loss, which would indeed have been great. A letter written by the Jesuit Stechon (Hechon?), of Quebec, covers the first cahier, and informs P. Bruyas concerning two of his Iroquois women, who had been left as hostages at Quebec, and whom P. Bruyas had recommended to him; he says that both had died, one after *having received the last*

*ointment*; but in regard to the other, he gives a strange detail of her death, saying that she had *died from small-pox, which had so taken hold of her that nobody could remain in her chamber, for she emitted a fearful stench*. He then sends P. Bruyas a *handsome necklace, not to dry the tears of their parents* (according to heathenish custom), *but to assure them that they had died as Christians, and to admonish them to imitate their daughters by embracing their faith, so that they might see them again in heaven*; he desires, also, that P. Bruyas *should make the two deceased girls speak to their parents, and ask them to believe, that they might share in their happiness*.

Are these not, indeed, wonderful examples to follow, and do you not believe that these persons are in Heaven; look especially at the manner in which the second died. And yet he wishes to make the parents believe that their dead daughters admonish them to embrace the faith. Who does not see that the last spark of piety, even of Christianity, must be extinguished to make use of such means for the conversion of the heathens. The remainder of the letter concerns propositions formerly made to the French of Canada, which are of no importance here.

The second letter, which I found covering the second cahier, is written from Lyons, and contains only the badly expressed compliments of a young Jesuit, Louis Montilesi, who tells of a murder committed near Geneva, the victim of which was a Jesuit, invested with the benefits of a secular priest. According to their manner, they did not fail to accuse the Huguenots, while it looks

much more as if their Popish parishioners had done it, who hated them mortally and desired to shake off the yoke of their tyranny.

The third letter covers the fourth cahier, and is written by P. Bruyas himself. It contains only private family-matters, with which we have nothing to do here. The fifth cahier is covered by a letter from P. Jean Etienne Grolét, a Jesuite, who invites him to come to France and induce several Rev. Fathers to come to Canada. It adds many compliments and flatteries.

Around the sixth cahier I found a letter from a nun in the Convent of the Hospitalers, at Quebec, who offers her services to the Rev. P. Bruyas, and sends him an image of the *great St. Francois Xavier, his patron*. She says that she *will also send him lancets, if he needs them*, etc. These good ladies are full of charity, and their name suits them exactly. This one is called Catherine Marie de Ste. Agn[—]

There is another letter, directed to the same P. Bruyas, which covers the Oneida grammar. It is also written by a nun of the Ursulines, of Quebec, and is very polite, for I see, that in offering her services to P. Bruyas, she makes no restrictions whatever; after having assured him that their entire little community was at his service, as well as she herself, she adds, that if his Reverence *thinks them capable to serve him, in whatever service it may be*, they are ready to do it with plaisir, etc. Nothing could be said against this kind of offers, if it was not well known, that the Ursulines of Canada recruite themselves mostly from those good penitents who go to be

Magdalens in the convents, after having enjoyed all the pleasures of the world.

I must not forget to mention here the Latin manuscript, which covers the 3d cahier of the Indian dictionary. It is a declaration demanded by Père Millet, General of the Jesuits in New France, of P. Bruyas to make him Prefect of the Order. It contains five articles; in the first he promises never to do anything to change one way or the other the rules regarding the vow of poverty, which he has made, unless the exigency of the case might require him to relax a little. He protests in the second that he will never have any direct or indirect pretensions to any prelacy or dignity outside of the Society. In the third he promises never to consent to being elected, unless compelled by him, who is authorized to command him, under the penalty of a mortal sin. If he knows any body, who has such pretensions, he promises, in article four, to inform the Society of it; and in the last article he promises, that if he should happen to be promoted to any dignity or prelacy, he will always recognize the General of the Society as his superior, and never refuse to obey his advice, or that of any one whom he may appoint in his place, nor take exceptions to them, if he judges them to be better than those which he may have received from the Holy Ghost (*ceux qu'il aura dans l'Esprit*); the whole according to the institutions of the Order.

Do you not admire the Jesuitical spirit expressed here? Look how he advances gradually. At first he will not violate the vow of poverty, that is be secularized, then he will not, aspire



to any prelacy, next he will not accept, if elected, unless ordered to do so by his Provincial or his confessor. Finally, if he should accept it, he promises always to obey willingly the advice of the General of the Society, if it suits him. Look upon the turns which these people make, and see whether you will find the least sign of sincerity. He promises and does not promise, he protests that he will never aspire to be a prelate, and then he says, in case he should be, he will always recognize the authority of his Superior. It seems as if this kind of declaration was made expressly to inform the world that they can be admitted to the prelacy and to ecclesiastic dignities.

II. It is proper that I should now inform you of the names of the Jesuits mentioned in these writings.

Father Bruyas is one of the most distinguished members; he is Père Proféz, Chief of Missions, a great converter of the Iroquois, Hurons, Oneidas, etc.; so that another Jesuit dares to speak of his endeavors as "Apostolic labors." Judge by the story of the two Iroquois girls, whether he does not impart great honor to the Apostles of Jesus Christ.

The Reverend P. Frémin<sup>s</sup> is a celebrated casuist, so are P. Pierron, † † missionary among the Mohawks during Governors Nicolls' and Lovelace's time. P. Milet († † †) Pierre Milet arrived in Canada in 1667, missionary among the Onondagas, who called him "The looker up to Heaven." Sent to the Oneida in 1671, where he remained until 1684; Chaplain in Forts Frontenac and Niagara until 1689; Indian prisoner until 1694 (See Charlevoix, who

knew him personally), etc., who are the principal authors of the answers given to the 100 cas de conscience, of which I spoke before, and shall speak still more hereafter.

Father Carheil († † † †) Etienne de Carheil arrived in Canada in 1667, went to Onondaga in 1668, then to Cayuga; left here on account of sickness in 1671, and returned only to be compelled, by the obduracy of the tribe, to leave again soon after. In Detroit in 1687 or 1688, in Michilimakinac in 1690, where he excited the admiration and caused the conversion of the great Huron chief Kondiaront, "the Rat." He spent 60 years in missionary labors, but without great success, and died at Quebec in 1726; suffered from a disease which could not be cured in Canada, you may guess what it was, and it was therefore necessary that he should go to France to be properly treated, with his companion, the Jesuit Beaulieu, († †) who suffered from the same disease. He, too, was a good casuist, and of the right stamp.

The Rev. P. Jérôme L'Allemant, who wished with such fervor to see the *house of the Jesuits at Quebec completed, that he only waited for that to die.*

P. Lamberville († Probably Jean de Lamberville, who came to Canada in 1668, and was missionary among the Onondagas in 1671, where he founded the Church of St. John the Baptist. He was much beloved by his Indians, so that even the snare, into which he fell and which gave a number of Iroquois into the hands of their enemies, could not abate their admiration for him, although he had to leave them.

In 1691 they wanted him back, but he was in France, and seems not to have returned. He had a brother, Jacques, also of the Society Jesu, who labored among the Mohawks and Onondagas from 1673 to 1686, and then among the western Iroquois until 1709) a great casuist.

P. Vaillant. († † François Vaillant de Gueslis entered the Order in Quebec in 1675, and replaced P. Bruyas at Fort Hunter in 1679. Among the Mohawks in 1683, Ambassador to Governor Dongan, of New York, for the French Government in 1688, and frequently employed in diplomatic missions to the Indians.) These two have both been missionaries at Agnié.

The incomparable Father Boisseaud was killed performing the functions of a secular curate near Geneva.

Rev. P. Boniface gave his consent to the solution of the 100 conscience-cases, and declared that he was of the same way of thinking as the others, notwithstanding he was absent when they were examined.

Father Bechefer († Thierry Bechefer, missionary among the Mohawks and Oneidas in 1670, Superior in 1680. See La Hontan's Voyages), to whom the invoice for Agnié is directed, seems to me to be the least dishonest man of them all; he answered, when asked for his advice on the cases of conscience, that *he was not sufficiently informed about the superstitions of the Indians, to give an opinion.*

III. It remains only to consider the doctrine which they teach the Iroquois, the Hurons and other savage tribes, whom they want to convert. I find it

in two places. First, in the Catechism, written in the Oneida language on one side, and in Latin on the other. Several superstitions may be found in this writing, but my design is not to examine here the errors, which they continually teach the Europeans, but only certain doctrines, which are new and utterly unknown to the Christian world.

Chapters 14 and 15 of this Catechism are full of these strange and wonderful ideas. I consider it well to translate the former word for word.

Chap. 14. Of the Paradise.

The Indian Proselyte asks :

Q. How is the country in Paradise, is it fine ?

The Father Jesuit answers :

A. It is very beautiful, there is no lack of every kind of eatables, of all that is necessary to clothe yourself, you are happy in every respect ; if somebody says, I would like to be dressed in such a dress, there is the dress before you in an instant ; if he desires to eat anything, Jesus Christ brings it immediately.

Q. Do people work in Heaven ?

A. They do nothing whatever, they do not sow nor do they cultivate the fields, for they always find the wheat ripe and plenty of pumpkins and Indian beans, etc.

Q. Are the trees the same as here ?

A. No ; for the trees in Paradise are extremely beautiful, they are always in bloom, their leaves always green and they do not fall, the grass never dies.

Q. Is the sun the same as here, does it rain, does the wind blow, does it thunder ?

A. No; it is always fine weather and the sky is never cloudy.

Q. Have they fruits in Heaven?

A. That is not impossible.

Q. How are the fruits made?

A. They are fine fruits, each tree is so loaded with them that, although people may gather them every day, there is never an end of it, for as soon as you have eaten one another grows in its place.

Q. Is it cold in Heaven?

A. There is no winter, but an eternal summer.

Q. Are there many inhabitants in Heaven?

A. Yes, a very great number.

Q. Do they know each other?

A. They know each other and are brothers and sisters, they greet each other, and never refuse or deny anything.

Q. Are the inhabitants of Heaven handsome?

A. They are very beautiful; for people who when dying were misformed, are straightened; there are no blind, no deaf, no hunchback people; for they are all made new in Heaven.

Q. Then there is no sickness in Heaven?

A. No; people live there very quietly; there are no diseases, no famine, no war and no death.

Q. Is it not rather tiresome in Heaven?

A. No; for 100 years are like a day; people have a great pleasure to look at each other.

This is the doctrine which the Jesuits teach the heathens whom they desire to convert; is it possible to give a more

carnal idea of Heaven? Mahomet even spoke not with more sensuality of the happiness which he promises to his followers for their future life. For you will first see that they teach these poor Iroquois that there is a country in Heaven inhabited like ours, they promise everything which helps to make them happy here on earth; no sickness, no winter, but fine dresses to decorate themselves, plenty to eat, and as they like pumpkins and beans, they also promise that they shall grow there without planting; they will find there all kinds of fruits, which they like, in great quantities; but fearing that the Indians should believe that they might exhaust this abundance by their voracity, they teach that as soon as one fruit is eaten another one grows in its place; the prayer before meals taught the Indians is in accordance with these notions: they make them say "*in Heaven we shall have a continued feasting,*" and as climax of their happiness, no ennui is found in Heaven.

That is a doctrine well worthy of all the men who boast of having the key of all the sciences; and yet it is embodied in a *Catechism*, that is in the marrow and body of the Religion. This doctrine is laid down among the most important points of Christianity, among the mysteries of the *Unity of God*, of the *nature of Angels*, of the *Incarnation of Jesus Christ*, of his *Martyrdom* and *Resurrection*; it forms a whole with what there is most important in the *Divine will*, with the *explanation of moral laws*, the *administration of the Sacrament*, etc. It would, indeed, be just as well, if these Indians were still heathens

instead of being Christians of this kind; they draw them out of one abyss to precipitate them into another; from Paganism they transfer them into Mahometism; it is easy to make conquests at such a price; it is only necessary to consult the inclinations of a people and then to preach a happiness conform to their desires; you will see that not one will be proof against such allurements. I leave it to the good Fathers, who boastingly call themselves the *Companions of Jesus Christ*, to consider whether Jesus and his Apostles converted people by such means.

The picture which they give of Hell, in Chap. 15, is not less pleasing. They teach that it is a bad country, situated in the middle of a fiery gulf in the centre of the earth, inhabited by demons and the bodies of the damned, which create a fearful stench. Then they say, the people there are always hungry, and have only *hot ashes, snakes and toads* to eat, their only drink is *molten lead*; and at the end of the chapter it is stated that the damned do not die, for even though they *devour each other every day, God makes them revive immediately, like a plant, which, torn out to-day, sprouts again a few days after*; therefore, they say, *the damned are so sad, because they know they will never die.*

Is there anything more ridiculous than these ideas? Do they not sound as if one of the Fathers of the Society had lately paid a visit down there to make a report of what is going on in Hell, and inform us of his new discoveries; or, at least, as if they had some mysterious connection with the evil spirits, who communicate to them the

details of Hell with such minuteness, that they can determine the situation, the victuals, the drinks, etc., thereby?

I pass over a ridiculous explanation of *God's commandments* in this Catechism, which says it is not sinful to *play, dance, go hunting, etc., on Sunday*; nor will I speak of other sections, where they make Jesus Christ say things which he never has said. It is better to go over to the examination of the *conscience-cases*, where I find the fine orthodox sentiments which these good Fathers teach the Iroquois.

Nobody need say that these *cas de conscience* have been decided by individual members of the Society; it was done by several missionaries, by a body of the most eminent Jesuits in America, by theologians, Peres, Profézs, etc. These cases were proposed, and decided to serve as rules for the Iroquois missionaries, and were confirmed by the Jesuit Fathers of Quebec, as their title proves.

I shall not examine them all, for they number one hundred, of which the greater part concern the customs of these heathens, and tend to merge their idolatrous cult into the Christian religion, and pass, therefore, over such as regards the *festivals* of the Iroquois, their *dreams and prophecies*, their *marriages*, their *offerings to the sun* and even to the *devil*, their *self-laudations*, *magic characters*, etc. I shall speak only of two, which are very remarkable.

One is the 89th. It is asked whether a Christian is *obliged to give a prostitute her promised reward*? The Rev. P. P. Milet and Lamberville say that a man is obliged to do it *ex justitia* (i. e. that it is just and equitable to do it). But P.

P. Frémin and Bruyas say that *even though a man ought to do it ex justitid, yet there is no faith among the barbarians* (he speaks of Indian women), *and, therefore, it seems as if he was not obliged to keep his promise in such transactions*, and P. Pierron says absolutely *that a man is as little obliged to do it as to give a reward to a magician for having made a conjuration*.

I cannot help calling these villainous cases of conscience, and strange instruction for neophytes; these questions are more fitted to be examined in a brothel than in religious Christian teachings. I would not have thought of speaking of it here if it had not been my object to show to those who do not know them, what kind of people these Jesuits are. We see, hereby, and by what I have said above, how far their vows of chastity, so rigid in theory, are relaxed in practice.

In the other case, No. 90, this question is asked: *Is an Indian, who has robbed a Dutchman, obliged to make restitution of his plunder*. Rev. P. P. Pierron, Bruyas and Frémin say *that the Indian has no such obligation whatever, if the Dutchman, whom he has robbed, is the one with whom he leaves his goods, and if he deals with him, for he will soon repair his losses, as we learn it from themselves*. But P. Pierron goes still farther, for he is of opinion *that although the Indian thief has no dealings with the Dutch, he has no obligation to return the stolen goods, as long as the plundered Dutchman trades with other Indians*.

I would almost prefer living in Sparta, where it was permitted to steal, as long as it was done cleverly, and then it was

not considered a crime. For this is about the same doctrine which the good Fathers teach their new converts. But I do not understand how they dare decide such a case of conscience, after the trick which Jean d'Alba, one of their servants, played them in Paris. Mons. Pascal (a man enjoying great consideration from the Papists as well as the Protestants of France) tells the story in his *Lettres Provinciales*, under the name of *Louis de Montalte*. As far as I can remember it, it is as follows: This Jean d'Alba, a rather faithless servant, took it into his head one day to steal his master's silver dishes, perhaps because he thought that such dishes were not proper for men who had made the vow of poverty, however that may be, he was arrested, convicted, and placed into the clutches of the law. He found himself thoroughly embarrassed, poor devil, but luckily, a happy thought struck him, for during the examination for the proceedings in court, he said it was true, he had robbed his masters, the Reverend Fathers of the Society Jesu, but he had not committed any sin thereby, he knew very well that, even though a servant had agreed with his master for such and such a sum, yet, if he saw that his work was worth more than the agreed price, he could rob him until he had reached the value of his labor, and therefore, as he had earned much more than they gave him, he wanted to pay himself by his own hands. He stated he had learned this doctrine from their books, and quoted one written by one of their learned men (I believe it was Baugénaïs), which was brought into the Parliament, ordered to be torn to pieces

and burnt by the hangman, while the Jesuits were forbidden ever to teach such doctrines again. Jean d'Alba was released and told to steal no more.

The Canadian Jesuits in the neighborhood of Albany ought to be afraid lest the Indians may apply to their teachers the doctrines which they are taught to practice on the Dutch, for all the world knows that the Jesuits' commerce in peltries with the Indians during one year is as extensive as that of all the Dutch in New York, Albany and Pennsylvania during ten years.

May God soon deliver the Christian world from these grasshoppers, and let a strong east wind come to make them disappear. Amen.

Boston, the 29 of April, 1690.

<sup>1</sup> The French-Indian war of 1689 and 1690.

<sup>2</sup> Missionary among the Indians from 1667 to 1679. Afterwards Superior of the Order in Canada until 1700. He was the best philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled many works on that tongue.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques Frémin is said to have arrived in Canada in 1655. He went with Dablon, another Jesuit Father, to Onondaga, where he remained until 1658. After various other labors in Canada he was sent as missionary among the Mohawks in 1667; labored among the Senecas in 1668, and left them in 1671, to take again charge of the Indians at Laprairie. After a visit to France in 1679, he died in Quebec in 1791.

## NOTES

**GALLOWAY'S PLAN.**—It has never been understood how this plan of accommodation with England was defeated in the Continental Congress of 1774. Lieutenant-Governor Colden, of New York, who had excellent means of knowing, wrote to Lord Dartmouth on

December 7, 1774, "The Delegates from Virginia were the most violent of any—those of Maryland and some of the Carolinians were little less so—these Southern Gentlemen exceeded even the New England Delegates; they, together, made a majority that the others could have very little effect on." (N. Y. Colonial Documents, Vol. VIII, p. 513.) This is not very clear, and Colden did not want to be perfectly clear; but it is possible to infer considerable from it.

We must first remember that there were twelve colonies at the Congress, and Rhode Island's vote was lost. (See Ward's Diary, Magazine of American History, Vol. I, p. 442.) Now the expression "*some of the Carolinians*" naturally means a minority. Besides (although too long for a note) there is sufficient testimony of the conservatism of all the Carolinians except Gadsden, of South Carolina, and Caswell, of North Carolina.

These deductions reduce Colden's list of patriotic colonies to Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. There must have been one more to constitute a majority. There is no apparent reason why Colden should have omitted improperly Pennsylvania, New Jersey or Delaware; but it was Colden's habit to diminish the disloyalty of New York to recommend himself to the King. Moreover, New York was the only colony that had nine Delegates in this Congress, and Galloway, in his examination in the House of Commons, said there were colonies where five Delegates voted down four others who were in opposition to the measures carried. The four

New Yorkers so voted down are readily determined—Duane and Jay, from John Adams' Diary, and Low and Alsop, from their well known political views. The other five New Yorkers were men of superior patriotism.

When Galloway's Plan was introduced on September 28th, there is reason to believe that Philip Livingston voted for it, and thus put New York temporarily on the unpatriotic side. Galloway's final discomfiture was on October 22d, when his plan was cut out of the minutes by a vote of six colonies to five.

In Galloway's cross-examination, in the House of Commons, June 18, 1779, there is the following testimony: "He remembered perfectly well that of the members of one colony, consisting of nine, there were five for the Confederation and four against it." By *Confederation* he apparently means the Articles of Association.

Thus the position of New York on the Tory or Patriotic side depended on the voice of a single Delegate. The last comer from New York was Simon Boerum, of Kings county. He is said by Galloway to have been declared *unanimously* elected at a meeting composed of one man and himself. If this story is true, the one man who voted for him was probably his nephew, William Boerum, who lived with him at Brooklyn Ferry.

As the great events of history sometimes depend on trifles, the American Revolution may have resulted from that vote of William Boerum, though, as Horatio said, "Twere to consider too curiously, to consider so." According to his gravestone, in Cedar Dell, Green-

wood, he died August 25, 1785, aged thirty-nine years and nine months.

From 1777 to 1783 he sat in the New York Assembly as a representative of Kings county *in partibus infidelium*.

F. BURDGE.

THE NEWARK COACH, 1830.—Had the Charioteer of the Sun thundered through our streets with his fiery steeds yesterday, he would scarcely have attracted more attention than did an elegant coach and six from Newark, drawn by six coal-black coursers, and containing thirty-two passengers. The seats of the vehicle, within and without, being calculated for the accommodation of that number. The coach is a highly finished and beautiful structure, and is pronounced by good judges equal to any public coach on the English roads. It has a double body, and sits on eight superior cradle springs. It is lined and cushioned with purple morocco, except the ceiling and a narrow drapery, fringed and festooned all round, of rich yellow silk. The body is painted light green, with handsomely ornamented pannels. Plated mouldings extend over its whole length, with numerous other plated ornaments. Instead of curtains it has four glass windows, and four mahogany Venetian blinds. The driver showed himself a master of his craft. The coach was built by Messrs. Carter, Mitchell & Co., of Newark, N. J., who have recently established themselves in the business, and deserve great credit for this specimen of their workmanship. It is intended to run regularly, as a daily stage between Newark and New York.—*Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 21, 1830. W. K.

**ANOTHER FISH STORY.**—*Hampton, in New Hampshire, June 24, 1756.* Last Tuesday, just at Sunset, two or three Young Men were coming up from Shaw's Island across the Marsh, and hearing a ruffling in a little Salt Pond, and upon looking in, spied a vast Number of fine large Mackrel swimming about; they immediately waded in, and they were so thick that they threw Numbers out with their Hands. One of the Men ran to the nearest House, got a Pigeon-Net, and drew out 400 presently. The next Day, in that and another Salt Pond, they caught upwards of 1,000 fine large Mackrel. It is supposed they might be drove in by some large Fish when the Tides were high last Week, and were now caught in these little Ponds, from which they could not escape after the Tides left them. It causes much Speculation, for there never was a Mackrel known here about, nor are they yet in our Sea.

PETERSFIELD.

**THE FIRST BOSTON FOUNDLING.**—*Monday Nov. 9 [1685].* Flight of snow. This day, about 6 or 7 at night, a Male Infant pin'd up in a sorry Cloth, is laid upon the Bulk of Shaw, the Tabacco-Man. Great Search made tonight and next day to find the mother. So far as I can hear this is the first Child that ever was in such a manner exposed in Boston.—*Sewall's Diary.* MASSACHUSETTS.

**DUN FISH AND CUSK.**—The English are and have always been great lovers of fish. The ambassador's bag, for a long period before railroads and steamboats enabled individuals to compete with the royal

mail, always carried herring of the first run, from the Hague to London, as a diplomatic courtesy. The famous varieties of New England cod were luxuries equally prized. From the time that the victors of Louisburg parted, it was the annual habit of Sir William Pepperrell to send a quintal of dun-fish and another of cusk to his companion in the siege, Sir Peter Warren, in England. PENOBSCOT.

**AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS IN 1789.**—According to an estimate lately made by a gentleman of this city, chiefly from actual accounts received from the several printers, it appears that the number of newspapers printed in the United States, weekly, is 76,438; annually, 3,974,776, which, at 4 cents each, amounts to 158,991 dollars and 4 cents.—*Gazette of the United States, Oct. 14, 1789.* ANTIQUARY.

## QUERIES

"INWOOD—ON—HUDSON," vs. "TUBBY HOOK."—The latter was the old name of this locality, situated at the north-west extremity of Manhattan Island, or by river side, one mile south of Spuyten Duyvel creek. Its present romantic and very appropriate name was given it not many years ago by new-comers, and not by choice of the old residents. What or when was the origin of the former designation, "Tubby Hook," is what no man hereabouts can tell. If any reader of this Magazine can, we shall be glad to see his account of it. Hook or "Hoek," means, in the old Dutch, a point or corner in the land, and gener-



ally as made by a water indentation. That on the Hudson, here, is of rather a diminutive nature, and therefor received, possibly, the humble attributive "Tubby." At the intersection of Broadway with the Inwood avenue to the Hudson R. R. depot, where are to be seen two giant-like, gnarled, very curiously-knotted willows, that have been there *quasi centinels* for near a century, still stands a dilapidated, ancient-looking house, that some twenty-five years ago was called the "Black Horse" tavern, and its sign bore the old local name, now a thing of memory and the matter of our present inquiry.

*Inwood, Nov., 1878.*

W. H.

FRENCH EMIGRÉS AND NEW YORK COFFEE HOUSES.—Brillât-Savarin, the famous gastronome, author of *La Physiologie du Goût*, gives the following account of the habits of the Frenchmen who were driven from France by the Revolution. "I sometimes passed the evenings in a sort of *café-taverne*, kept by a Mr. Little, where he served in the morning 'Turtle soup,' and in the evening all the refreshments customary in the United States. I generally took with me the Vicomte de la Massue and Jean Rodolphe Fehr, formerly a mercantile broker at Marseilles, both *émigrés* like myself. I treated them to a welch-rabbit, which we washed down with ale or cider, and here we passed the evening talking over our misfortunes, our pleasures and our hopes." A note informs us that the welch-rabbit was a bit of cheese toasted on a slice of bread.

What became of Savarin's companions, and where was Little's Coffee House?

FLY-MARKET

EARLY AMERICAN PRINTING.—An almanac for the year 1696 lies before me. The title-page, unfortunately, is wanting; but from the body of the pamphlet it appears that the author was a Quaker, living in West Jersey, and that he had published an almanac for the preceding year. He speaks very impressively of the effects of the eclipses to be expected during the year, though he does not "pretend to prophesie." A chronological table, upon a peculiar plan, gives the number of years that have elapsed since the events mentioned, thus:

<i>Virginia</i> first planted by the English .....	90
<i>New found-Land</i> first planted.....	85
<i>New York</i> first planted.....	83
The first settling of <i>New England</i> .....	78
The building of <i>Boston</i> in <i>New England</i> ...	66
<i>Maryland</i> first planted .....	64
<i>Quakers</i> first so called.....	45
The Professors in <i>New England</i> hanged the <i>Quakers</i> for Religion .....	37
Some called <i>Quakers</i> at Philadelphia impris- oned and fined <i>Quakers</i> for Religion...	4
The Dutch yielded New York, <i>Albany</i> & <i>New-Castle</i> to the <i>English</i> .....	32
<i>Carolina</i> first planted.....	26
The first building of <i>Burlington</i> .....	18
<i>Pensilvania</i> first so called.....	16
<i>Philadelphia</i> first founded .....	14
<i>King William</i> & <i>Queen Mary</i> Crowned....	8
141 Persons dyed in the County of <i>Bur-</i> <i>lington</i> .....	7
The great flood in <i>Delaware</i> .....	5
The Terrible Earth-quake in <i>Jamaica</i> .....	4
<i>Queen Mary</i> dyed .....	1

Is a complete copy of this almanac known to exist? Where was it printed?

CHARLES W. BAIRD.

DE BRY'S VOYAGES.—The "Voyages of De Bry" are, I am aware, excess-

ively rare and costly. Collectors say that so rare indeed is De Bry that Mr. James Lenox and Mr. Henry C. Murphy have each been trying for twenty years to perfect complete sets, and without success. Can some of your bibliographical correspondents furnish me with information as to the number of complete sets of the voyages known to exist, where they are to be found, and what constitutes a *complete* set of them?

*Brooklyn, N. Y.*

BIBLIOPOLE.

remembering. He put into West's hands two books, "Du Fresnoy and Richardson, with an invitation to call whenever he pleased and see his pictures." Was not this the Williams who painted the Masonic portrait of Washington for the Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, which now hangs in the Lodge room at Alexandria? What was his full name? Can any one give any account of him?

H. E. H.

*Brownsville, Pa.*

PETIT'S NARRATIVE.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me whether P. Petit's narrative of the massacre of the Natchez, in Louisiana (1729-1730), and his description of the Natchez Indians, which is a sort of preface to the "Massacre Narrative," have ever been published in the English language. It was written in June, 1730, and published in Vol. XX, of the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses de Paris, 1732," and in a German translation in Joseph Stöckle's "Weltbott," Vol. V. *Cincinnati.*

H. A. R.

NO MORE CONVENTIONS.—The pithiness of the following remarks will commend it to all true Federalists: "Heaven forbid any Convention for a while! I dread the work of fifteen hundred reformers in the present fluctuation of sentiments. If we must at all amend, I pray for merely amusing amendments; a little frothy garnish. But why do we not rather sit down as brothers and feast on the substantial meat for which we have fasted so long!" This extract we find in the Gazette of the United States of July 8, 1789. From whom is it quoted?

FEDERALIST.

WILLIAMS, THE PORTRAIT PAINTER.—(I, 451, 576, 762.) In a volume entitled "the Artists of America," etc., by C. Edward Lester, N. Y., 1846, on p. 72, the biographical sketch of Benjamin West, the author says:

"Pennington took West to Philadelphia in his ninth year, where he executed a landscape of the Delaware, which so much delighted Williams, a portrait painter, that he warmly encouraged him to prosecute his studies. Williams may have painted good or bad portraits, but he did one thing worth

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS.—In December, 1864, a note went the rounds of the press to the effect that there were then living five men receiving pensions for services rendered in the revolutionary war. Are there any of the five now living?

INQUIRER.

*Brooklyn, N. Y.*

AN AUTHOR'S NAME.—"Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals, and National Policy. By a citizen of Vir-

ginia, Georgetown, D. C. Published by Joseph Milligan, 1822. 8vo, p. xi—350." Can any one tell the name of the author of the above volume?

H. E. H.

**A FRENCH HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.**—In the Gazette of the United States of 11th July, 1789, I find the following: "Madame la Baronne de Vasse is about to publish at Paris a History of the American Revolution, *La Revolution de l'Amérique*, &c., in two vols., octavo—price to subscribers 10 livres (14 s 2). It will include a period of 27 years, beginning at 1760; and Madame de Vasse assures us, that the information it conveys may be relied on—it being compiled from authentic documents, and indisputable authorities alone, by an unprejudiced and impartial writer. We are also told, that it has been approved by DR. FRANKLIN and other American gentlemen who have seen it in manuscript; and an English author of some distinction in the literary world, has so high an opinion of it as to be engaged in translating it. It is just published." Has this work ever been translated?

LECTOR.

**THE FIRST GENERATION.**—"Thursday, Nov. 12, 1685. Mr Moosdey preached from Isa. 57, 1. Mr Cobbet's Funeral Sermon; said also of Mr Chauncy that he was a Man of Singular Worth—Said but 2 of the First Generation left."—*Sewall's Diary*. To whom does Mr. Sewall refer. To two of the first generation of ministers (both Cobbett and

Chauncy were ministers), or to two of the first generation of New England settlers?

ENQUIRER.

**RED MADEIRA.**—Sewall, describing a treat given by the Lieut.-Governor to the Governor and his lady and many more, at which there were two tables (Oct. 27, 1689), says that "Capt Crow breaks a Glass bottle of Madeira as it stood on the floor, so that it run about with its Sanguin Color." What sort of Madeira wine was this?

ENQUIRER.

**CITY ISLAND.**—What is the origin of this name of the land now known as City Island in the East River. Tradition tells of an attempt at one time to found a city here, and of the island being laid out in lots. Who was the founder of this scheme, and when was it attempted?

NEW YORK.

## REPLIES

**GREEK COLONY IN FLORIDA.**—(III, 56.) In the Magazine for January, 1879, a correspondent, who signs himself R. M. P., asks for information respecting the Greek colony at New Smyrna, Florida. I have passed many winters at that place, and have investigated the history of that colony, which is, briefly, as follows:

In 1767 Dr. Trumbull, of Charleston, S. C., came to New Smyrna with a colony of 1,500 persons; Greeks, Italians and Minorcans, whom he had lured from their homes by promises of bettering their condition. He estab-

lished them on a tract of 60,000 acres, and began the culture of indigo. The people were reduced to slavery, and treated with great cruelty by Trumbull, whose partner in the enterprise was the English Governor of the territory, who kept the colonists in subjection with English troops. This slavery lasted nine years, during which time nearly two-thirds of the colonists perished; but large crops of indigo were raised for the company—one year 30,000 lbs. it is stated.

In 1776, a new Governor having arrived, the petitions of these people for relief were listened to, and they were released from the tyranny of their master. Most of them went to St. Augustine, where their descendants constitute a large part of the native population. A few still remain at New Smyrna.

Traces of Trumbull's settlement remain, in the shape of canals cut through the coquina rock for draining the swamp, and walls and foundations of stone buildings, built and planted more than one hundred years ago by this vanished people.

For accounts of this colony see: Roman's *Natural History of Florida*, New York, 1775; Williams' *Territory of Florida*, New York, 1857; *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula*, Phila., 1859, by Dr. D. G. Brinton; *A Guide Book to Florida and the South*, Phila., 1869, by Dr. D. G. Brinton.

*Jamaica Plains.*

S. C. C.

SONGS OF THE FATHERS. (III, 198.)  
—The note of Mr. Parton with the text of the song *Follow the Drum*, sung by Alexander Hamilton at the Fourth of

July dinner of the Cincinnati just before his fatal duel, recalls what I often heard in my youth. Colonel Ebenezer Stevens of the Continental Artillery, later Major-General of the State of New York, was one of the original founders of the Cincinnati, and after the peace a prominent figure among the Continentals. He always gave the closing song at the Fourth of July dinners standing upon the table. The song was "Yankee Doodle" in the old version, and the chorus was joined in by all present.

Alluding to the occasion when Hamilton sung *Follow the Drum* for the last time, Colonel Stevens said that none of the officers present had any idea that a hostile meeting was anticipated between Hamilton and Burr, and that had such been the case, the old army officers would never have permitted it to take place.

J. A. S.

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THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH—LEE A TRAITOR. (II, 408, 569, 758; III, 58.)—Here let me drop the curtain, and invite you to accompany me to the Heights of Monmouth. There let me recall to your indignant view, the flower of the American infantry flying before an enemy that scarce dared to pursue—vanquished without a blow—vanquished by their obedience to the commands of a leader who meditated their disgrace. Let me contrast with this the conduct of your Greene; the calm intrepidity and unshaken presence of mind, with which he seconded the dispositions of his General, to arrest the progress of the disorder and retrieve the fortune of the day.  
—*Hamilton's Eulogium on Gen. Greene*, July 4, 1789.  
READER.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

LE COMTE DE FERSEN ET LA COUR DE FRANCE. EXTRAITS DES PAPIERS DU GRAND MARÉCHAL DE SUÈDE, COMTE JEAN AXEL DE FERSEN. Publiés par son petit neveu, LE BARON R. M. DE KLINCKOWSTRÖM, Colonel Suédois. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 321-440 Librairie de Firmin—Didot et Cie., Paris, 1877.

COUNT DE FERSEN AND THE COURT OF FRANCE. Extracts from the Papers of the Grand Marshal of Sweden, Count Jean Axel de Fersen. Published by his Grand-nephew, Baron R. M. De Klinkenström, Colonel in the Swedish Army.

It would be difficult to name a private individual since Bayard and Sidney whose career presents more romantic interest or whose character possesses more of the elements of a *preux chevalier* than the famous Count de Fersen, the subject of the memoirs before us. These two volumes, admirably edited, consist of a part of his journal and of letters and documents found among his papers, and in their thrilling graphic details of events, the most dramatic in modern history, lead us to share the regret de Fersen himself expresses at the loss of his memoirs from the year 1780. Not daring to take the rest of them on his person, he left them at Paris upon his flight in 1791, and they were burned by their custodian, from a similar fear. They contained, to use his own words, precious notes concerning the revolution (French), which would have served to throw light on the character of the king and queen and the history of the period. "From them," he adds, true to the single affection which was the most beautiful trait in his career, "the world would have learned how wretched the princess (Marie Antoinette) was, how thoroughly she appreciated her misfortunes, how much she was affected by them, and how her great soul knew how to forgive and to rise superior to injustice in the consciousness of the good that she did and desired to." His devotion to the king and queen, at every personal risk, is a familiar theme. He made all the preparations for the flight of the royal family in June, 1791, and disguised as a coachman, himself drove them from Paris to Bondy. On the failure of the evasion, from causes for which he was not responsible, he was thrown into prison. Released upon the amnesty, he found means to comfort and console the royal captives. From the close of the year 1791 he was their trusted adviser and the me-

dium of their correspondence with the sovereigns of Europe. These volumes contain numerous confidential letters of the queen. The terrible end of de Fersen is the most dramatic episode in history. Returned to Sweden, he received the highest dignities. Hated by the ultra-democratic party at Stockholm, as the head of the high aristocracy of the kingdom, he was selected as a victim of party intrigue. Upon the sudden death of Prince Christian, a popular favorite and the heir to the throne, de Fersen was accused of having poisoned him, and, abandoned to the vengeance of the angry crowd, was literally torn to pieces, limb from limb; his clothing, even, shred from shred, in the public streets.

Of extreme beauty of face and person, he was remarked by the queen on his first appearance at the Court of Versailles. There is no doubt that the favorable impression made upon the queen, which gave umbrage to the nobility and offence to the jealous courtiers, was reciprocated by de Fersen, but his soul was too elevated and noble for him to seek the preferment which the interest of the young queen, whose influence was supreme with the king, opened to his ambition. He at once made up his mind that the path of honor and duty was flight, and volunteered in the corps of Rochambeau, about to sail for America. When he took his leave of the queen her lovely eyes filled with tears. But de Fersen did not comprehend self-sacrifice by halves. He would not consent to even the semblance of a preference. To the Duchess de Fitz James, who mocked him with lightly abandoning his conquest, he replied with simplicity, "Had I made one, I should not abandon it," and added, "I leave without a tie, and, alas! no regrets follow me."

Fortunately for us, his letters to his father, describing his services in America, have been wholly preserved; they began at Paris the 2d of March, 1780, with the announcement of his appointment as aide-de-camp to Rochambeau. M. de Vergennes himself secured him this post. Is it extravagant to suppose that the wise minister understood and appreciated the motive of his departure? Certain it is that he was treated by all the French officers with distinction, by Rochambeau with distinguished courtesy, and by the Duke de Lauzun, for whom he contracted a warm attachment, with fraternal affection. His letters from Newport give by far the best account of the French army during the occupation. His opportunities of observation were superior, and his observations themselves have the advantage of having been written under the impression of the moment, and with the frankness of a son

to a father whom he honored and revered. His American correspondence closes with a letter written at Boston December 21st, 1782, on board the ship which carried the French contingent to their service in the Southern station. There are two later from Porto Cabello, dated in the spring of 1783.

As we propose shortly to print a translation of these letters in full in the magazine, we shall not dwell further on their importance.

#### WILLIAM DAWES AND HIS RIDE

WITH PAUL REVERE: an Essay Read before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society on June 7, A. D. 1877; to which is appended a genealogy of the Dawes family, by HENRY W. HOLLAND. 4to, pp. 128. One hundred copies, privately printed for the Editor, by JOHN WILSON & SON, Boston, 1878.

The author of this elegantly printed and extensively illustrated volume need not have said in his preface that it was not meant for the public; the public have a direct interest in it, and Mr. Holland will not do justice to the heroic character who is its subject, nor his descendants, nor yet to himself, unless he place a certain number of this small edition in places where the public can have certain access to them. And we venture to suggest, in this connection, that in all such special editions it is a wise thing for the author to give notice in his preface as to the libraries in which it may be consulted. We have nothing of which to complain; Mr. Holland, at our request, having kindly consented to the deposit of the copy, now under our eyes, in the New York Historical Society in this city.

The narrative portion of this work was read before the Historic-Genealogical Society of Massachusetts. It is now enlarged by the addition of information since obtained, and illustrated with numerous photographs, principally of males and females of the Dawes family, from portraits in their possession.

The ride described has been celebrated in prose and verse and is familiarly known as Paul Revere's Ride. The ride was from Boston to Lexington and Concord, to rouse the country and warn Hancock and Adams, who were in quiet repose, little dreaming of the sudden movement of the British to seize the stores of the colony and to capture their own rebel persons. Three men planned the expedition—Warren, the immortal of Bunker Hill; Revere, the post-rider of the Liberty Boys, and William Dawes, in whose honor these pages. Warren watched from a coign of vantage the British soldiery, and on their movement sent out Dawes by land,

over the neck and across the river, at the Brighton bridge, to Cambridge and Lexington, and later Paul Revere by the water route through Charlestown to Lexington.

There have been many stories of this night ride and of the incidents which attended it. In the account of Mr. Holland, we are told that Revere and Dawes met on the Medford Green, and went thence to Concord in company. The argument is elaborate and its details interesting. We may here be pardoned for adding that, in the tradition of the family of the editor, his grandfather, Benjamin Weld, of the Roxbury family and later in the commissary department of the Continental army, was on this memorable evening of the 18th of April, residing at Lexington, where he was engaged as a teacher; that, aroused at night, he mounted a horse, and with a drum rode through the neighboring country, arousing the citizens.

The Dawes genealogy is an elaborate piece of work of the kind, well worth an examination, and there is an admirable name index, for which the compiler deserves credit.

#### DIARY OF CALEB CRESSON, 1791-1792.

Printed from his Original Manuscripts, for Family Distribution, by EZRA TOWNSEND CRESSON. Small 8vo, pp. 214. Philadelphia, 1877.

This is another privately printed volume, which we owe to the courtesy of the family. Why the possessors of a diary like this should confine it to their own circle we do not understand. In pure, fresh thought and quaint language it is refreshing as a spring rain, with its healthful smell of the vegetating earth, to use Mr. Cresson's own words. Take such passages as these: "Hail and rain this morning, which made the roads and streets so slippery as to be difficult to pass. However, I got to meeting three times and was peaceful."—"A snowy morning and a dull day. I employed myself indoors, for I've always something to do, and I'm thankful for it, for I find employment keeps the enemy out."—True enough of more enemies than one; or this: "A fine, fair morn. Nature, rejoicing in the bounty of the Great Creator, now putting on her gayest robes; the fields luxuriant; the animal creation in vigor and high health. O that we may not abuse them—the generous horse particularly, the sportive lamb, the profitable cow, the useful ox," &c.

Caleb Cresson was the grandson of Solomon Cresson, of mixed French and German extraction, who was cast away with Jonathan Dickenson on the Florida coast in 1696, and on his mother's side, of George Emlen, who came over with William Penn. The Cressons belonged to the Friends.

Simple as this diary is, it is full of local sketches which fascinate and detain the eye on every page. He recites with minuteness a journey to New England in 1791, by land, through Burlington, Crosswicks, Rahway and Elizabeth to New York, where he visited among the Quakers, and then set sail to Newport. Here we are introduced to the Friends again. Next he visited Nantucket and Boston, after which he returned by water, quite after the modern fashion, from Newport to New York. In Boston he searched after the places hallowed by the blood of the martyrs in the days of Puritan persecution.

While in New York, he visited Thomas Dobson, whose daughter Lindley Murray married. He drank tea also with Thomas Pearsall, who married another daughter of Dobson. Pearsall lived in Pearl street, in a house on the ground now covered by the Fulton bank. Among the delicious titbit morsels for the palate of an antiquary is his notice of Isaac Collins' great quarto Bible, which he saw in press at Trenton, and his quaint entry under date 1791, 9th day 1st March: "Widow White (mother of him called the bishop), deceased."

The book closes with the "dying sayings of Mary Armitt, who deceased at Philadelphia, second month 18, 1791, aged 83 years." She was not informed that what she spake would be taken down, and no very good reason appears why it should be printed.

The volume is illustrated with a number of photographic silhouettes, which have a grim quaintness quite in character with the text, and it is handsomely bound.

We trust we have shown the appreciation we feel for volumes of this character. The pages of the Magazine are always open to such diaries as these.

**HISTORY OF THE SARATOGA MONUMENT ASSOCIATION**, Prepared by WILLIAM L. STONE, Secretary of the Association. 8vo, pp. 18. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1879.

At the time of the centennial of the surrender of Burgoyne, due attention was paid to the numerous accounts and addresses that were drawn out by the anniversary of the celebration of the battles of Bemis Heights and Saratoga.

This is an account of the origin and purpose of the Saratoga Monument Association. It contains the memorial to Congress, in 1873, for an appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars, which seems not to have been successful, and the petition to the State Legislature, which voted \$10,000 in a bill which Governor Robinson vetoed. Thus the committee were thrown upon their own resources and appealed to the public.

The response was, as Mr. Stone puts it, "comparatively generous," and the association laid the corner stone and one fourth of the base. The pamphlet includes a picture of the monument as it is to be when finished. On three of the corners of the plinth are to be set bronze cannon, taken at the surrender; on the other a cannon said to have been taken from the British in 1813, which seems singularly out of place. Is there no other trophy of the War of Independence, that the committee need lend themselves to such an anachronism? We hope so.

**MEMORIAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND LITERARY LABORS OF EVERT AUGUSTUS DUYCKINCK**; read before the New York Historical Society on the seventh day of January, 1879, by WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER. 8vo, pp. 14. New York, 1879.

Mr. Butler, as an intimate personal friend of Mr. Duyckinck, was selected by the New York Historical Society to prepare a tribute of regard to the memory of this distinguished man of letters, who had been for years its honored corresponding secretary. It would be difficult to find, in the range of this class of literature a sketch so graceful in style, so vernal in its freshness of treatment as this. Mr. Duyckinck's outward life was well known; he was a successful editor, and owed his success to his labor and his ability to get through with a vast amount of labor in short time—no other conditions of mental temperament suffice to originate and complete a cyclopædia.

In all these personal sketches there is something to be enjoyed. In this we point the reader to the passages wherein the modest home taste—almost that of a recluse, which was the most marked trait of Mr. Duyckinck—are related. He was genial, but never noisily gay; his smile was outward, constant and lovely, but his laugh was to be seen not heard; he laughed inwardly, after the manner of his forefathers. He loved the city; he loved it because of its nearness to the avenues of learning. Mr. Butler compares his urban taste to that of Madame de Stael, who preferred a fourth story in the Rue de Bac to all the glories of Switzerland. The comparison is faultless, but to our mind he recalls more vividly Charles Lamb, haunting the libraries, poring over the book stalls, and for a walk strolling through the quaint places and nooks about Temple Bar; nor were the men otherwise unlike in their quaint, dry humour and their un-failing love of human kind. It was our good fortune to know Mr. Duyckinck well. His last literary work, perhaps, was the tribute to the friend of his youth, James William Beckman,

prepared for the New York Historical Society and printed in the pages of the Magazine at Mr. Duyckinck's own request.

We regret on many accounts that it was not permitted us to print the present sketch also. This pamphlet is printed from the type of the *Evening Post*, in which his addresses appeared. Let not that hinder it from finding its way to the tables of the numberless literary band who knew and loved Duyckinck, and of whom no one but will be thankful to Mr. Butler that the old companion and friend is not left to "float adown the stream of time without the meed of some melodious tear."

THE TOWN OF ROXBURY: ITS MEMORABLE PERSONS AND PLACES; ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES, with Numerous Illustrations of its Old Landmarks and Noted Personages, by FRANCIS S. DRAKE. 8vo. pp. 475. Published by the AUTHOR, Roxbury, 1878.

New England certainly leads the van in antiquarian investigation, each of her principal cities receiving in turn careful and exhaustive treatment at the hands of her local historians.

In this elaborate volume may be found everything of interest in the history of this ancient town, which the accomplished and thorough author terms "the mother of towns;" fifteen prosperous New England communities, including the flourishing cities of Springfield and Worcester, having been founded or largely settled by citizens of Roxbury. Moreover, she gave three generals to the revolutionary army and no less than ten of the Governors of Massachusetts have been her natives or residents.

The colonists of Roxbury were mostly from London and its vicinity, a few being from the West of England; among them we find names which have illustrated the history of the country, and are still honorably borne by its present residents. Of such are Curtis, Crafts, Dudley, Griggs, Heath, Payson, Parker, Beaver, Weld and Williams. Timothy Stevens, from whom the Andover Stevens stock derived, and the first of the well-known Ruggles family, were of the earlier settlers. Rev. Thomas Weld, one of the first resistants, in England, of Laud's persecutions, was the first pastor of the first church, while his brother, Captain Joseph Weld, if we remember rightly, was the wealthiest settler. They were of the "Sulworth Castle" Weld family.

The volume abounds in local details, for the first time gathered together, covering the colonial period, the siege of Boston—the annals of which are presented with minute accuracy—descrip-

tions of the old roads and dwellings, and biographical sketches of all those who have made them memorable; in a word a mine of historical material and pleasant incidents graphically related.

The volume abounds in engravings of buildings and personages, has fine steel engravings of Governors Shirley and Dudley, and a fac simile of the earliest engraved map of the town.

Roxbury should be well content with such a history, and all historical students grateful for such thorough work. It has an excellent name and subject index.

KING'S HANDBOOK OF BOSTON, profusely Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 292. MOSES KING, Publisher, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

This is the first attempt at a handbook of any of our American cities that we have yet seen, although its manner of construction is hardly what we had expected from its title. We had looked for an account of the localities of the city; squares, churches, streets, houses, monuments, statues, fountains, indeed of every locality, ornament and illustration, reciting its history and changes, from its beginnings till the present day. Such is Cunningham's Handbook of London, and such some day we hope to see of every ancient city on our continent. Mr. King's book, excellent as it is, is rather a guidebook than a work of the character we have described. In it the reader will find, however, a succinct account of the city as it has been and a thorough display of the city as it is.

It is handsomely printed, well-illustrated with maps and views, both full paged and insets, some of which are excellent examples of the last stage of improvement in this rapidly developing branch of art.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF DOUGLAS (MASSACHUSETTS) FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF 1878, by WILLIAM A. EMERSON. 8vo, pp. 359. Published by FRANK W. BIRD, Old Book Shop, Boston, 1879.

The original settlers of the town of Douglas came almost entirely from the town of Sherburn, though a portion of them appear to have hailed from Natick. The territory was known as New Sherburn, or the New Sherburn Grant, until the year 1746, when it received its present name.

The history of the town is elaborately related from the time of the eager participation of its in-



1798, being of mixed Puritan and Huguenot extraction, a promising combination of those elements which "make up a man." His training was in the school of adversity, the blacksmith's sledge-hammer being his first tool. After conscientious service as journeyman, he began business for himself in a small way in a machine shop at Worcester. For some years he was associated with a partner; but in 1831 began the manufacture of iron-wire on his own account. In 1830 he was induced by Mr. Chickering, the father of American pianoforte industry, to undertake the manufacture of steel springs for his instruments, a business which had been in English hands for eighty years. In this manufacture Mr. Washburn acquired a large fortune, and at his death, in 1868, left an estate of \$124,000, of which he bequeathed to charitable and religious institutes over \$400,000.

This volume has been prepared to preserve and illustrate the record of his useful life.

THE DESCENDANTS OF NATHANIEL MOWRY OF RHODE ISLAND. By WILLIAM A. MOWRY. 8vo, pp. 343. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1878.

A FAMILY HISTORY—RICHARD MOWRY OF UXBRIDGE, MASS.; HIS ANCESTORS AND DESCENDANTS. By WILLIAM A. MOWRY. A. M. 8vo, pp. 197. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1878.

In these handsomely-printed and well-illustrated volumes an account is given of the descendants of Nathaniel Mowry, born 1644, and of Johanna, his wife, daughter of Edward Inman.

The Mowry family is one of the earliest in Northern Rhode Island, and throughout its history, though without remarkable prominence, has borne its part with honor.

The cuts illustrating the books are extremely interesting. They represent the house of Captain Joseph Mowry, built at Smithfield, R. I., in 1708, one of the oldest now standing in the State, and even yet in good condition; the house of Colonel Elisha Mowry, also at Smithfield, built in 1759, and still an excellent one. As an instance of the longevity of Rhode Island families, it is recorded that though one hundred years old it has been occupied only by three families, the father, son and grandson in lineal descent; the house of Richard Mowry, at Uxbridge, Mass., built in 1778, is also standing and in perfect order.

Returning to the original Mowry, Nathaniel, we find that the book records the names of 1575

of his descendants, of whom 1075 of the name of Mowry. In the Family History we find several other pictures of interest, and some photographic portraits of men of the name.

JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY: A MEMOIR, by OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. 16mo, pp. 278. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1879.

In this admirably edited volume, with its sectional headings carefully dated and a running marginal index of subjects, we rejoice to find a return to the good old fashion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when books were not so many, perhaps, as in our day, but were more carefully studied and prepared.

This is, in truth, a memoir, and by a master hand. We are led gradually, not harshly, yet not with dilatory step, through the early years of the precocious youth who at thirteen was admitted to Harvard College, to which, at that tender age, he brought the reputation of a "wonderful linguist," as well as a personal beauty, which so increased that in early manhood he was as ideally handsome as even Shelley, who was his favorite poet. Yet with all his beauty and fascination of manner he was manly and unconscious.

It is not necessary to dwell upon his literary career, which has received ample notice in these pages [I. 454, 458, 696, 772], nor yet to open again the vexed controversy upon his recall, but it is well to put on record the opinion of Dr. Holmes that "the ostensible grounds on which Mr. Motley was recalled are plainly insufficient to account for the action of the Government."

An appendix contains some tributes paid to his memory, including the poems of W. W. Story and William Cullen Bryant, the latter a sonnet in stately Shakesperian style, which embalms and perpetuates his fame.

#### NOTICE.

WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.—We are requested to announce that Messrs. Charles Henry Hart & William A. Baker, of Philadelphia, are preparing a "Descriptive List of all the Engraved Portraits of Washington, with Notes and Observations on the Original Pictures," and desire persons having collections to communicate directly with them.—EDITOR.

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## THE PRISONERS OF MATAMOROS

A REMINISCENCE OF THE REVOLUTION OF TEXAS

**I**NCIDENTS connected with the long uncertain fate of certain prisoners of war in Matamoros, during the spring and summer of 1836, form an episode in the epic of the Texas revolution which, though not historically important, is interesting from the showing it gives of the better, as well as the worse side of the Mexican character. The events which led to the capture of those men have never been very correctly related, and merit narration from their singularity rather than the examples of wisdom they contain.

During the winter of that year, when the invasion of Texas by Santa Ana was impending, there seemed, as I observed in a former article [Magazine of American History, II, 1], little less than anarchy left to withstand it. There were seven hundred volunteers, more or less, for the number was continually fluctuating, stationed at San Antonio, and in Goliad and its neighborhood, but mostly in the latter section. Sam Houston had been commissioned by the Provisional Government a Major-General of regular troops, not yet raised, with the right to command all volunteers who might enter the service of Texas; but the split of that government into a duality led to conflicting measures which neutralized his authority, and he was unable to effect a concentration of the scattered forces under arms. The garrisons of San Antonio and Goliad acted without concert; and a smaller body, which had part of it split off from the former garrison, the rest being raised separately, entered upon independent action further west. This was a band of mounted men which, I think, once reached the number of two hundred, but did not generally exceed a hundred, and which took position, early in the winter, at San Patricio, on the Nucas, an Irish village, and the most western of the foreign settlements in Texas. This force was commanded by Colonel Frank W. Johnson and Colonel Don Diego Grant, both of whom had performed gallant service in the taking



of San Antonio, where Johnson commanded the assault after the fall of Milam. He was the ranking officer in the present enterprise, Grant being nominally his second.

Doctor James Grant, to come back to his original name and title, had come to Mexico some years before, a young Scotch physician in the service of an English company engaged in extensive leases and speculation in real estate. Grant, a few years after his arrival, gave up his position in the company, and entered upon some daring and astute operations of his own, which made him rich; and he became the owner of a large landed estate, of farm, vineyard and pasture land, in the neighborhood of Parras, in Coahuila. He was a man of great energy, versatility and resource, and was in character more like a reckless Anglo-American than a canny Scot. The success of one bold risk was sure to lead to another more rash; and in his grasp after great objects, he was prone to overlook the minor details, often essential to safety. In anticipation of being a land holder he had of course secured Mexican citizenship; and he soon plunged into politics, and became a member of the Legislature of Coahuila and Texas, and a Colonel of State troops. When Santa Ana's usurpation occurred he joined the Governor in an abortive attempt to oppose it, which led to the arrest of both: but the night after they were started, under a military escort, on their way to the City of Mexico, they succeeded in bringing over the soldiers of their guard, who changed them from prisoners into leaders, and deserted with them to Texas, where they arrived in time for Grant to take part in the capture of San Antonio.

Grant's services were well appreciated by his new associates, but his position was quite different from theirs. They as well he still professed to be citizens of the double-named State, and their home was his place of refuge; but their interests like their home lay in revolutionary Texas, while his fortune lay in Coahuila, which had not revolted. As a declaration of independence by Texas would cut him off from a recovery of his estate, all his energies were turned against the tendency which he saw in the people of Texas towards such a declaration. He was, therefore, anxious to get up an expedition for the capture of Matamoras, in the hope of there rallying around him the liberal element of Mexico, and by working out success to its cause, of preserving the union of Texas with Mexico. If his scheme could not take in the whole of Mexico, he hoped it might apply successfully to a Confederation of the northern States of that Republic. The notion was visionary, for the liberals of Mexico, having already suffered, would not have rallied

around a slender force, and Texas, even if united and earnest, could have afforded no other. That assisting force to rally around, moreover, would not have been accepted had it been alien. This truth was heard daily from ordinary men, but superior minds, like Mexia and Grant, could not see it. Genius is bound to rise above vulgar ideas, but often tries it with a rickety ladder.

Grant had much of the leader's magnetism which infuses his feeling into others, and attaches men to his person. Several prominent men at first favored his plan, and he obtained for it a qualified sanction by the Council, which, after its repudiation of the Governor, called itself the Government. Among the men of influence who sustained Grant was Colonel Johnson, who had been his commander in the attack on San Antonio, and to secure the cooperation of that officer, Grant, though the originator and soul of the enterprize, was willing still to recognize Johnson as his superior. At a time when authority was divided, weak, and without unity of plan, it was not difficult for these leaders to draw away from San Antonio a part of its garrison and of the medical and other stores which had there been put in deposit.

Soon after taking post at San Patricio, Grant surprised and captured a small Mexican detachment, under Captain Rodriquez, which had come from the Rio Grande on a reconnoissance. There was no loss on either side, and the prisoners were released on parole. The first object of these Texan leaders was to collect horses, on which to mount a larger force which they hoped soon to raise, and a part of January and February was occupied with raids on the Mexican ranchos between the Nueces and Rio Grande. That space is an arid region, mostly of prairie, with little arable land, but having scattered through it several good grazing tracts, then occupied by stock farms, where large numbers of horses, as well as of cattle, were herded. The last of the aforesaid raids, which was made in February, and extended to the neighborhood of Matamoros, was quite successful, so far as its immediate object was concerned. Large numbers of horses were seized, and Grant gave in return for them bills on the Federal Congress of Mexico, to be paid so soon as it should be reinstated. If any of those drafts have since been honored, I have never heard of it. About six months after the making of the requisitions, I conversed with a ranchero, who had parted with a hundred horses in one of those transactions. He seemed to have acquired a wholesome prejudice against unconvertible paper.


After scouring the country near the Rio Grande, the expedition fell back towards the Nueces; but on their way thither the force divided.

Grant, with fifty-six of his rangers, diverged to the northwest to visit a rancho in that direction, while Johnson, with the remainder of the men and the live stock, proceeded to San Patricio, where they arrived on the 25th of February. A few days later Grant, with his detachment, having accomplished their object of securing more horses, turned their steps towards the same place. The stock for mounting must now have been quite large, and the sanguine spirit of Grant may have expected to improvise riders as rapidly as he had acquired horses; but danger was nearer than he apprehended. Brevet Brigadier-General Urrea, with his regiment of dragoons, had arrived at Matamoros on the 18th of January, and was soon after joined by a battalion of infantry from Yucatan. These troops were sent to operate by way of the coast against Texas, while Santa Ana crossed the Rio Grande higher up. The approach to Matamoros of the raiders, whose number rumor exaggerated, caused some needless alarm among the inhabitants; needless because it occurred when the place was occupied by nearly a thousand troops, for there was a local garrison in addition to the two corps I have mentioned. The scheme of an aggressive movement, which Grant probably still clung to, had become even more visionary than when he first took it up. The alarm I have just spoken of may have precipitated Urrea's movement; for the day after the popular scare he crossed the Rio Grande with his dragoon regiment and battalion of foot, each of which numbered about three hundred and fifty men. These, with a troop of militia cavalry, made up probably a force of about seven hundred and fifty. He pushed ahead with his dragoons on the yet warm tracks of Johnson's retreat, and reached San Patricio at three o'clock on the morning of February 27th, when the latter had been there but a day and two nights. Johnson's men, numbering about forty, were quartered in two or three palisade huts. That officer and four companions lodged in a separate cabin. One of them was Grant's former partner in Mexico, afterwards well known in Texas as Judge Toler. All had gone to rest rather like travelers after a journey, than like soldiers before an ever-expected fight. It was said that there was no picket on duty to watch, no sentry to fire an alarm, nor even a dog to bark. It must have been so, for the first intimation the Texans had of hostility was the shout of "Viva Santa Ana" in front of their quarters. As the inhabitants of the place were mostly friendly to the Mexican cause, Urrea had no difficulty in securing guides. A summons to surrender at the men's quarters not being responded to, the dragoons pulled up the stakes which formed the sides of the huts, and after firing their car-

bines among the inmates rushed in with drawn sabres. The surprise was so complete, and the force of the assailants so superior, that most of their victims were probably cut down before defense could be attempted. I never heard that Urrea lost a man on this occasion; and the "long and vigorous resistance" Yoakum tells of is fabulous. A few of the Texans taken in the village were spared, which may have been because those in one of the huts made a timely surrender. A few were captured without resistance at the cattle-pens outside.

When the men's barracks were confronted, a squad of dismounted dragoons drew up also at the door of Johnson's quarters, and commanded the inmates to strike a light. Before it could be done the firing at the other huts was heard, and Johnson and his companions, deeming their situation desperate, made a rush for escape or death from the only door of the cabin. To their surprise they found the coast clear, for the besieging squad had been drawn away by the firing to the scene of the carbinade. This coincidence of the two movements saved the men who sallied with an apparent certainty of being cut down; for under the favor of night they made their way out of the village, and taking the safest route to Goliad, arrived there the next day. The prisoners were secured, and for the moment were not badly treated.

On the 1st of March Urrea marched with a part of his cavalry, numbering about two hundred, to intercept Grant on his way back. Scouts kept the former advised of the movements of the latter, and as he knew by what route to expect his enemy, he selected for a seat of ambuscade a spot fifteen or twenty miles from San Patricio, where the path of Grant's return crossed a run called Agua Dulce, and was there beset with thickets. Under cover of these Urrea distributed his troopers, divided into five or six squads. Not long after these dispositions were made Grant appeared at the head of his men. He had no advance, nor any flankers or scouts thrown out to feel the way. It was a cold day, and the rangers, well wrapped in their blankets, came along, singing as they rode, as little conscious of their own danger as of the fate of their companions, when a sudden charge of the dragoons struck down with sword and lance about half their number, almost before they knew an enemy was upon them. They barely had time to fire a few shots before those who survived the first charge dashed through what opening there was left between surrounding squads of troopers, and fled at the utmost speed of their horses. Their hurried fire,




according to Urrea's report, did him no other damage than the wounding of one horse; and the survivors could not assert with certainty that any of the dragoons were killed or wounded.

Some of the fugitives were captured, and some killed in the pursuit; and among the latter was Grant, who made a flight of some miles before his horse gave out. One of his men who witnessed his death, a gentleman in whose statement I have full confidence, related to me the circumstances while a prisoner; and I repeat them here to contradict a fiction, as absurd as it is horrible, which has passed into written and published history. This gentleman who, I think, is still living, is Colonel R. R. Brown, afterwards a well-known planter in Texas. He said that while he was flying in a course parallel with that of Grant, but a few hundred yards from him, he saw Grant, who was hotly pursued by a dragoon, while his horse was failing, suddenly make signs of surrender by throwing down his sword and pistols and dismounting. The horseman rode up to him, but, as yet, showed no disposition to violence; but while Grant was speaking to him, another trooper charged in and ran Grant through the body with his lance, and then both of the soldiers joined in mangling the body of the fallen man. Brown was soon after run down and captured, but was spared, which, if I recollect aright, was because an officer happened to be within commanding distance of the men who took him. Father Maloy, the priest of San Patricio, afterwards informed me that he saw Grant's sword, knife and jacket, and other articles known as his, brought in by the dragoons when they returned from Agua Dulce, and that he was undoubtedly killed on the same day and the same field with the mass of his band. A rumor of his escape came to Matamoros a few days after the news of his death; and it was in discussing the conflict of reports that Father Maloy, who had arrived there, gave me the above information. A worse fiction than that of escape followed. The butchery of Grant after surrender was shocking enough, but the greed then prevailing among Americans for tales of Mexican cruelty was willing to accept something more elaborate. About this time an Italian doctor, named Constanza, was expelled from Monterey for conduct unbecoming a physician and a gentleman, and a little later in the season he went to New Orleans with no kind feeling towards the people who had cast him out. By way of reprisal he furnished a sensation newspaper, which named him as authority, with a new version of Grant's death, which was afterwards taken up as authentic by Yoakum in his history of Texas. As given in that work, it states that Grant was wounded and captured alive, and

taken to San Patricio by the Mexicans, that they might make use of his skill there in the treatment of their "numerous wounded." When they had got three weeks service out of him in this way, but before his own wound was healed, he was tied to the tail of a wild horse, and turned loose to meet a worse fate than that of Mazeppa. This atrocity is attributed to a captain whom Urrea left in command of a garrison at San Patricio. Now no such garrison was left there, and Urrea's *numerous* wounded had not yet begun to bleed; for it is doubtful if one of his men was hurt in the two safe and easy massacres they had achieved. Even if the time and manner of Grant's death had not been amply proved, no one ought to have accepted this silly fabrication as probable. Had Grant been taken, his doom, it is true, would have been more irrevocably sealed than that of Fannin, but he would have been, from the Mexican point of view, too important a prisoner to be disposed of by obscure assassination. The example of his execution would have been exhibited where it would have been more impressive than in the chaparral of the Nueces.

Grant was thirty-eight years of age at the time of his death. On the day it occurred he was probably the only armed Texan leader who still harbored any hope for the Constitution of 1824, or any wish to prolong the union of Texas with Mexico; for since he had been on the frontier the change of feeling had been more rapid and wide than he probably knew of, and even since he had parted from Johnson, the change may have overtaken the latter also. It is a coincidence worthy of note that the cause so clung to by Grant literally died with him almost, if not quite, to the hour. The last opposer of separation fell beyond the Nueces on the same 2d of March on which the Independence of Texas was declared at Washington on the Brazos. In one sense Grant may be viewed as a representative man, being the last drop of an element which six months before had been almost pervasive. The magnetism which I have attributed to his personality is apparent from the fact, that the survivors of his band loved his memory, notwithstanding the gulf into which he had lured them. As a leader in great affairs, he might or might not have achieved *temporary* success, but it would have been nothing more; yet in such an enterprise he could have been a powerful auxiliary to a mind of greater calibre and better balance than his own. I discuss his traits thus fully because he acquired in the affairs of Texas a prominence, which, had he lived, might have grown sufficiently to work far more good and ill to her cause than the shortness of his actual career admitted of.





The followers of Johnson and Grant, if the survivors may be accepted as a fair sample, were I think above the average of men who composed the volunteer forces of Texas from abroad; they were mostly of recent arrival in the country, and young men under thirty. Some were gentlemen, none of the lowest filibuster type, and in their case we see a fine material for soldiers sacrificed to a lack in their leaders of the first principles of soldiership. Why was this? Johnson had commanded a successful attack on a fortified position, garrisoned by a stronger, and technically a better force than his own. Grant, who had previously done some military duty in Mexico, had shown great efficiency and intelligence in the same enterprise, and there were officers with them to the last who had done well on the same occasion. How was it then that they overlooked precautions which the most stolid of old-fashioned sergeants would have observed? It was not, I think, the fault of the men, who I doubt not would have performed their part in that direction if required. Primary steps of vigilance, it is true, would not in this case have won victory, but they would have averted reproach, saved a larger remnant, and brought a nobler exit to those who fell, as well as a dearer triumph to the enemy. I can account for the discrepancy between earlier and later conduct only by assuming that leaders who enter upon an impossible and unauthorized undertaking, usually meet with distractions which confuse common sense; and it is usually only a mind liable to such confusion that will take up such an enterprise. The outcome was in this case a tragical farce, such as I have before spoken of as characterizing most of the contest.

The prisoners taken by Urrea in the two actions numbered twenty-three. Two of them were detained in Texas, though eventually released, and the remaining twenty-one were sent under an escort to Matamoros. Of the latter number, seven were Mexicans of San Antonio; one was an Englishman, one an Irishman, and one a German of culture and a photographic artist named Langenheim. The remaining eleven were natives of the United States. Before their capture, Urrea had received orders from Santa Ana to have all Texans and foreigners in Texas, found in arms against the Government, promptly shot. Urrea, though a man of not much capacity or principle, was not bloodthirsty, and when not overruled by orders of a superior, or stirred by irritation, was disposed to treat prisoners with lenity. On this occasion he wrote to Santa Ana that he could not bring himself to execute men in cold blood, and begged his General-in-Chief to excuse him for having turned his prisoners over to the officer in command at Mata-

morps. I learned this from General Bradburn. He was present when the letter was received and read by Santa Ana, who made no comment on it to those present. Urrea, however, though he did covet the office of an executioner, in this act merely shifted to another a task which was repugnant to himself, as he afterwards did when he left behind him the prisoners of Goliad. Those from San Patricio arrived in Matamoros, where I then resided, before the middle of March, and were confined in a large barrack in the lower edge of the city, where the garrison was quartered.

Before I go on with the fortunes of these prisoners, I must turn back to relate an event of that vicinity, which, though it had no connection with them, is worthy of note here, as including the first military execution of the season. Just before Urrea's march for Texas a Mexican war schooner, called the Bravo, was lying off Brazos Santiago, the port or landing place of Matamoros, and about twenty miles from it. In going out over the bar she had received some damage to her rudder, in consequence of which she anchored, and was waiting a favorable opportunity to put back for repairs. It was, I think, a few days before Urrea crossed the Rio Grande that an armed schooner of rakish appearance, and bearing the American flag, hove in sight, and bore down to within half-cannon shot of the Bravo, where she lay-to, and sent a boat with an officer to board that vessel. The latter was commanded by Captain Davis, an American, who had long been in the Mexican navy. Another officer of the same service, but of later appointment, Captain Thompson, an Englishman, though not attached to the vessel, was now on board, having come out to the assistance of Davis after the accident. When the strange vessel appeared Thompson, who had the keen eye of a British tar, said at a glance, "That craft has a fine look, but is no American man-of-war or cutter, but I suspect is the Texan schooner Invincible." The boat came alongside, and the officer, a young man, wearing the uniform of the U. S. Revenue Service, was invited on board. He informed Captain Davis that the vessel he came from was a U. S. Revenue Cutter, which he named, and that she had been sent out with dispatches from the U. S. Government, demanding explanation or satisfaction for an offense against the United States, naming some recent affair which had been a source of irritation. "He had not brought the papers, but had merely come," he said, "to announce the vessel's errand." Captain Davis replied that the papers might be sent to the army officer commanding at the port, who would transmit them to

sail hove in sight, which, on being boarded and examined, proved to be the American brig Pocket from New Orleans, which had been freighted by the Mexican Government with provisions for the Mexican army, and she was now in Mexican waters, almost in possession of the enemy. Brown, after consulting with his officers, concluded that she was a lawful prize. He captured her accordingly, and took her into Galveston Bay. The United States afterwards reclaimed her value as an unjustifiable seizure, and it was eventually paid; but the capture was then a godsend to Texas. The cargo of that vessel served to feed the destitute and houseless crowd which gathered on Galveston Island during the season of panic and flight.


Poor Living's fate was sealed. He had come under a false character, and in disguise, to the deck of a Mexican man-of-war from an enemy's armed vessel, which he represented as a neutral; and this in any country would have stamped him as a spy, and made him worthy of death by the laws of war. The court-martial which tried him took that view of his case, and he was shot at Brazos Santiago a few days after he was taken. He had aimed at nothing worse than a farce, but it turned into a tragedy. Again the ever-recurring trait of the contest turns up.

A few days after the arrival of the Texan prisoners from San Patricio, the American residents of Matamoros learned that they were suffering from hunger. The officers of whom inquiry was made concerning this said that the deficiency of food was owing to some derangement in the routine of the commissariat, as well as its lack of means, which had put the garrison also on scant allowance, but that it had been and still was the intention of the military authorities to give the prisoners the same rations allowed to the troops. It was then proposed by the American residents who made the inquiry, that they should furnish the prisoners with rations, if the Commissariat would when in funds pay to the contributors the regulation price of the rations so furnished. This was agreed to, and the food of the prisoners was supplied on this footing for over six months. During about two months the funds were derived from a subscription among the aforesaid residents; but for the rest of the time, four months and upwards, owing to a misunderstanding among the contributors, the burthen was thrown wholly upon one of them, who had volunteered to act as a factor for the rest. No part of this outlay was ever refunded by the Mexican authorities, but the portion paid by the largest contributor was afterwards returned to him by Texas. He ceased to supply the prisoners at

their own request; for when they learned that the burthen had long been thrown upon one, they offered to take the risk of starvation rather than let the imposition continue, saying they would bear three days hunger to see if it would shame their custodians into doing their duty. The experiment succeeded without the penance apprehended, for when the dole of charity stopped, the Government rations took its place.

Before this transaction came to an end, however, the prisoners underwent more trying vicissitudes. Immediately after their arrival they were, one after another, put under examination of a military commission to elicit evidence of the circumstances under which they were taken. It was not a formal trial, and seemed to be conducted in a way so leisurely that it appeared like an expedient to delay action on their case. We, the foreign residents, though we had heard of the massacre at the Alamo, and the execution of Captain King's and Colonel Fannin's men, entertained hopes, perhaps unreasonable, that under the influence of success, Santa Ana's thirst for blood had become sated; and that these men, being more out of the range of his notice than those who had gone before them would be spared. It was, then, with some surprise as well as extreme pain, that we learned, early on the 16th of April, that the prisoners were all to be shot at dawn the next morning. I happened to be one of the first of the American residents who heard the news, and luckily I hit upon the safest person I could have selected to apply to immediately for advice and aid. This was Don Francisco Lojero, a citizen of the place, who had, at different times, filled important offices in that country. I inquired of him if the painful report I had heard was true. "Too true, to my sorrow," he replied. "But," said I, "how is it that these men are to be executed within twenty-four hours after their doom is announced? Does not the law allow to all persons under sentence of death three days' grace?" "It does," said he, "the respite we call *capilla*; the object of it being to give all criminals time to make religious preparations for death. These unfortunate men are entitled to it by law, and I know not why the General has not allowed it. I will go to him immediately and inquire about it."

He went at once. The officer in command there was Brigadier-General Vital Fernandez, who had been the local commandant before Urrea's arrival, as well as after his departure. His headquarters were near, and Lojero soon returned. "The General," said he, "informs me that he has not allowed the usual respite to the prisoners before execution, because he thought it would only prolong their mental sufferings;



prominent native residents entered their names for two thousand dollars each. When the second respite had nearly half run out, and before either of the petitions had been heard from, I one day met Lojero on the street with a beaming countenance, and he cried out "*Albrices!*" which means a reward for good news. "Your friends are safe," said he, "and through other means than our efforts and pledges," and he drew from his pocket and handed to me a printed paper, which I found to be a proclamation of amnesty from the Mexican Government. It reprieved all captured rebels not yet executed, and provided for their liberation and expulsion from the country. The author of it, I opine, "builded better than he knew" in the way of mercy. I have heard of a Spanish prime minister who in his last moments was exhorted by his confessor to forgive all his enemies. "Father," said the dying Christian, "I have none to forgive—I have had them all shot." The two cases were somewhat parallel; for though the decree was dated just before the prisoners in Matamoros were to have been executed, it was doubtless then believed by the Cabinet of Mexico that they were already disposed of. As it was, the delay secured by intercession saved them, but without the aid of our petitions, which were of later date than the amnesty, and consequently those who had subscribed for the ransom were released from their obligations. Lojero told me that the reprieve was already announced to the prisoners, and suggested to me to go and congratulate them; "for now," said he, "you will be allowed ready admittance and free conference." I went accordingly with a friend whom I then fell in with, and for the first time I had a long conversation with the men who had suffered such a lingering death of suspense. One of them told me that when they were formed in line to have the decree read to them, the officer of the guard, who held the paper in his hand, seemed under some strong feeling, and looked as pale as a corpse. They concluded that it was a new death warrant. The document alluded in more than one place to the capital penalty from which it relieved them, and as the officer read it with deep emotion, the word "*muerte*" (death) was the only one they understood. They were renerving themselves for their fate, when, after the reading was done, an interpreter, who stood ready, explained the meaning of what had been read. The emotion of that officer speaks well for his sensibility. The prisoners had prepared to meet their doom with firmness, and the letters they wrote as their last were heroic. But now they showed no exuberance of joy; for the same voice which announced their reprieve told them their cause was crushed, and their adopted


country wholly subjugated. We were unable to contradict the dreary intelligence, for it was what everybody in the city then believed. The news they said was almost like a renewal of their sentence.

To those who have been impressed only with the evil traits so often found in the Mexican character, the good of which this narrative shows them capable need not seem anomalous, for the lower we explore the stages of social development, the more, to use a common expression, do we find character in streaks. Not only are good and bad individuals found in closer proximity, but the noble and ignoble more mingled in the same heart, and both virtuous and depraved action more spasmodic. In every stage of that kind would Dean Stanley find an ample field for a new and admirable analysis of the duality of human nature.

As Texas is bound to remember with gratitude the friends whom her adopted sons found in an alien and hostile race, I will say a word more about the two I have mentioned by name, and placed in prominence. Don Francisco Lojero was distinguished among the minor leaders of the Mexican Revolution, and in one of the provisional governments of that era filled the office of Secretary of War. His wife was the daughter of General Allende, one of the most illustrious chiefs in that contest. The daughter is worthy of a hero who gave his life to his country.

It was I think about ten days after the announcement of the reprieve that news of the defeat of Santa Ana at San Jacinto, and his subsequent capture, became public in Matamoros. It was in possession of the military authorities three days before it leaked out, and then it spread as rapidly as if proclaimed from the house-top, and with unusual correctness of detail, for the totality of defeat by an inferior force was not concealed. The joy it caused among the foreign residents can hardly be described, but the rapture it brought to the prisoners is unspeakable. Not till then did they fully appreciate the boon of their reprieve. Their liberation, though pledged, was long in coming.

Then came the retreat of the Mexican army, under the command of Urrea, now a full Brigadier, who superseded Filizoli after the truce made by the latter with Houston had been repudiated by the Government of Mexico. Filizoli had permitted two Texan Commissioners, Captains Karnes and Teal, to proceed to Matamoros with their orderlies to attend to the fulfillment of certain stipulations of the truce, but that agreement being now ignored, Urrea caused the envoys to be arrested. The two soldiers were put into the barracks with the rest of



the Texan prisoners; but the two captains being confined, with a special guard, in quarters they were permitted to hire, found means to escape after three or four months imprisonment. The adventures of their mission, their expedients for sending information to Texas, the letters they inclosed in the handle of their courier's whip, the injudicious character of those letters, the murderous indiscretion of their friends in Texas, which allowed those letters to come back to Urrea in a New Orleans newspaper, thus compromising their friends in Matamoros, and finally their well-devised escape and thrilling adventures in making it; all these things related in detail would form an interesting romance, which, though without the spice of tragedy, would not be wholly free from farce, but to do justice to all the incidents would make this article too voluminous. I therefore confine myself to the story of that group of prisoners whose fortunes I have thus far traced.

The decree of amnesty, as I have said, provided for the liberation and embarkation of all prisoners which it relieved from the death penalty. General Fernandez, being a local commander, did not feel authorized to carry out those provisions without special orders. He had been relieved after Urrea's return, and the latter, though possessed of ample authority, was not disposed to make a benign or just use of it. Smarting under the failure of the campaign in which he had been engaged, he felt less considerate towards those prisoners than when he first captured them; and as there were some hundreds of Mexican prisoners in Texas, he probably thought it advisable to keep hold of a small handful of flesh and blood, on which he might, if needful, make reprisals. Soon after he took command in Matamoros he caused the Texan prisoners, still fed by charity, to be employed in sweeping the streets; and though they had not before had any degrading labor imposed on them, they were kept to this servitude as long as their captivity lasted, and while engaged in it, if they happened to be under the supervision of a brutal guard officer, were at times treated with cruel indignity. This roused anew the sympathy of the ladies of the place, who would sometimes come out and warn the officer to leave their part of the sidewalk untouched, as they would sooner sweep it themselves than have it done for them by the poor prisoners. It was Urrea who initiated this indignity; but let the whole truth be told. He did it in retaliation for a greater piece of brutality, for which Texas will ever blush, though she disclaims its reproach as an exceptional blot, and a merely individual infamy. When Captain Brown of the Invincible captured and carried into Galveston harbor as a prize the brig Pocket, she had on

board three Mexican officers, who had taken passage on her from New Orleans to Matamoros. They were detained as prisoners of war, and transferred for custody to the Texan armed schooner Brutus, Captain Hurd. They were Captain Ocampo, another infantry captain, and an engineer named Hogan, a naturalized Irishman. In Hogan's trunk were found papers, containing some military suggestions and plans for fortified works in Texas, addressed to Santa Ana. All three had been on duty in Texas before the war, and Hogan had resided there as a civilian a short time before he took service. Putting all the circumstances together, Hurd made out their case to be that of malignants, plotting against the country where they had once lived. He wanted to retaliate Mexican cruelty anyhow, and not feeling that he had authority to shoot them, he ordered them to be flogged. Accordingly Ocampo and Hogan, the latter an old man of sixty or more, were, one after the other, cruelly scourged, and the other officer was about being put through the same torture, when Captain Brown, then the ranking officer of the flotilla, came on board, and indignantly put an end to the outrage. Hurd had been raised to his present position by a distinction that was rather accidental. He had been a respectable skipper; no one from ordinary intercourse would take him to be a ruffian, or anything else in particular; and I think that in this matter he may have been under the influence of associates lower than himself.

In August, when I thought Urrea's mind had become sufficiently unruffled for a tolerably candid view of matters, I drew up for the prisoners a petition in Spanish, asking for the liberation to which the decree of amnesty entitled them. They signed it, and I sent it to the General. I did not present it in person, nor seek an interview, which I knew would not aid the supplication; for Urrea, owing to the interest I had taken in the prisoners, or from some other cause, suspected me of having corresponded with the rebels and aided prisoners to escape. As Grant's men had been taken under the flag of 1824, their memorial appealed to him as men whose cause had died with their leader on the day of their captivity; as soldiers whom his own arms had conquered; as captives, whose lives his clemency had spared when higher authority demanded their blood. The appeal was made in vain. Urrea made no response to the petition, nor did I ever learn in what kind of temper he received it.

We learned, some time after, that General Bravo had been, or would soon be assigned to the command of the army at Matamoros, with which the Mexican Government hoped, ere long, to recommence opera-



tions against Texas. He consented to take the command only on condition that a certain amount of force and means, which he deemed indispensable, should be placed at his disposal, and that a course compatible with the rules of civilized warfare should be observed. Both conditions were agreed to, but the event proved that the crippled government could not carry out its promise in regard to men and resources. Every one acquainted with the history of the Mexican Revolution, will remember the act which ennobled the life of Don Nicholas Bravo. During that struggle, when his father and himself both had commands in the field, the former was captured. It was a time when no mercy was shown by Spaniards to rebels. The younger Bravo knew that his father's fate was sealed, and that no threat of retaliation would save him, though the son had a number of Spanish prisoners in his hands. He immediately liberated those prisoners, saying he would not trust himself with the temptation to make a bloody reprisal. After his prisoners were beyond his reach he heard of his father's execution. From the high opinion I had ever held of General Bravo, I indulged strong hopes that, so soon as he should take command, he would deal justly with the prisoners, and give them the liberty which a public decree had pledged, and I advised them not to risk attempts at escape till the soundness of this hope had been tested. But the expected liberator did not come as soon as expected. At some time in the fall Urrea was relieved by General Amador; but as the new commander seemed a man of mere negative good qualities, and had only a temporary assignment, I knew that he would take no new action toward the prisoners, and made no attempt to obtain it.

General Bravo did not arrive till January, 1837. Before this time a slight change had occurred in the original number of the prisoners. Two out of the seven Mexicans of San Antonio, named Arriola and Zembrano, had been liberated early, before Fernandez's order for execution was issued. Their friends had brought some influence to bear on Santa Ana while he was at their native place, which plead effectively. The young Irishman, Mitchell, escaped soon after the reprieve, and later in the season two of the Americans, Brown and Mac Neely, also escaped. All of those succeeded in reaching Texas. Still later, another got away from the barrack and across the river, but was overtaken and brought back. Thus five of the original twenty-one were gone, but the two orderlies of Karnes and Teal had been added to the remainder, making the number eighteen.

As soon as General Bravo arrived I prepared a new petition. I at

first proposed to write it in Spanish, and submit it to a Cuban gentleman, who lived at Matamoros, for any correction it might need. "No," said he. "Do not hamper your ideas with a language not your own, but put your document into your best English, and I will engage to give it equal force in Spanish." His advice was good, and he did not overrate his own ability as a translator from my language to his, for he was the best I ever knew. Having made a good copy of the Spanish version, I got it signed by the prisoners, and so soon as the new General was well settled in his seat, I delivered the document into his own hand. It stated that the petitioners were the first taken and the last retained of all the prisoners made in the late campaign; that they had seen the sword three times suspended over them, when it was averted by the decree of amnesty; that they had petitioned General Urrea in vain for the liberation which that decree had pledged to all whom it relieved from the penalty of death; and that they supplicated from the General now in command the boon before denied. The closing appeal was in the English original, as follows: "Appealing to that heart which has known the agony of a father's martyrdom, and trusting in the generosity which refused to retaliate so cruel a blow, we call on your Excellency to consider the woes of our own parents and kindred, who have long bewailed us as dead, and would now view our reappearance among them as a return from the tomb. For the sake, not of us, but of those beloved mourners, grant that we may behold them again, and their prayers shall call down Heaven's choicest blessing on the head of the *magnanimous* Bravo."

When I presented this petition I got my first view of the tall, stately figure of Bravo, with what might be called a Spanish version of Washington's face. He motioned me to a seat, and taking another himself, proceeded to read with apparent close attention the paper I had handed him. How intently did I watch his manly, impassable features as he read down one page, and turned to another, till he came to the end. His face told nothing, but I thought or imagined there was a slightly longer breath when he came to the line which alluded to his father. Having finished the slow reading, he as deliberately refolded the paper, and turning to me said: "This is Tuesday. I will answer this communication on Thursday." On Thursday I again called, and in reply to my inquiry he said: "I have reported on this matter to the Government." My hopes sank. "When," inquired I, "may an answer be expected from the Government?" "Perhaps," said he, "in twelve days." My hopes did not rise. It was only three or four days after

the second interview that, when I had lain down for a siesta, a friend bolted into my room, and cried out, "The prisoners are free!" I said "let me see and I will believe." I went to the door, and the liberated men came flocking around me. Bravo, I have no doubt, had determined when he first read the petition to liberate the prisoners, if he found that their memorial gave a correct statement of facts, and his report to the Government probably stated that intent. The friends of the prisoners in the course of a week or two enabled them to secure passages to New Orleans; and with the end of their imprisonment and exile my narrative closes.

R. M. POTTER



GENERAL BRAVO, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE MEXICAN CONFEDERATION.

## A NEW AND AN ANCIENT MAP OF YUCATAN

A map published in Paris, with the recent date of 1878, and representing the peninsula of Yucatan, must claim earnest attention in geographical circles. This map is somewhat of a novelty, but nevertheless a welcome and instructive novelty. It helps to fill a gap which has always existed. There is scarcely anything known of this region of the Central American isthmus beyond what relates to its coast-lines, its bold jutting out towards the island of Cuba, the position of Cape Catoche as opposite to that of San Antonio de Cuba, and the channel between these capes, through which the current of the Gulf Stream forces its way from the Caribbean Sea into the Mexican basin. Only a few and very vague indications of the physical features and the political division of the interior of this peninsula are found even in our most commendable maps, all of which give the impression of a country that still remains an open field for all kind of exploration. Literary and scientific authorities also fail to give satisfaction respecting details. The little which is given has a certain flavor of hearsay, gathered and put together in order that the subject of Yucatan may not appear to be forgotten.

We read, for instance, that this peninsula is composed geologically of a single block, built up by calcareous strata. Its surfaces rise only a few feet above the surrounding waters. It presents no mountain ranges, and is as flat as the palm of the hand. No brook, no river bathes the gigantic trees; the luxuriant tropical vegetation feeding apparently but upon the moisture exhaled from the sea. There are rivers however, but these rivers run in invisible subterranean channels, and at a distance from the northern shore the fresh water bursts out amidst the salty surroundings, so that the manati, the heron, the fishermen in their canoes resort to the spot and slack their thirst. The inhabitants are described as Indians who are on the point of succeeding in reconquering their native soil from the Spaniards, by whom they were originally dispossessed. The Spaniards, when they landed on the shores in 1517, were told by the indigenous race that white and bearded people had come thither from the distant east, built houses, temples, palaces and cities, and ruled the country for more than a thousand years. The ruins of these ancient edifices indeed exist. They were discovered in the first decennial of our century, and the groundwork as well as the

detail of their architectual style, has a surprising resemblance to that of oriental Babylon and Egypt. Such are some of the notions respecting Yucatan. If this be all of it, we cannot but say that our knowledge of this peninsula is still enveloped in mist. But suggestions appear of problems still to be solved in all lines of geographical and historical research. The more, therefore, our scientific public shall be reminded of the existence of this area of 70,000 square miles, by works as original as this new map, the more these vague current notions concerning Yucatan will grow into well-formulated problems, and finally into solid and acceptable instruction.


We understand that the map is the work of experts, and persons born and living on the soil of Yucatan itself. Its composition has grown out of a large amount of data, given by engineers who made surveys either for the Government or for owners of vast estates; by military officers, who in their expeditions against the Indians laid down the lines of their marches; and by foreign travelers and scientists, who in the interest of their special pursuits revised former data, and rectified them by means of more correct methods of observation. A special commission performed the labor of examining and selecting the material used in the formation of the map, which was reduced to a common scale, adapted to such astronomical positions of the main cities as were known, and especially to that frame of the coast line which is laid down and published in the mss. sheets of the Hydrographical Bureau at Washington.

A map thus presented should not be underrated on account of the comparatively rudimentary studies to which it owes its origin. The most of the charts, if not all, existing of Spanish America were composed, and could not but be composed by similar proceedings and methods. It will be remembered of course that this map is the first step ever made to represent the interior of Yucatan by persons whom we may recognize as competent judges of the distances, position and classification of its cities, towns, villages, the spots of the ancient ruins, the correct spelling of their strange names, its departmental division and statistics of population. We admire the zeal with which this arduous work has been commenced, continued, and as we hear, completed under the greatest difficulties. The Yucatan Government has introduced the map into all the schools of the country. There is no doubt but that it will attract the attention of future cartographers, and the gross errors, now found on all maps of Yucatan, will be corrected in accordance to this new and reliable standard.

This much for the new map of Yucatan. Let us add a few words on an ancient map, probably the first ever made of this peninsula. When the Spanish conquerors discovered Yucatan, they were told by the inhabitants that the country was an island. This was one of the principal reasons why Cortes, after the fall of Mexico in 1527, resolved to go upon his unsuccessful expedition to Honduras. His expectation was to find Honduras to be separated from the island of Yucatan by a supposed imaginary strait, which would convey him toward the Pacific; but the strait turned out to be nothing more than a deep indentation of the coast, the Golfo Dulce, and the island a broad peninsula. Cortes' misconception is now proved to have originated from the poverty of the Maya vocabulary, which has no word descriptive of "peninsula." It employs the word "peten" promiscuously for both island and peninsula. The cartographers nearest to the epoch of the conquest are therefore fairly excused for having represented Yucatan as an island torn off from the Mexican main. Thus it appears on the globe of Orontius Fines, 1531, on the globe of Ulpius, 1542, on that of St. Marks, Venice, 1548. These cosmographers had their information from exclusively Spanish sources.

There is, however, one map in existence, which is of Portuguese origin, upon which Yucatan appears as a peninsula. This map is preserved in the Munich Military Library, and Mr. Runstmann, an expert in mediaeval cartography, calls it "a part of a Portuguese Portulano," and gives it, he does not say on what grounds, the surprisingly early date of 1514. If he is correct in this statement, it would prove that the Portuguese were not only acquainted with the peninsula form previous to the Spaniards, but that this country must have been discovered, and the details of its coast-lines explored and mapped down, long before the Castilians pretended, and as it is generally accepted up to the present day.

The doubts excited by the inspection of this rare specimen of Portuguese cartography led us to glance at those maps of the New Western World, which are known to have been published before the aforesaid date of 1514. We count five of them. First, that of the Ptolemy, of 1513; second, the so-called Petrus Martyr map of 1511; third, that of Bernardus Sylvanus, 1511; fourth, the Ruysch Ptolemy of 1508, and last, the map of Juan de la Cosa, 1500. Only *two* of these maps, the two editions of Ptolemy, will become of interest, *if viewing this subject under the impression* that the Portuguese might possibly have navigated the coasts of Yucatan previous to the Spaniards. It will be



## LETTERS OF DE FERSEN

AID-DE-CAMP TO ROCHAMBEAU

WRITTEN TO HIS FATHER IN SWEDEN

1780-1782

*Translated for the Magazine from Baron de  
Klinckowström's Count de Fersen*

Paris—1878

## I

Paris, 2d March, 1780

Here I am, my dear father, at the height of my ambition. A great expedition of 12,000 men is being organized, but I am assured it will be raised to 20,000. I have obtained permission to join it as aid-de-camp to the General, who is M. de Rochambeau; but secrecy has been strongly pressed upon me, as it has been refused to many others. Every body wishes to join it, but a firm resolution has been adopted to send to it only such officers as belong to the marching regiments. I owe my appointment to M. de Vergennes. He undertook to procure it for me. I am in a state of delight I can hardly express.

When I spoke to M. de Rochambeau, he said a thousand kind things to me, and talked to me long of you, my father; he ended by saying that he would be delighted to have me near him, and to show you how much he esteems you, and how sincerely he is attached to you. The generals with him are the Marquis de Jancourt, the Count de Caraman and the Marquis de Viomesnil; the last two have considerable reputation; that of M. de Rochambeau is made. It is on the whole the best choice that could have been made. There are three German regiments, *Anhalt, Royal Deux-*

*Ponts and Royal Corse.* I have not been able to see the list of French regiments, but the Colonels have been ordered to appear at Brest on the 15th, and the rest of us the 25th, in order to leave from the 1st to the 4th of April. The convoy will be escorted by twelve vessels and a sufficient number of Frigates. Our fleet will be commanded by M. Duchaffaud, and the Count d'Estaing is to command the fleet of observation, which will remain this year in the Channel. The navy will burst with spite, but I think it for the best.

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Brest, 4th April, 1780

Our embarkation progresses; the artillery, munitions of war and provisions are already embarked, and now that of the troops is being carried on. The first regiment arrived to-day, and all will be embarked on the 8th. M. de Rochambeau wishes to be in the roadstead on the 10th, so as to sail on the 12th or the 13th. I can not tell you how delighted I am, but my happiness will be only complete when we are at Cape Finistère. I wrote you, my dear father, that our division, for it can hardly yet be called an army, was of 7,683 men. It is now reduced to 5,000 by the negligence and incompetency which attend every thing now in this country. You can judge; when this expedition, which was then fixed at 4,000 men, was first talked of, M. de Rochambeau refused to take charge of it in consequence of the small number of troops, and said that he would not accept the command unless there were 7,000 men. At that time every body blamed him for his moderation; he re-

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plied then that he was sure to have more than he could carry with him. The result has justified him, for in place of 30,000 tons, which M. de Sartines had promised him, he only found in all the transports gotten together at Brest 12,000 tons; as each man is estimated to require two tons, this makes only the third. However, by dint of management we have found means to leave only 2,595 men behind, and take with us 5088. We are all in despair at this, and can not help being surprised and indignant that care had not been taken to bring over the vessels from Havre and Saint-Malo to Brest during the winter instead of waiting for spring, when the Jersey privateers prevent any communication between these three ports, as is now the case; 10 or 12 large vessels were counted upon from Havre or Saint-Malo, which were obliged to return at full speed for fear of capture, and Bordeaux has been written to for others; but if they do not arrive by the 12th of this month, we shall nevertheless leave, and the rest of our little army will join us as soon as it can. I have reason to believe that it will be increased 4,000 men, which is very necessary.

We have four general officers; M. le Chevalier de Châtellux, the Chevalier and the Baron de Viomesnil, two brothers, and M. de Wicktenstein, formerly Colonel of the regiment of Anhalt; all these four are Maréchaux de Camp. We take a great deal of artillery, the siege train being very heavy. We have provisions for four months at sea and four months on land. We will be escorted by seven ships of the line: *The Duc de Bourgogne* of 80 guns, the *Nep-*

*tune* of 74, the *Conquérant* of 74, the *Jason* of 64, the *Eveille* of 64, the *Providence* of 64, the *Ardent* of 64; this is the ship which was captured from the English last year, and two frigates. The convoy is of 24 vessels. I do not yet know on what vessel I shall be; the general goes on board the *Duc de Bourgogne*, and has with him his old aid-de-camp; there is no room there for any more, but I am sure to be on a ship of war.

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At Sea, 16th May (Monday), on board the *Jason*, latitude of Finistère  
I have only time to write you two words, to tell you that I am well; I have not suffered at all from the sea. We have already had heavy weather, in which one of our vessels was dismasted. The wind is favorable, and I believe that in forty days we shall be in America. We have just seen a large vessel a great distance off; it is not known whether she is a friend or foe. I have no time to write more.

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Newport, R. I., 5th Aug., 1780  
The letter I wrote you the 16th July, which returned to Newport the 23d, because of the appearance of the English fleet, is now at the bottom of the ocean; it was lost as it left the harbor the 30th July; she struck on a rock. I sent you an account of the naval combat we had, and a plan, as also a little journal of the voyage. I have not the time to rewrite an account of the battle, and to draw the plan of it; as for the journal, here it is:  
Left Brest the 4th (May); caught in a gale in the Gulf of Gascony the 11th; the 16th or 17th doubled Cape Finistère, as far down as the 27th degree of

latitude, then steered to the west ; the 20th June, crossing the Bermudas, met five English vessels and a frigate ; we fought them for two hours without receiving any damage of consequence. We intended to have made land in Chesapeake Bay ; but the 4th, when we were not more than 15 leagues distant, we saw 11 vessels which we took to be men-of-war, which led us to change our course, and to steer for Rhode Island, where we arrived safely the evening of the 11th, and came to anchor in the roadstead at 6 o'clock in the evening. It was not without serious fears that we should meet the English that we made the crossing from Chesapeake to this point ; they were well founded, for Admiral Graves, who left England to overtake us and bring us to action, if it were possible, arrived at New York the 13th, took in fresh seamen, and appeared before our harbor the 17th. If he had arrived before us he would have occupied Rhode Island, and we could only have entered after a battle, in which we would have, in any event, have lost our convoy, whatever other advantage we might have gained.

I can tell you nothing about our campaign. I know nothing. We hope to join General Washington, who is only 25 miles from New York, because we believe this to be the only way for us to operate and accomplish anything. I do not know if this junction can be effected. Meanwhile we are blockaded by twenty sail, of which ten ships-of-the-line ; they approach the coast very nearly every day. It is not believed anything will come of it ; such is my opinion. We are every moment in expectation of

General Clinton, who has embarked at New York with 10,000 men ; we are ready to receive him ; our preparations all made. I hope he may come, but I can hardly believe he will commit such an act of folly.

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Newport, 8th September, 1780

Nothing has happened since my last. We have not left our island ; we occupy, undisturbed and in the best of order, an extremely healthy camp, admirably chosen and perfectly entrenched, the works of which are not yet finished ; we are working at them. The strictest discipline is observed ; nothing is taken from the inhabitants except with their full consent and for cash ; there has not yet been a single complaint against the troops. This discipline is admirable. It astonishes the inhabitants, who are accustomed to be pillaged by the English and by their own troops. The most entire confidence and the greatest harmony exists between the two nations. If this be sufficient to ensure the success of the expedition, we are certain of its success.

For the last four or five days we have not been blockaded ; it is not known whither this fleet has gone ; we are every moment looking for news from Jamaica ; if it is taken I fear we shall not have much to do here. General Clinton, who commanded at New York, remains at Long Island with 20,000 men ; he has gathered a great supply of wood and provisions. He seems determined to pass the winter there. I fear we shall pass ours here. I shall be consoled, however, if we open the campaign in the spring. Our army is in the best

possible condition. Officers and men are perfectly disposed and ready for the common cause. Now and then some little annoyances occur; that is inevitable, but the order and discipline maintained is admirable, particularly for a French army; this proves that they only need a good commander. We have not yet begun to manoeuvre, but shall in a few days.

You know the French, my dear father, and what are called the Court people (*gens de la cour*), sufficiently to understand their despair at being obliged to pass the winter quietly at Newport, far from their mistresses and the pleasures of Paris; no suppers, no theatres, no balls; they are in despair; only an order to march upon the enemy will console them. We had some extreme heat here during August; I have never felt anything like it in Italy. Now the air is cooler, the climate superb and the country charming. We were on the mainland about eight days ago with the General. I was the only one of his aids who accompanied him. We remained ten days, and saw the finest country imaginable, the inhabitants well-to-do, but without luxury or display; they are content with the simple necessities of life which, in other countries are left to the lower class; their clothing is simple but good, and their habits have not yet been spoiled by European luxury. This country will be happy if it enjoy a long peace, and if the two parties which at present divide it do not bring it to the fate of Poland and of so many other republics. These two parties are called the *whigs* and the *tories*. The first is wholly for liberty and independence; it

is made up of people of the lowest birth and no property; the greater part of those who live in the interior of the country belong to it. The *tories* are for the English, or it is more correct to say for peace, not caring much whether they are free or dependent; they belong to a higher class, and alone possess any property in the country. Some have relatives and lands in England; others, to preserve those which they had in the country, embraced the English cause, which was the stronger. When the whigs are the stronger they pillage the others to the best of their ability. This is nursing a hatred and animosity between them which will be extinguished with difficulty, and remain the source of a thousand troubles.

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Newport, 14th September, 1780

I have neither any very interesting or very good news to send you; there is one quite distressing for us, that of the defeat of General Gates, by Lord Cornwallis, in South Carolina the 10th August. The American general advanced imprudently; he was attacked, half of his troops were killed, the rest captured; only he and his aid-de-camp were saved. We have as yet no details of the affair. Count Rochambeau had the news by an express which arrived the day before yesterday, but he has not yet made it public; he does not speak of it, nevertheless the whole town knows it. An American, with whom I conversed this morning, said he had seen a letter addressed to a member of the Council, in which was the information that the militia, under the orders of General Gates, had all passed over to the Eng-

lish at the beginning of the action. If this be true what dependence can be placed on such troops, and is not a brave man to be pitied who commands such men? This, my dear father, in our present situation is not encouraging. It is to be hoped that it will change on the arrival of the second division, which we are all waiting for with the greatest impatience. The Newport garrison begins to grow very sad.

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Newport, 16th October, 1780

This, my dear father, is the first sure opportunity I have had of writing you for a long time. I am certain that it will reach you and be handed to you unread; it will go by a frigate which M. de Rochambeau is about to send to France. The Duke de Lauzun sends one of his people and undertakes to have my letters delivered to Count de Creutz, to whom I write by the same opportunity. An officer is to go to France by this frigate to explain the state and position of this army and of our dear allies, both of which are bad enough. It is not known who will be entrusted with this commission; everybody says it will be myself; many of the general officers, M. de Châtellux and Baron de Vioménil, have spoken of me as one who could perfectly answer the wishes of the General in this regard. I do not know what the end will be, but I shall take no step to obtain it, and shall not refuse it if it be offered me. But I would prefer not to be charged with such a disagreeable business. Something of interest might happen in my absence and I should be in despair not to have a hand in it.

Our position here is very disagreeable. We are vegetating within reach of the enemy in the saddest and most frightful laziness and inaction, and are obliged, because of our small numbers, to the fatiguing part of defense; we are of no use to our allies; we cannot leave our island without exposing our fleet to capture or destruction; our fleet cannot go out without sacrificing us to the enemy who, with his superiority in ships and men, would not hesitate to attack us and cut off our retreat from the mainland. There are all the while the English ships, large and small, who watch us from a short distance; we dare not go out to meet them, for they have ships perpetually on the station at Gardner's Island, twenty miles to the southwest, and the English fleet of 15 to 20 sail is nearly always in sight. So long as we are not stronger we must remain in our present position, that is, unless we adopt the plan of sending back the fleet and giving up Rhode Island to the English. One will always follow the other. So far from being of service to the Americans, we are a burthen to them; we do not reinforce their army, because we are twelve days march from it, separated by arms of the sea, which cannot be passed when they are blocked with ice. We are even a burthen, because by increasing consumption we heighten the price of supplies, and by paying hard money bring paper into discredit, and thus deprive Washington's army of its facility of obtaining subsistence, which is refused for paper. Our condition is not better than our position; we only brought with us two million six hundred thousand

livres of which one half in hard money and the rest in bills of exchange on a banker in Philadelphia, M. Holcker. We should have brought twice that amount. This want of specie while with a nation, where it is always necessary to have cash in hand, compels us to exercise great economy where magnificence and profusion are necessary. This ruins our credit. The supply of forage has been neglected, and left to the care of an intendent, who has relied upon contractors; they have not taken a military view of the situation, but have only consulted their own interest, and instead of holding in reserve the forage of the island and for thirty or forty miles around, which was of easy transport, they consumed them in the first place, and kept for the winter that further distant. God knows how we shall obtain any; we have already been twice without forage, and for two days obliged to purchase each what he could find.

The generals do not agree among themselves. The whole army is discouraged at remaining so long without doing anything. The second division does not arrive; without it we shall do nothing, or at least nothing of consequence. M. de Rochambeau sends to France to give an account of his situation, and to demand reinforcements of men as well as money. We shall see what will come of it.

I was about fifteen days ago at Hartford, forty leagues distant from here, with M. de Rochambeau. We were only six, the Admiral, his Chief of Engineers, his son, the Vicomte de Rochambeau, and two aids-de-camp, of whom I was one. He had an interview there with

General Washington. M. de Rochambeau sent me in advance to announce his arrival, and I had time to see this man, illustrious, if not unique in our century. His handsome and majestic, while at the same time mild and open countenance perfectly reflects his moral qualities; he looks the hero; he is very cold; speaks little, but is courteous and frank. A shade of sadness overshadows his countenance, which is not unbecoming, and gives him an interesting air. His suite was more numerous than ours. The Marquis de Lafayette, General Knox, Chief of Artillery, M. de Gouvion, a Frenchman, Chief of Engineers, and six aids-de-camp, accompanied him. He had besides an escort of 22 dragoons, which was necessary, as he passed through a country full of enemies. As there is no travelling by posting in this country, every one must journey with his own horses, and nearly always on horseback, because of the bad roads. However every body was in carriages, except our two aids-de-camp. We were three days making the journey. General Washington as many. On the way we learned the arrival of Rodney at New York; nevertheless we continued our journey. The two Generals and the Admiral were closeted together the whole of the day we passed at Hartford. The Marquis de Lafayette was called in as an interpreter, as Washington does not either speak French or understand it. They separated mutually pleased with each other; at least they say so. It was on leaving there that General Washington discovered the treason of General Arnold, one of the best they have, who has been twice shot through

the body, and has always behaved well. He had been gained over by General Clinton, and was to have given up West Point, where he was in command. Major André, first aid-de-camp to General Clinton, had arrived, disguised as a countryman, to examine the fortifications, and to agree upon the manner in which they should be attacked, and how General Arnold should be out of the way so as not to excite any suspicion. There was a frigate waiting on the Hudson River, whose boat was to meet him at a given place. All being arranged with General Arnold, Major André goes to find the boat, but does not find it. The frigate had been forced to take another position by the cannon of West Point, which fired upon it, and was two leagues lower down. Major André, ignorant of this, undertook to return to New York by land; he was stopped by a party of countrymen, who were making careful patrols because General Washington was on the road. He (André) shows them the passport of General Arnold; they doubting its authenticity, notwithstanding all the offers he made them, took him to the army. At the same time Washington arrives at West Point; he sends two of his aids-de-camp to General Arnold to invite him to dine with him, and goes in person to visit the forts. The aids-de-camp find him at breakfast with his wife. A moment after they had seated themselves a person comes in who whispers a word in the ear of the General, who rises and says a word in an undertone to his wife; this word was: "*Good bye forever*"—and goes out. The wife falls in a swoon. The aids-de-camp assist her without

understanding the meaning of the scene; and some minutes after arrives the courier who brings the news to General Washington. The traitor is pursued, but it is too late. If the English had succeeded in getting possession of this post, they were the masters of the whole of the Hudson River; they would have stopped all communication and junction between our army and that of the Americans, unless by a long detour, and Washington, who is encamped at Orange-town, between West Point and New York, would have found himself between two fires, and have inevitably been destroyed before we could have come up to his assistance; perhaps it would have been all over for America, and we should have had the mortification of having arrived here only to witness the complete ruin of our allies and to still further to ensure their dependence by the discouragement this would have occasioned. Our position would not have been better, for the English, having nothing further to fear from the Americans, would have turned all their forces upon us, and we are not in sufficient strength to resist them. Fortunately the blow was averted. It is said that Major André has been hanged; it is a pity; he was a youth of twenty-four and full of talent. The General has no news of it. I hope it may prove false.

I have already informed you, my dear father, that I am extremely intimate with the Duc de Lauzun. Opinions are very much divided concerning him. You will hear good and bad reports of him. The first are right, the second are wrong. If those who say them

knew him, they would change their minds, and do justice to his heart. He has taken a friendship for me, and proposes to me in the frankest way imaginable to accept the place of Colonel commanding of his legion, which is vacant, and in a year he proposes to cede me the proprietorship of it as he desires to retire from the service. His legion consists of 1,000 infantry, 500 hussars and some small pieces of artillery. The proposition is too agreeable and advantageous for me to refuse; it will be doubly pleasant to me. The Duc de Lauzun writes on the subject to the Queen, who is full of kindness for him; she has a little for me. I wrote to her also, and hope that by the Frigate which will bring the reply to the letters it takes over I may receive my brevet. Lauzun assures me that there can be no difficulty about it.

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Newport, the 18th [October] 1780

You have already heard of the defeat of General Gates in the southern country. I sent you word of it. Congress has recalled him to Philadelphia, and has given command of his corps to General Green. He is suspected, for he is on the closest relations with Arnold. It appears that his desertion had no consequences. Everything is quiet. At New York ten battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs, with detachments of other regiments of the army to the number of 4,000, have been embarked; they are for the south of America. A fleet has just arrived at New York from Cork, in Ireland, laden with supplies, of which they were beginning to be in great need; this fleet has brought 4,000 recruits,

English and Hessians together. What a war for the English, who are compelled to bring everything over, even to their provisions! This power must have great resources to have sustained it so long.

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Newport, 13th November, 1780

The frigate which carried our letters left the 28th of last month. The 27th we saw a fleet of 13 sail of men-of-war, but not seeing it the next day, and receiving word that it had stood to the eastward, three of our frigates went out; the destination of the two others is not known. Otherwise we have no news. We think that M. de Guichen has returned to Europe.

The Arnold affair had no consequences. Poor Major André, a young man of 28 years, of the highest expectations, the friend of General Clinton, has been hanged. This spectacle has caused a great impression in the army, and the two officers whom General Washington had assigned to him as guards of honor to accompany him to execution had not the heart to follow him thither.

General Gates, whose defeat you will have read in the Gazette, has been recalled to Philadelphia by Congress, and the command of his corps given to General Greene. He stands quite high with the army. It is said that Congress suspects General Gates on account of his intimate relations with Arnold, and that he is recalled on this account. The three States of New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts have just named General Washington Dictator, with absolute power over the military. It is



for the year then ensuing, and the constables are to receive the votes, seal them up, and either carry them or send them by one of the deputies to Stratford, and deliver them to those that shall be appointed to receive, sort and count them, and those twelve that have the greatest number of votes are to be assistants for the year then next ensuing.

This is the method of choosing our council, or assistants; the governor and deputy governor may be chosen out of any of the freemen of the colony; and all the security we have for men's acting honestly, and all the guard we have against fraud, is a penalty of four or five pounds; if any man that is not a freeman shall presume to vote in the choice of these officers, or if any man that is a freeman shall put in more than one vote for one man to one office at the same election.

I must confess it looks to me as though this wanted an addition or an amendment; and the fact in the case, if I am rightly informed, justifies my sentiments. I was told in the great ruffle there was in the government last election, when so many of our best men was slaughtered merely for their steady loyalty to the crown and the parliament of Great Britain, and to save the privilege of the government from a legal forfeiture, there came a vast many more votes from one town than they had freemen, either at their meeting or in the town; also in the sessions of the assembly this last October one of the persons appointed to receive and count the votes sent in for nomination told me there came a paper from a certain town in New London County,

on which was writ a certain number of names, and to these names a certain number of figures annexed, without being attested by any assistant, justice or constable to be the votes of freemen of any town, or so much as sealed up; and yet by the major part of the counties the law it self in that case was arbitrated away, and that paper received, and the number on it counted as the votes of the freemen of the town of Preston, without any of these things which the law, as it now stands, requires; this makes me think is as necessary at least that the counters should be sworn to act in the fall, as in the spring of the year.

Thus I have attended in some measure to answer your request.

I am your humble servant.

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#### NOTES

ARNOLD AT SARATOGA.—In the battle of the 7th of October, 1777, which practically decided the fate of Burgoyne's expedition, General Benedict Arnold is represented as galloping about the field like one beside himself, leading the troops to the charge with reckless daring, and even unconsciously dealing blows on those about him.

Wilkinson attributed his conduct to intoxication, but Major Armstrong, who assisted in removing Arnold wounded from the field, saw no signs of that. Other methods for accounting for his frenzied behavior have been suggested, but no *evidence* bearing on the question has heretofore been produced that I am aware of. In the History of the Town of Northwood, New Hampshire, just

published, I find some testimony which may aid us in solving the problem.

Dr. Edmund Chadwick of Deerfield, N. H., was in October, 1777, acting as surgeon of Colonel Scammell's regiment, and was present at the battle in question. He related that during the action, while he was engaged in his professional duties in rear of the American troops, a hogshead of rum stood near him, the upper head of which was removed for the convenience of serving the contents to the men; that Arnold rode up in hot haste, saying, "Give me a dipperful of that rum." It was handed him; he drank *the whole*, wheeled his horse, and dashed into the fight.

The term "dipperful" is rather vague, but very diminutive vessels would be out of place in the army, and it would be a small dipper probably which contained less than a pint. It may be added that Dr. Chadwick was well known to be a gentleman of character and respectability.

With regard to the statement of Armstrong, it may be said that a great shock sometimes instantly sobers the most intoxicated person. Arnold had been severely wounded, and had his horse shot under him, before he was taken from the field.

*Exeter, N. H.*

B.

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JOHN CRUGER AND THE DECLARATION OF 1765.—In the Magazine for June, 1877 [I. 350-51], speaking of the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, John Austin Stevens states that John Cruger of New York was the author, *by tradition*, of the "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" adopted by that body. If he mean the "*Resolves*" of that Con-

gress, I think he is mistaken, and I must claim the honor of their authorship for the "Farmer of Pennsylvania."

In the year 1801 two young printers of Wilmington, Del., collected together the political writings of John Dickenson, and published them in two volumes. Their selection and arrangement were made *under the direct supervision of Mr. Dickenson*, as he himself distinctly states in a letter to his kinsman, Dr. George Logan of Philadelphia, which appeared in Vol. I, page 413, etc., of the American Quarterly Review for 1826. This letter was occasioned by the assertion of Chief Justice Marshall, in the second volume of his "Life of Washington," that Richard Henry Lee was the author of the First Petition to the King, when in reality the author was Mr. Dickenson. Judge Marshall made the necessary correction in a note to the fourth volume of his "Life of Washington."

The "Resolves" referred to in the first part of this letter will be found in the first volume of Mr. Dickenson's writings. As Mr. Dickenson himself justly remarks, had he allowed any article to appear in those volumes as coming from his pen, when in reality they came from another's, he would be guilty of an absolute dishonesty.

Upon the strength of these facts, I am obliged to believe him the author of the "Resolves," and accordingly bespeak a place in the Magazine for this necessary correction.

WHARTON DICKENSON.

*Honesdale, Penn.*

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THE FIRST GREAT QUARTO BIBLE IN AMERICA.—Caleb Cresson, in his diary,

recently privately printed, describes a visit to Isaac Collins, at Trenton, on the 25th August, 1791. He says that after breakfast he "went up to his printing room, where his hands were busily employed on a quarto edition of the Holy Bible, which they were near finishing ;—a great work, and, I believe, the first of the size printed in America. He told us he meant to strike off 5,000 impressions, which would occasion him to advance, in paper and workmanship, at least from £4,000 to £5,000 before he could receive any advantage. But as our Society in the United States, and particularly in Pennsylvania, have encouraged the task, by subscription and otherwise, I hope his laudable and industrious endeavours may be finally blessed and prospered."—*Caleb Cresson's Diary*.

EDITOR.

FRANKLIN'S GRAVE. — I went into what is called the Church burying ground, and viewed the little spot that contains the earthly remains of Benjamin Franklin, once so popular, and noted in his day amongst the great and the learned, but death has now brought him on a level with the meanest. He made but little profession as to religion in his life, but I am told he thought it of some importance near his close, and so we must leave him in the hands of Infinite mercy. His cold bed is close up to the north wall, near the north-west corner.—*Diary of Caleb Cresson, 1791-1792*.

EDITOR.

THE PHILADELPHIA FRESH-FISH MARKET. — *Philadelphia, June 7, 1791*. Friday morning, [June 3] for the first

time, arrived in this city, the waggon which henceforward is to supply Philadelphia regularly with fish.

By this conveyance, fish, &c., will be brought in perfection to this city, even in the hottest weather. The waggon will travel in the night, and be only 10½ hours on the road ; by means of three stages with good horses kept ready, at proper distances from each other. Only a small quantity of Sheeps-head could be procured for our market on Friday, and they in consequence, were sold perhaps rather dearer (7d. per lb.) than they will in future be disposed off. We owe this establishment to a company of gentlemen in this city, who have severally subscribed to put this plan in execution.

PETERSFIELD.

CAPE DE VERD DOLLARS. — *Providence, R. I., June 23, 1791*. A considerable number of counterfeit Dollars of different dates, have been lately discovered in circulation in this town and the adjacent country. They are made of Block Tin, are not milled, and resemble those taken from a wreck on the African coast, usually called Cape de Verd Dollars, which have been corroded by the salt water. These counterfeits are easily detected, as they are light, and feel greasy to the touch.

PETERSFIELD.

ELK MEAT.—At Lake Saint François we had two elks which were the first fruits of our hunt. We made a capital feast upon them. The elk is an animal as large as a mule and somewhat of the same form, except that the elk has cloven feet, and on his head very large horns which he sheds every winter, and

which are as flat as those of the fallow deer. The flesh is very fine, particularly when fat, and the skin is held in high esteem. It is commonly called the Original here. The heat at this time and the limited experience we had of life in the woods were the cause of our losing a great part of our meat.

The manner of preserving it in the woods where no salt is to be had is to cut in very thin slices and spread it upon a gridiron, which is raised three feet above the earth and covered with small twigs, upon which the meat is spread; then a fire is made beneath the gridiron, and the meat is dried in the fire and smoke until it contains no more moisture, and is dry as a piece of wood; it is then put up in packages of 30 or 40 lbs. which are wrapped in bark, and thus packed will keep five or six years without spoiling. When it is to be eaten it is reduced to powder between two stones and slowly boiled with Indian corn. The loss of our meat was the cause of our having nothing to eat but Indian corn and water for more than a month, for often we were not in places near which there was any fishing, and the season was not favorable for hunting.

—*Relation of l'Abbé de Gallinée.*—*Margry's French Discoveries and Settlements.*

EDITOR.

FIRST PRINTING PRESS FOR THE CHEROKEE NATION.—*London, March 2, 1791.* The Indian chiefs depart for America on the 26th; they go with deep rooted enmity to the Spaniards, and Mr. Bowles (an adopted Indian), the Cherokee Chief, takes with him a printing press, compositors, &c., and

means to introduce the art of printing among the Indians. W. K.

HAMILTON AND BURR.—Your note on Follow the Drum (III, 198), and Songs of the Fathers (III, 265), bring to my mind what I have heard from my father, Major Bezaleel Howe, of the New Hampshire line of the Continental army. He was one of the founders of the Cincinnati, and present at the Fourth of July dinner at which Hamilton and Burr met for the last time. He observed that they exchanged the courtesies of the table, and had no suspicion that there was any hostile feeling.

*Passaic.*

JOHN M. HOWE.

## QUERIES

AN HISTORICAL MEDAL.—A few years ago a medal was found in a grave near the site of the old Miami village at Fort Wayne, Indiana, by Mr. Henry Baker, while digging a drain for his farm, which is valuable as throwing some light upon the early intercourse of the French with the Miamis. It was found with some buttons and other trinkets enclosed in a small copper kettle lying near the head of the skeleton.

The obverse has a fine medallion portrait, in high relief, surrounded by the legend, "Guil. De Nesmond. Senatus Princ." On the reverse is a cenotaph surmounted by an urn, with the legend, "Pietate, Justi. Insuper et Amore Coningis," and below it, "Ob. M.DC.XCIII."

The medal is of copper or bronze, is perfectly preserved, and the head is un-



doubtedly a portrait of the de Nesmond in whose memory it is struck. It is two and three-quarter inches in diameter, and perforated for suspension.

The medal is of interest historically, for the reason that this point, as a portage to the Mississippi, has scant mention in history, although early known, and the site of the principal town of the great Miami Confederacy.

Little Turtle, in his speech at the Treaty of Greenville, July 15, 1795, speaks of this point as "that glorious gate, through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass, from the north to the south and from the east to the west." La Salle, in a report to Frontenac, made probably in 1682, mentions the route by the Maumee and Wabash as the most direct to the Mississippi, and he speaks, in his will, 1680-1, of possessions in the town of the Miamis. Yet for a long period the long route by way of the lakes was followed, and we find little mention of the shorter route.

The date of the establishment of the Fort des Miamis at this point is not

known with accuracy, although tradition says it was established in 1734 by De Vincennes, and was visited by De Celeron in 1749. Probably some confusion has arisen among historians from the fact that there were three forts of the name, one near the mouth of the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, one at the present site of Fort Wayne, and the other down the Maumee near the dividing line between the States of Indiana and Ohio.

If we were to judge from the scanty materials furnished by historians, we would be likely to conclude that little communication was had with this point and the natives here prior to the second quarter of the seventeenth century; but this medal, now fortunately brought to light, proves that the relations of the French with the Miamis here were of an intimate character, else de Nesmond, who died in 1693, would not have been on such friendly ("Amore") terms with Coningis as to cause his memorial medal to bear the friendly legend.

Who was Coningis? Perhaps the Chief of the Miami Confederacy at that

time ; but the writer is unable to find any reference to such a personage.

Little more can be found in American history of de Nesmond. Parkman speaks of a Marquis de Nesmond who, with a squadron of fifteen of the best ships of the French navy, sailed for Newfoundland in 1696 with orders to defeat the English squadron supposed to be there, and after being reinforced at Penobscot by 1,500 Canadian troops to fall upon Boston. (Frontenac and New France 382-4.) This could not be William de Nesmond whose portrait appears on the medal, for he died in 1693.

Who, then, was William de Nesmond, the friend of Coningis, and what were his relations and those of the French Government to the Miamis at the head of the Maumee prior to 1693?

R. S. ROBERTSON.

COL. BROADHEAD'S EXPEDITION OF 1779.—Can any of your readers inform me what is the title of the book in which I may find Colonel Daniel Broadhead's report of his expedition, against the Indians, on the Alleghany river in 1779, to Timothy Pickering?

A. E.

*Sinclairville, Chautauqua Co., N. Y.*

ANCIENT BOSTON PASQUINADE.—The following verses, to all appearance inedited, were found recently in a bundle of letters and other manuscripts, carefully preserved for generations in a New England family, and dating from the latter part of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. I have no other clue to their history. Some of the personal allusions in these

lines are plain enough. But what Governor was intended? Who was the "Vice Gerent?" and what is the significance of the allusion at the close? Perhaps some "Boston man" of the present day may be able to enlighten us.

THE BOSTON MAN'S ANSWER TO THE  
CAROLINA MAN

Sr

We have a Governor, an honest man  
As e're yet ruled the roost, deny it who can,  
A Gentleman by far too Good for those  
Unfaithfull men who lead him by the nose.  
Get D——y, B——r and the rest removed,  
He'll rule us better & be well beloved  
Rather than lose his aim, Achitophel  
Wou'd sink the Province to ye pit of Hell.  
He saills with every wind from every Quarter  
As suits his Turn, He'll Bless or Curse ye  
Charter.

There's one fiend more, a Demon I had rather  
Not name, but since I must, 'tis C——n M——r,  
That fiend as false as Hell.—

Sr

We've a Vice Gerent eke, one Goody who,  
One of the worst of all the Canvas Crew,  
A Thick scull'd Sot who can't count fifty-seven,  
He's hardly sense to play at odd or even ;  
But some may say he's no such fooll, but can,  
Then I affirm, He's not ane honest man.  
Brand which you please, his honesty or scull,  
He's Knave or Ideot,—Witness Muster Roll.

C. W. B.

*Rye, Westchester County, N. Y.*

BALCARRES.—Why is it that all our historians of Burgoyne's expedition, down to W. L. Stone in 1876, persist in misspelling the name of the commandant of the British light infantry? They uniformly write it *Balcarras*, instead of *Balcarres*, as he wrote it himself, and as it is given in Fonblanque's *Life of Burgoyne*, and we believe by English writers generally.

*Exeter.*

B.

**GOV. GEO. B. M'CLELLAN'S ANCESTRY.**

—Will one of your genealogical correspondents inform me if any relationship exists between General Geo. B. McClellan, the present Governor of New Jersey, and the Scottish house of Kirkcudbright? I have always been under the impression that the Governor's ancestry sprang from the "green isle of Erin," but a friend informs me that his ancestry was pure and unadulterated Scotch.

*New York.*

D. F. T.

**DE LA NEUVILLE.**—Can any reader of the Magazine give any account of the French officer bearing the above name, who was breveted a Brigadier-General in the revolutionary army by Congress? It seems that there were two persons of the name in the American service, the other with the rank of Colonel. The General held his commission but a short time, probably on account of the jealousy of some of the native officers of high rank.

*Exeter.*

B.

**PATRICK HENRY.**—Histories generally inform us that Patrick Henry, in his memorable speech before the Virginia Legislature on the resolutions upon the Stamp Act, said: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell," etc., etc. It is denied by some that he ever used these words, and asserted that they were the invention of his biographers. Is there any contemporaneous authority that will settle this point?

*Brooklyn.*

MANY AMERICANS.

**REPLIES**

**GATE'S BURIAL PLACE.**—(III. 204.)

General Gates died on the morning of Thursday, April 10, 1806, after a long and tedious illness, a sincere and devout evangelical Christian. His death occurred at his residence, now the corner of Twenty-second street and Second avenue, then the Bloomingdale Pike. His funeral, however, took place at one o'clock on the following day at No. 59 Broadway, whither his body had been removed, probably to enable his friends in the city to attend more conveniently.

Through the courtesy of my friend, Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, I am enabled to set the question where the General is buried at rest, as will be seen by the following leaf from the Register of Trinity Parish, kindly copied and sent to me by the Rector:

1806	Persons deceased.	Where buried.	AGE.	
			Yrs.	Mos.
April 11..	Gen. Horatio Gates.	Trinity.....	78	..

A true copy from the Register of Burials of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York.

Attest: MORGAN DIX, Rector.

I have some other interesting information concerning General Gates, which I shall communicate later.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

*Jersey City Heights.*

**LOST LOCALITIES—CONEWAGO CHAP-EL, NEW YORK.**—(III. 203.) The Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart at Conewago is located on the eastern banks

of the Plum and Little Conewago Creeks, near their confluence in Adams county, Penn., not far from the York county line. The first church was a small log chapel, erected about 1740, and services conducted by a mission priest from Hartford county, Md. The first resident priest was Rev. Matthias Manners, S. J., a German, whose proper name was Sittensperger, who, to anglicize his name, took the English equivalent, "Manners." Father Manners was succeeded by a number of priests, who were all members of the Society of Jesus, the most distinguished of whom was Father Pellentz, who built a stone church in 1787. This worthy father died in 1800, at the age of seventy-seven. In the years 1850-1 Rev. Joseph Enders, S. J., enlarged and beautified the church. About six hundred acres of limestone land are attached to the Conewago church, which is laid off in two farms, advantageously tilled and improved, with houses and ample barns. The congregation being large—numbering nearly three thousand souls—is self-sustaining, and the income of the farms goes into the general treasury of the Society of Jesus, to be laid out in erecting churches, founding colleges and supporting schools. The view from the steeple of the church at Conewago is an extensive and varied one of the surrounding country—Gettysburg, with its historic Round Tops and ramparts, and the South Mountain in the background; the beautiful village of New Oxford, and the Pigeon Hills; Hanover, with its numerous steeples and turrets, and beyond, towards Littlestown and the

Maryland line, the magnificent and fertile valley of the Conewago.

*Harrisburg, Penn.*

W. H. E.

LORD BELLOMONT'S COFFIN. — (II. 698.) The remains of Richard, Earl of Bellomont, at his death (March 5, 1701) were interred, *not* in the "Old Dutch Church" according to Dunlap, but in a vault beneath the chapel of the fort, near the site of the present Bowling Green. About the year 1788 the fort was demolished to make way for the "Government House" which was erected on its site. In the course of the work this vault was opened, and found to contain the remains of several persons, including those of Governor Bellomont. The "History of the Fort in New York" states that the coffins (which were of lead and in good preservation) found in the vault were taken by Mr. Pintard, who conducted the operations, and interred in St. Paul's church-yard, where they were left "without monumental notice," and that, furthermore, the silver plates of the coffins were removed by Mr. Van Zandt, who intended them for preservation, but after his death *they were converted into spoons.*

I have little doubt but that the remains of a coffin spoken of as being in the Historical Society are fragments found at the time of Lord Bellomont's disinterment, and probably deposited in the Society by Mr. Pintard.

In regard to the burial place of Lesler, I might say that in Valentine's Manual for 1866 there is a picture of Jacob Lesler's grave, but from what source obtained is not stated. The grave must



have been located near the site of the present Chatham and Spruce streets. From there his remains were removed to the old church in Garden street, but whether there was a monument erected over them in the latter place, I have nowhere seen stated.

C. A. C.

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LOST LOCALITIES—MANOR OF MASKE. (III. 203.) This was one of the Proprietary Manors in the Province of Pennsylvania, located west of the Susquehanna river in York, now Adams county. It contained 43,500 acres, and was surveyed in the year 1741 for the use of the Proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn. For a full description, see *History of Pennsylvania* by Dr. Egle, Jr., p. 281.

*Harrisburg, Penn.*

W. H. E.

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LOST LOCALITIES—FOREST-OF-DEAN. —(III. 203.) Forest-of-Dean was a locality in Cornwallshire, England, famous for its iron mines. Forest-of-Dean is the name of an iron mine in the township of Monroe, Orange county, N. Y., west of Fort Montgomery, among the Hudson Highlands. The mine was opened about the year 1761, and was doubtless so named from the English mine in Cornwall. There is a little stream in the town of Monroe called Forest-of-Dean Creek.

In a ruined Quaker meeting-house near my residence which was built about one hundred years ago, is a box-stove for wood, on which the following words are cast: "Forest of Dean, 1767." This implies that so early as that date a

smelting furnace and a foundry had been erected near the Forest-of-Dean mines, west of the Hudson.

A portion of the great chain that spanned the Hudson river at West Point, and which was constructed at the Sterling Ironworks of Noble & Townsend in Orange county, was made of iron from the Forest-of-Dean mines.

*The Ridge, N. Y.*

B. J. L.

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LOST LOCALITIES—THE SLOTE.—(III. 203.) To the inquirer in the March number of the Magazine who desires to know where "the Slose" was, I would say that such designation was given by the low Dutch residents of Tappan and vicinity to its landing place, or grounds adjacent on the Hudson river.

Within my memory store-keepers and farmers a few miles back, when they went to the wharf for supplies received by sloop or "periagua," always spoke of going to "the Slose." The name may be found, in connection with Tappan, in the town of "Orangetown," Rockland Co., in Simeon DeWitt's County Map of the State of New York, published in 1829.

J. N. IRELAND.

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WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.—(II, 484.) In the biographical sketch of the war Governor of New Jersey there is an error as to his parentage. He was grandson, not son, of Robert Livingston, and son of Philip Livingston and Catherine Van Brugh.

EDITOR.

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BATTLE OF MONMOUTH — (III. 59.) Your correspondent, R. C., alludes

to Clinton's moonlight flittings as the theme of many a jest during his subsequent services in America. While examining a file of the Pennsylvania Packet I found in the issue of September 9, 1780, a poem of considerable length, supposed to be written by a lady, relating to the movements of the British army, from which I copy the following verse and foot note referring to the retreat from Monmouth :

So we dressed in high taste to see them embark,  
Not thinking that Sir Harry would go in the dark;  
To light a retreat, as seen in his letter,\*  
He once used the moon—for want of a better.

\* The battle of Monmouth, where Sir Harry Clinton says that he took advantage of the moon; I suppose this is what the Lady alludes to. It may be well enough, however, to set her right, by informing her that he did not begin his retreat till the moon had gone down, which, vulgarly speaking, was really to take advantage of the moon.

PHILADELPHIA.

—For one, I cannot accept J. W. de P.'s reply, for he does not meet the puzzle of my almanac. He questions Washington's authorities, but places implicit faith in Clinton's statement; but he cannot question the evidence of the almanac, which emphatically gives no room for Clinton's "*benefit of an hour's moonlight, if not more*," to use the words of J. W. de P.

T. H. M.

ANDRÉ'S REMAINS.—(III, 203.) W. N. will find in the United Service Journal for November, 1833, what may be called the official account of the removal of André's remains, written by Mr. Buchanan, the British Consul at New York, under whose directions the re-

moval was effected. W. N. should, after reading this account, examine a reply to it in the New England Magazine for May, 1834, by Dr. Thatcher, entitled, "Observations relating to the Execution of Major André."

W. N. will find an account of the affair in the New York Evening Post of August 11, 1831; also, I presume, in any New York paper about that date.

Alleghany, Pa. ISAAC CRAIG.

—Dean Stanley, in his Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, Murray, London, 1876, pp. 256-57, gives some reference to the removal of the remains: "The courtesy and good feeling of the Americans were remarkable. The bier was decorated with garlands and flowers, as it was transported to the ship. On its arrival in England," etc., etc. "The chest in which the remains were enclosed is still preserved in the Revestry." And the Dean refers to Sargent's Life of André, pp. 409-11, where an account of the exhumation and removal can be found.

T. H. M.

—An account of the removing of André's remains to Westminster Abbey in 1821 can be found in the New England Magazine, VI., May 1834, and the United Service Journal, November, 1833, London, both of which are referred to in a brief notice of the matter in vol. VI., Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs, Contributions to American History, pp. 373-5. I suppose something can be found on the subject in Sargent's André, Boston, 1861.

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.



familiar to antiquity, next the semaphore system of visual signals introduced at New York by Christopher Colles in 1812. We are now brought to the Progress of Electrical Science in America, from the experiments of Franklin to the invention of a recording instrument devised by Professor Morse in 1832, constructed in 1835, and first practically completed in 1837, when a description of the register was filed in the Patent Office in Washington. This account is in the words of Morse. The apparatus was then incomplete. The electric current once confined and compelled to man's service, improvements in the control of its workings have been constant, chief among which the discovery of the second or combined circuit, or relay, as it is familiarly called, the honor of which was claimed for various men of science, but is here definitely attributed to Morse. The Government refused to purchase the invention in 1843 when offered to it for one hundred thousand dollars, perhaps because it was thought that it might interfere with the mails, just as in the beginning of the century it declined the use of gas in light-houses in the fear that it might injure the whale fisheries. The tendency of legislation is now in the other direction, and the whole of the vast system of American lines may soon pass into Government control.

In according honor to those to whom it is due, the great practical services of Mr. Henry O'Reilly have not been overlooked; and we must here bear witness to the untiring industry of this gentleman, whose monumental history of the telegraph in America, deposited in the New York Historical Society in a large number of volumes of manuscripts and clippings from newspapers, supplies a complete account of the enterprise in its minutest details. The Western Union Company was a natural outgrowth of the plan of Mr. O'Reilly for a connection of the interior cities of the seaboard. Next to Morse and O'Reilly in importance comes the name of William Orton, whose remarkable administrative powers brought the colossal combination to a complete success. The writer of these lines knew him well; indeed it was at his personal request, founded on knowledge of his administrative powers, that Mr. Chase called him to the superintendence of the Department of Internal Revenue, when they attracted general attention.

#### A HISTORY OF SAN FRANCISCO AND INCIDENTALLY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

By JOHN S. HITTELL. 8vo, pp. 498. J. L. BANCROFT & Co. San Francisco, 1878.

This is the history of the City of the Golden Gate, prepared in accordance with the resolution of Congress of March, 1876, recommending

the delivery in every town of a sketch of its history from its foundation. Of the value of these Centennial stones there is only one opinion. Since the Columbian discovery no event in the history of the world has had a wider influence than the finding of gold in deposits in California. By extending the base of commercial credit it has given new life to the enterprise of mankind. It was propitious in its very beginning, and to it may be alone ascribed the escape of Europe from the distress which reached its climax in 1848. But for it the face of European society might have been changed. As for San Francisco, it is not difficult to foresee that it is to become one of the cosmopolitan cities of the world, without a rival on the western coast of this continent.

Mr. Hittell divides his subject into eras; thus we have the Indian, Mission and Village Eras, each in a separate chapter, the whole of which include the story before the gold discoveries. Then comes the Golden Era and its decline, the Silver Era, and a final chapter on Generalities. The section devoted to Broderick is a singular chapter in the history of American politics. The reader for information or pleasure will be amply repaid.

#### THE CONFEDERATE FIRST AND SECOND MISSOURI BRIGADES, 1861-1865—AND FROM WAKARUSA TO APPOMATOX. A Military Anagram. By R. S. BEVIER. 8vo, pp. 480. BRYAN, BRAND & Co. St. Louis, 1879.

The first part of this volume is given to a history of the troops raised in Missouri for the Confederate service, who took the field under General Sterling Price, an excellent steel portrait of whom prefaces the book. When the State authorities decided to join in resistance to the General Government, and plunged the State into secession, Price received his appointment as Major-General. Of the accuracy of the volume as an account of the military movements in which these brigades took part, from the day when they crossed the border to join the Confederate army until the last remnants struck their flag to General Canby on the Gulf in April, 1865, we are not competent judges. In the view of the author nothing before or since the famous Anabasis of Xenophon can be at all compared to the patriotism and daring of the Missouri Brigades.

The second part of the volume, made up of personal reminiscences of the author, taken from his own diary of the war, is extremely interesting, as all truthful narratives of personal experiences under danger and difficulty are. Mr. Bevier was Colonel of one of the battalions in the Second, later merged into the First Brigade. He pays but little attention to military

matters, but his chapters are full of camp stories and personal sketches of men who played their part in life's battle, and are not likely to be forgotten either by their friends or their whilome foes. There is a portrait of the author and of some other men of mark in the contest.

**SERMONS PREACHED IN THE CHURCH OF THE FIRST RELIGIOUS SOCIETY IN ROXBURY.** By GEORGE PUTNAM, Minister of the Society. 16mo, pp. 368. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1878.

So long as Mr. Putnam lived he would not consent to any publication of his manuscripts, but leaving no restrictions behind, his representatives wisely prepared this volume for the press. There is nothing more melancholy than the idea that an intellectual life should close without some record of its strivings and its achievements. These productions cover a period of forty-five years, from 1830 to 1875. There is no dogma in these pure, fresh thoughts, which seem to well up with undisturbed serenity from a never failing source. The language is pure and natural, the images simple and homely, the pictures he draws vivid and personal. Reading to-day his beautiful sermon entitled the Windows towards Jerusalem, which opens with a picture of Daniel looking out towards the holy city from the windows of his distant home, the recollection sprang to the mind of the familiar figure of Lincoln looking out from his window in dreamy gaze towards the Southern horizon.

**REMINISCENCES OF THE BENCH AND BAR OF MISSOURI.** With an Appendix, containing Biographical Sketches of nearly all of the Judges and Lawyers who have passed away, together with many interesting and valuable letters never before published of Washington, Jefferson, Burr, Granger, Clinton and others, some of which throw additional light on the famous Burr conspiracy. By W. V. N. BAY. 8vo, pp. 611. F. H. THOMAS & Co. St. Louis, 1878.

In his introduction the accomplished Judge, who himself graced the Supreme Court of Missouri, points to one significant reason for the eminence which the early lawyers of the State attained. The State of Missouri was carved out of the territory of Louisiana, which had been successively under the rule of the Spaniards and French, with their different systems of law, and finally, when Napoleon made the cession to the United States, under the Civil

Code, the boon which the soldier lawmaker, like Justinian, from whose legislation many of its provisions were drawn, bestowed upon his country. A successful practice at the bar, and even ordinary fitness for the bench required therefore a thorough knowledge of these languages with their Latin mother

Thomas H. Benton, noblest Roman of them all, leads the long list in an opening chapter; indeed, his name and that of Edward Bates, Attorney General of the United States under Lincoln, and the popular idol of Missouri, alone are national, although those of Francis P. Blair, Jr., Truett Polk and Sam Caruthers will call up recollections to a wide circle of readers. The characteristics of the large number mentioned are succinctly described. The book is biographical in its construction and treatment, and invaluable as a reference volume, while specially interesting to the profession.

The historic student will find in the life of Rufus Easton a letter of Aaron Burr, of March, 1805, which throws some light on the conspiracy for which he was later tried, and an account of the conspiracy itself.

**ESSAYS AND REVIEWS.** By CHARLES HODGE, D.D. Selected from the Princeton Review. 8vo, pp. 633. ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS. 1879.

As the contents of this volume were the selection made by Dr. Hodge himself, they may justly be regarded as those upon which he prefers that his fame should rest. Originally published in the Princeton Review, the great organ of the profession of Christian faith of which he was an acknowledged leader, they are chiefly of a religious character. Among those which are purely ethical and directly concern history are two striking papers, one on Slavery, the other on Emancipation. In that on Slavery, prompted by the arguments presented by Dr. Wayland's Elements of Moral Science and Channing's Essay, the latter in 1835, and written in the very height of the Abolition excitement, Dr. Hodge treats of the scriptural view of this once vexed question, and endeavors to hold the balance between those who believed the institution criminal and unchristian and those who looked upon it as the highest form of white civilization. The sequel has shown that the institution was one of those that would not and could not be let alone. Its natural consequence was universal rule or ruin.

The second paper on Emancipation was called forth by the Rev. Dr. Breckinridge's paper on the Question of Negro Slavery and the New Constitution of Kentucky, issued in 1849. In this Dr. Hodge traces the growing antagonism of the slave to the free States, and the formation

of a Southern party, which, to use the modern expression, was to rapidly make the South "solid" on the question. The old topics of amalgamation and colonization, once of such interest, are philosophically treated. We note the opinion that expatriation was an essential feature of any wise plan of emancipation. Recent events have shown that the South could not have parted with her labor, and would not have consented to any general scheme of colonization.

Such carefully considered arguments as these deserve and will hold a permanent place in the history of this moral conflict.

**CIVILIZATION AND BARBARISM ILLUSTRATED BY ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO METACOMET AND THE EXTINCTION OF HIS RACE.** By FREDERICK FREEMAN. 8vo, pp. 186. Printed for the author at the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1878.

The purpose of the author has been to make a calm critical examination of the Indian question. In pleading the cause of Metacomet, Mr. Freeman in the outset secures the sympathy of the reader. With all our natural feeling for the trials and dangers to which our forefathers were exposed, that latent chord, which beats responsive to the touch of heroism, devotion, patriotism, cannot but be aroused by the spirited story of the Indian uprising of 1675. The Indians in New England at this time were estimated to have numbered ten thousand, of whom one-third warriors—behind them, be it remembered, an impenetrable waste. Metacomet was summoned to Plymouth. He refused to treat with the subjects of King Charles. We must not forget that the English never claimed their territory by right of discovery or conquest, but even in their later struggles with France based their right to domain on Indian grants. The Narragansett Indians were confined to lands set aside for them, and their leaving of the reservation in the Narragansett country was the cause of the war. Every Indian war was a danger. Had the fierce Mohawks joined their forces to the enemy, the issue at any time up to the beginning of the last century was a doubtful one. As it was the struggle was unequal. The Indians were divided among themselves; and in the surprise of his camp at Mount Hope Metacomet himself fell by the ball of an Indian renegade. The character of Metacomet, his fortitude under disaster, his abandonment to grief on the capture of his wife and son are told with feeling and spirit. In the concluding chapter Mr. Freeman protests against the cry of extermination as a reproach to humanity and an insult to Heaven, and earnestly pleads for the abandon-

ment of the rifle and the use of the Bible as the true solution of the Indian problem. In this we heartily concur. We have conversed, however, with many excellent and sensible persons, who have passed years on the frontier, and are convinced that "there are Indians and Indians," and that no general rule can be adopted without modifications in special cases.

#### HISTORICAL FALLACIES REGARDING

COLONIAL NEW YORK. An Address delivered before the Oneida Historical Society, Utica, at its Second Annual Meeting, January 14, 1879, by DOUGLAS CAMPBELL of New York. 8vo, pp. 32. F. J. TICKER. New York, 1879.

In this paper Mr. Campbell, who is devoting himself to the study of New York history with commendable zeal, has undertaken to clear up the cloud of prejudice which has until recently befogged our neighbors beyond the Connecticut. He accounts for this by the Dutch origin of the New York colony and her inferiority of population. These are hardly the true reasons. New York, as Mr. Seymour has shown in his recent paper on the Influence of New York on American Jurisprudence, lately printed in the Magazine [III. 217], had her full share of influence in the Colonial period, and her position made her the one point of unwavering interest throughout the revolutionary war. The reasons why her history has not been written are first, the inertness of the Dutch character, and secondly, that her directing minds in nearly every department of life, commerce, science, and literature, have been of New England origin. The New Yorker of to-day is rarely descended from the New Yorkers of the last century. None the less, however, will her history bear examination, and the earnestness of the new race of New Yorkers is rapidly atoning for the indifference of the older. The facts Mr. Campbell brings forward in proof of his claim have been stated before, but they bear repeating, and must be repeated until the "deaf shall hear."

**ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; MEN, EVENTS, LAWYERS, POLITICS AND POLITICIANS OF EARLY ROME.** By D. E. WAGER. An Address delivered before the Oneida Historical Society, at Utica, N. Y., January 28 1879. 8vo, pp. 47. ELLIS H. ROBERTS & Co. Utica, 1879.

The town of Rome was organized in 1796. In this address its history has been traced in sketches, arranged in the chronological order of their arrival in the town from that time. In the first sketch of Major William Colbrath, who is styled "a jolly Irishman, who had ren-

dered service to the Colonies in the Revolutionary struggle," is an account of the formation of Oneida county, March 15, 1798, when the son of Erin was appointed its first sheriff. The other sketches are of Benjamin Wright, distinguished as an engineer of the eastern division of the canal; Mr. Geddes, surveying the western; George Huntington, who was a merchant at Fort Stanwix in 1793; Joshua Hatheway, who at sixteen served at Bennington under Stark, was graduated at Yale after the war, and was admitted to the Herkimer bar in 1795; Henry Huntington, who was second President of the Bank of Utica. The histories of all these run into the last century. The later men of distinction are James Lynch, Wheeler Barnes, James Sherman, Seth B. Roberts, Chester Hayden, Benjamin P. Johnson, Joseph B. Read, Samuel Beardsley, Daniel Wardwell, Hiram Dunn, Rev. Albert Barnes, John B. Jervis, Henry A. Foster and John Stryker, whose honors we have not space to enumerate. This is a first instalment to the history of Rome, comprising forty years, as the ancients would put it, "from the building of the city."

We take issue with Mr. Wager upon the statement in his introductory remarks, that the State of New York was considerably less democratic than any other State in the Union. There was certainly a strong country aristocratic party, but it did not control legislation, and popular rights were better understood here than in any other State; and we are mistaken if in the ranks of the Oneida Historical Society his statements do not challenge opposition. The question is not, was the Constitution of the State of New York liberal in its extension of elective franchise before 1822, but was it less liberal than those of its neighbors. Faith in the ballot is of slow growth. In her first constitution New York discarded the open for the secret ballot—the first step to enfranchisement.

**FATHER MARQUETTE AT MACKINAW AND CHICAGO.** A paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, October 15, 1878, by HENRY H. HURLBUT. 8vo, pp. 16. JANSEN, McCLURG & Co. Chicago, 1878.

In this monograph may be found an interesting sketch of the life and voyages of James Marquette, who arrived at Quebec as a missionary of the Society of Jesus in 1666, and after two years study of the Indian languages, embarked for the River St. Mary, at the falls of which a mission was to be established under his direction. From this point he was chosen in 1669 to go to LaPoint, near the end of Lake Superior, to continue the labors of Father Allouez, and in 1671 accompanied the Hurons,

who fled from a raid of the Sioux, to the Straits of Mackinaw. At the island here Mr. Hurlbut presumes Marquette settled, and established the first mission founded by him of St. Ignatius de Loyola, and thence in the spring of 1673 departed with Louis Joliet, the leader, on an expedition to the *great river*. Mr. Hurlbut takes issue with Dr. Duffield for not mentioning Joliet in his oration at Mackinaw last August, and for ignoring the fact that he led this expedition—claims that Joliet was selected by the Government of New France to explore the *great river*, and that Marquette was but an *ecclesiastic attaché*. The Mississippi, Mr. Hurlbut claims, was discovered by them both in June, 1673; Dr. Shea concurs in this view, and believes that La Salle had his information concerning the river when Joliet stopped at Fort Frontenac, where La Salle commanded, on his passage down Lake Ontario in 1674; but now comes Mr. Margry, who, on the authority of Anastase Douay, throws doubts upon the whole of this voyage. Douay distinctly says that there was no truth in its local descriptions, and that Joliet had disavowed the discovery; according to Margry, Hennepin confirms these doubts. The discussion will be of interest.

**WEBSTER AND PINKNEY.** A pamphlet by WILLIAM PINKNEY, Archbishop of Maryland, July 30, 1878. 4to, pp. 16. 1878.

In a note attached to this pamphlet the reverend gentleman expresses his regret at the death of Mr. Harvey, of which he had learned after it had been sent to press. The purpose of the pamphlet is to vindicate the fame of Mr. Pinkney from aspersions cast upon it by Mr. Harvey in a passage in his "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster," published in the fall of 1877. Mr. Harvey reports that Mr. Webster told him that "he had on one occasion locked Mr. Pinkney up in one of the grand jury rooms of the capitol, and extorted from him as he stood trembling like an aspen leaf an humble apology, which was repeated next day in open court." The Reverend Mr. Pinkney expresses the "greatest admiration for Webster, the faintest echo of whose vast fame gives him pleasure," and his "deliberate judgment that Mr. Harvey is in error," and he brings collateral circumstances to prove the always difficult negative. In the first place he says "there are no grand jury rooms in the capitol, and never have been." This disposes of the "place where"—and the "time when" he shows must have been, from the correlative text, "between 1813 and 1817, during which period Mr. Webster and Mr. Pinkney were never engaged in any case in the Supreme Court, either on the same or opposite sides." Moreover, Webster himself bore testimony to

his admiration of Pinkney, at his own request following Goodloe Harper in a eulogy on his character at the time of his death, reported in the *National Intelligencer*, March 22, 1822.

The defence of his kinsman by the Archbishop is complete, and we are happy to have an opportunity to put it upon record. Its tone is admirable.

PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. I. Memorial Address on the Life and Character of Willard Hall. By Hon. DANIEL M. BATES. 8vo, pp. 60. THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Wilmington, 1879.

Immediately upon the death of Judge Hall, the first president of the Historical Society of Delaware, in the spring of 1875, his successor in office was requested to deliver an address upon his life and character. To this we owe the comprehensive and beautiful sketch before us, in which the intellectual and moral traits of this most excellent man and upright judge are analyzed in their own essence and their relation to the community and the law. Willard Hall was born in Westford, Massachusetts, in 1780, and descended from an ancestry of singular mental and physical vigor; his grandfather of the same name having been graduated from Harvard in 1722, and distinguished as a scholarly minister of the Congregational Church of Westford. Judge Hall was graduated at Harvard in 1800, and studied law with Mr. Dana. In those days the offices of the great lawyers were nurseries in which pupils received careful training, and became part of the continuing "office." In 1803 he was admitted to the New Hampshire bar. A speech in Congress of the elder Bayard, commending the bar of Delaware, attracted him to that State, where he soon acquired distinction among such men as Bayard, Rodney and McLane. He was soon called to positions of public trust; in 1812, Secretary of State; in 1816 and 1818, member of Congress; in 1822, State Senator, and in 1823, United States District Judge, an office which he held for forty-eight years, retiring in 1871, at the age of ninety-one. In the course of this long tenure of office, in which he was distinguished for his conservatism, one act occurred which was of national importance. This was the discharge in 1866, under a writ of *habeas corpus*, of prisoners held at Fort Delaware by the military authorities of the United States, under a conviction and sentence by a Military Commission upon a charge of murder committed in South Carolina. The murdered persons were soldiers, the prisoners citizens. Judge Hall did not shrink from the responsibility of the decision which set the bound-

aries of civil and military rule, but granted the order—a judgment in accord with the common sense of the country, and which received the sanction of the Executive. The limited duties of his court left him some leisure for literary labor. In 1824, at the request of the Legislature, he began the digest and revision of the Statutes of the State, a work finished in 1829. He was for many years president of the Colonization Society of Delaware. To the last he retained the natural force and freshness of his mind, the warmth of his affection and his interest in the humanitarian objects of his long and useful career.

The sketch is a chaste and classical tribute from a graceful and appreciative pen.

THE BRIDE OF GETTYSBURG. An Episode of 1863 in three parts. By J. D. HYLTON. 8vo, pp. 172. Palmyra, N. Y., 1878.

We cannot undertake to inform the reader of what he may or may not find in this volume. If he realize all that the author expects, he will have a rare treat. In his preface Mr. Hylton tells us that "the book is only written for the perusal of true admirers of genuine poetry," and still further, that while he is "not so arrogant as to declare this the finest poetical production of the century, if it has its equal in beauty of thought and expression, he will thank any one who will be so kind as to show it to him." The purpose of the volume is beyond our comprehension. We can only say that the reader who looks for any historic allusions to the famous battle of Gettysburg will be disappointed.

AS IT MAY HAPPEN. A Story of American Life and Character. By TREBOR. 8vo, pp. 416. PORTER & COATES, Philadelphia [1879].

This is announced as a thoroughly American novel. While some of the characters remind the reader closely of Dickens, it would be hardly just to say that they are imitated. English nature repeats itself on this side of the water. Yet to us it seems that the peculiarities of Dibbs, who is the eccentric personage of the story, with his high-flown language and intensity of expression, is an exaggeration more likely to be met with abroad than here; on the other hand, female nature is drawn with grace and fine feeling, and the male with vigorous touches.

The story is complicated beyond naturalness or necessity, but there is great freshness and simplicity in some of the scenes between the young lovers.

POEMS OF PLACES. EDITED BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA, NEW ENGLAND. VOLS. I. and II. 18mo, pp. 270-288. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

These two little volumes of this charming and companionable series are wholly given to a selection of poems, descriptive of American localities. An introductory collection contains the most celebrated apostrophes to America from foreign and native pens, after which the most noted and beautiful places on our continent have presentation in turn. Here we find among the contributions the names not only of those who are dear to the popular heart, but of many of minor fame who deserve to hold familiar places. Simple and charming among these exquisite gems is the Newport Romance, bearing the signature of Bret Harte; but while we admire its true ballad construction and feeling, the historic muse whispers to us to inquire why the poet has converted Rochambeau, the General-in-Chief of the French contingent forces, into an Admiral.

This collection needs no praise at our hands. There is no man living so well fitted as Mr. Longfellow to make such a selection as this; none whose name carries such a weight of authority; and the well-known publishers are second to none in the taste and finish of their work.

POEMS OF PLACES. Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA—MIDDLE STATES. 12mo, pp. 278. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

In this volume poems relating to the Middle States alone find place, and they naturally partake of a descriptive character. Niagara has its full share of attention, and the charming sonnet of Lord Morpeth to the great cataract will attract many readers; so will the editor's exquisitely characteristic sonnet to the Tarrytown Churchyard, where Irving rests in the bosom of the scenes he loved so well.

New York City is not forgotten either in its history or the wondrous beauty of its surrounding waters. We dislike to be captious, but while we express sympathy with the sentiment, and admiration for the beauty of Hosmer's ode to Washington's Headquarters in New York, we take exception to the history expressed in the poem. There is no evidence that any building standing in New York was ever so occupied by Washington. He bade farewell to his officers at Fraunces' Tavern, but as far as research has yet served us he never made No. 1 Broadway, which is evidently alluded to, his headquarters.

## PUBLICATIONS ANNOUNCED

MIDDLESEX GENEALOGIES. By T. B. WYMAN. Edited by H. H. EDES.

Everyone who has had anything to do with the study of New England genealogy knows of the irreparable loss to antiquarian research in the person of the late Thomas Bellows Wyman. Besides his ordinary labors, he had been engaged for forty years in the examination of Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, in the County of Middlesex, Massachusetts. His compilation, which will fill more than eleven hundred royal octavo pages, was complete, and forty pages had been printed when death surprised him in his labor in May, 1878. At his request, the editing of the manuscript fell to the hand of Mr. H. H. Edes of Boston, a gentleman whose qualification for the task is sufficiently shown in his designation by Mr. Wyman, who was certainly *facile princeps* among searchers. This work will have more than a local interest, since Charlestown, the mother of Boston, originally embraced within its limits a territory now divided into several distinct townships. Since Dr. Bond's Genealogies of Watertown no such valuable material upon this line of subject has been brought together.

The work will make two volumes, and we learn is limited to seven hundred copies, of which one hundred on large paper. The subscription list has already reached six hundred copies. It will appear some time during the month of May of this year (1879).

CYCLOPÆDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

By BENSON J. LOSSING. HARPER & BROS.

Dr. Benson J. Lossing, the well-known author of the Field Books of the Revolution and of the War of 1812, is now engaged upon a work which promises to be of extreme value not only to historical students, but as an addition to every library. This is a Cyclopædia of American History, from the days of the Aborigines to the close of the Centennial year. It will be published by the Harpers, and comprise about twelve hundred pages, with numerous maps and plans.

Dr. Lossing brings to the preparation of this volume advantages beyond any person of whom we have knowledge. American history in minute details, as well as its general relations, has been the study of his life; in addition to which he has personally visited the greater number of the historic scenes of the continent. From his own vast collection of original documents, added to a thorough knowledge of the published material, a comprehensive treatment of the subject may be expected. The volume will supply a wide gap in our reference library, and we learn will be ready in the fall. Its appearance is eagerly awaited.



## OBITUARY

THE REV. LEONARD WOODS, D.D.  
*Late President of Bowdoin College*

The death of this learned and excellent gentleman, whose name is familiar on both sides of the Atlantic as a ripe scholar in many fields of labor, would have received much more general notice but for his almost complete retirement not only from public life, but even from friendly society. The press notices of the usefulness of his long intellectual life have been meagre. It is therefore with the greatest satisfaction that we find an appropriate testimony to his rare mental and moral qualities in the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for January, when Mr. Charles Deane, who for many years was not only an intimate personal friend, but an earnest co-worker in his historical investigations, paid a warm tribute to his memory, which we quote entire.

"Mr. Deane paid a warm tribute to the character of Dr. Woods, dwelling upon his rare mental gifts, his superior scholarship, and the admirable qualities of his heart, which attached to him all who came within the sphere of his acquaintance. His brilliant qualities in conversation, his wit and humor, always tempered by his large benevolence and good nature, made his presence a benediction. He spoke of his early literary labors—in teaching, in writing and in translating—which were principally exercised in the field of theological exposition until the year 1839, when at the early age of thirty-two he became President of Bowdoin College. It was for those who had been educated under him in that institution, or those who had there shared with him the responsibility of teaching and of general administration for twenty-six years, to speak intelligently of what he had accomplished during that long period; and he would here mention an admirable notice of Dr. Woods in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," written, it is understood, by Professor Smyth of Andover, giving the testimony of one of Dr. Wood's pupils to the particular points referred to.

"After resigning the presidency of Bowdoin College in 1866, and while making his arrangements in the following year to spend some months in foreign travel, Dr. Woods received from the Governor of Maine a commission, in pursuance of the resolves of the Legislature in aid of the Maine Historical Society, authorizing him to procure materials from foreign archives, libraries and collections for the early history of the State. One of the results of his commission was a work, prepared by the late Dr. John G. Kohl of Bremen, Germany, for many years a Corresponding Member of this Society, which forms the first volume of the 'Documentary History of the Maine Historical Society,' an historical work of great value.

"Dr. Woods also secured at this time in England a copy of a valuable unpublished work of Richard Hakluyt, the distinguished collector and editor of voyages of discovery, which was reposing in the vast collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Thirlstane House, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire; and on his return home in 1868, and after the publication in 1869 of the Kohl volume referred to, he devoted himself to preparing an introduction and notes to that work. This was comparatively a new field of study for Dr. Woods. Some years were spent by him in this labor, and what he had prepared needed, it is believed, only his final revision, when on the 8th of August, 1873, his library was consumed by fire, and with it the principal part of the evidences of his long editorial labor. The Hakluyt manuscript itself had already been stereotyped at Cambridge, and was safe. It was afterward published under the editorial supervision of another. [See Collections of the Maine Historical Society, second series, Documentary History, vol. ii., Editor's note.]

"Soon after the sad destruction of Dr. Woods' library (the apartment containing his books had only recently been built, and was just occupied by him) his health became seriously impaired, and he was soon wholly unfit for any literary labor. Some months ago his residence was transferred from Brunswick to Boston, and his last days were spent under the watchful care of an affectionate sister.

"In Dr. Woods' beautiful eulogy on Professor Cleaveland he says near its conclusion: 'Between the close of life's active services and the final rest of death, there often intervenes a dreary season of infirmity and decrepitude, in which the vital flame flickers faintly in its socket before it goes out. The old man often lives to witness the wreck of his powers, and to see himself laid away on the shelf long before he is laid in his grave. From such a fate, which to him would have been more dreadful than death itself, he was happily exempted.' Professor Cleaveland was preparing to meet his class for recitation the very morning on which he died. It may be said that 'he died with his harness on.' With Dr. Woods it was otherwise. It may be doubted if he himself was conscious of the mental wreck which overtook him long before his physical death. But his friends lived to witness, to use his own language, the wreck of his powers, and to see him laid away on the shelf long before he was laid in his grave.

"Dr. Woods was never married; but he was singularly fortunate during his long residence at Brunswick in his home, where he secured the highest offices of friendship, where culture and refinement prevailed, and where, during the weary season of the gradual obscurity of his brilliant faculties, gentle hands administered all the solace which it was possible to bestow."





PLATE 10.

THE BUST OF THE MAN IN THE DRESS.

PLATE 11.

## MAGAZINE OF AMERICA

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JUNE : 879

W. L. GE CLINTON.

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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## GEORGE CLINTON

**G**EORGE Clinton was of English descent. His paternal great-grandfather, William Clinton, was an officer in the Royal Army under Charles I., and his great-grandfather on his mother's side was a captain in the army of the Protector. His father, Charles Clinton, emigrated to America in the fall of 1729, and in the following spring, in company with two friends, moved to Ulster county, N. Y., where, at the foot of the Highlands, he founded a settlement, to which he gave the name of Little Britain. At this place his son, the subject of the present sketch, was born on the twenty-sixth day of July, 1739.

Young Clinton early manifested a decided predilection for military life; first taking a cruise in a privateer at the beginning of the old French war, and subsequently, when the campaign of 1757 had fired the colonists to retrieve their disasters, accompanying his father and brother James as a lieutenant in the successful expedition of Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac the succeeding year. Upon the disbanding of the colonial forces at the close of the war, he went to New York City, and entered the office of that able and experienced jurist, William Smith, under whose tutelage he acquired the thorough knowledge of law which was so valuable to him in after life. Returning to his birth-place upon the completion of his studies, he settled down to the practice of his profession; and it was not long before his abilities were recognized by an appointment to a clerkship by the Colonial Governor, Admiral George Clinton (after whom he had been named), and by his election in 1768 to the Assembly of his native State.

The legislative body in which he began his political life was in its action by far the most important of any that ever assembled in the Colony of New York. The right of Parliament to tax America was still discussed with great freedom in all the Colonies, but in none with more vigor than in Massachusetts. In February, 1768, the Assembly of that province had addressed a circular letter, drafted by Samuel Adams, to her sister Colonies, in which the "great evils to which the inhabitants


of America were subjected from the operation of several Acts of Parliament, imposing taxes upon them," were set forth, and their cooperation solicited in obtaining redress. This proceeding gave great offense to the Ministry, and Lord Hillsborough forthwith addressed a letter upon the subject to the several Colonial Governors, requesting that their Assemblies treat the circular letter with silent contempt. Such was the state of affairs when on the 14th of November Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of New York, laid before the House the Earl of Hillsborough's letter forbidding correspondence with Massachusetts, and called upon it to render a cheerful obedience to the wishes of the Home Secretary. This action of the Governor was met by a warm remonstrance from the Assembly, and when a few days after the Governor threatened to dissolve it in case of its not complying, it unhesitatingly refused obedience. The bold stand thus assumed was warmly supported by Clinton, who, from the breaking out of the troubles between the mother country and her Colonies, had, as one of the Whig minority of New York, ably opposed the arbitrary measures of the British Ministry. A series of articles moreover, which shortly before appeared, under the title of "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British Colonies," had paved the way for a fearless utterance against ministerial oppression. Accordingly, on the last day of the year the Assembly passed a series of strong constitutional resolutions, among which was one declaring "that the House had an undoubted right to correspond and consult with any of the neighboring Colonies on any matter, subject or thing whatever, whereby they should conceive the rights and liberties of the House to be in any way affected." These resolutions gave high displeasure, and Sir Henry Moore, having convened the Assembly in the City Hall on the afternoon of the 3d of January, 1769, dissolved it by a speech of evident irritation, yet of affected regret and sorrow at the occasion demanding the summary measure. Writs for a new election were immediately issued, returnable on the 14th of February. The people, however, sustained the action of their representatives, and all the former members, with the exception of six, were returned by overwhelming majorities.

Such was the result of the first direct appeal of the Crown to the people on the subject of the great constitutional principles of liberty, which were now beginning to agitate the political waters to their deepest fountains. Among those returned to the new Assembly, which met on the 4th of April, was George Clinton. He continued a member of this body until its end in 1775, during which period Philip Schulyer

and himself—the “Pym and Hampden of that Colonial Parliament”—fought bravely against the loyalist majority. Nor was the stand thus taken by Clinton a slight proof of his moral courage. There is reason for believing that the Colonial authorities would have cheerfully bestowed upon him lucrative offices had he ranged himself on their side. Many of his intimates were Tories; his old preceptor and friend, William Smith, after long wavering, finally gave in his allegiance to the Crown; and the son of his father's friend, Sir Henry Clinton, received shortly after the beginning of the contest a high command in the Royal army. At the same time, however, his efforts were not unappreciated by the Whigs. So commanding had his influence become with that party, and so resolutely had he maintained the cause of the Colonies against the Crown, that on the 22d of April, 1775, he was elected by the New York Provincial Convention one of the delegates to the second Continental Congress, and took his seat in that body on the 15th of the following May.

Although there are no specific data in regard to the course pursued by Clinton while a member of the Continental Congress, yet, from the general tenor of his conduct while in the New York Colonial Assembly, it can fairly be inferred, not only that his influence was great in moulding the sentiments of that body in the right direction, but that he strongly favored independence. To think otherwise, would be to accuse him of grave inconsistency—especially as he had been elected a delegate to the Congress chiefly on account of his pronounced views against the Crown.

It has been stated, to the discredit of Clinton and also of New York, that on the 2d of July, 1776, when the vote of Independence was actually taken, New York (the vote was by Colonies, not by individuals) did not vote, the delegates from that Colony under their own signatures, Clinton at their head, officially reporting to their constituents as follows: “The important question of Independence was agitated yesterday in a committee of the whole Congress, and this day will be finally determined in the House. We know the line of our conduct on this occasion; we have your instructions and will faithfully pursue them.” But this course was entirely proper; and for the New York delegates to have acted otherwise would have been to disobey the express commands of the New York Provincial Congress, which they represented. The Continental Congress resolved on the 15th of May, 1776, to recommend all the Colonies to adopt new forms of government. This was tantamount to independence. Accordingly, the New





York delegates, on the 8th of June, 1776, wrote to the New York Provincial Congress to ascertain its sentiments on the momentous question which was expected to come up shortly in Congress. Meanwhile, on the 19th of June, a new Provincial Congress was elected for the express purpose of acting on the question of independence, as the previous one, to whom the letter of the delegates was addressed, did not consider itself authorized so to do. The old Provincial Congress continued to sit for some days after the new one was chosen; but of course can be excused for not authorizing its delegates to vote for independence. They purposely left it to the new Provincial Congress, which met at White Plains on the 8th of July, 1776, and which, on the very next day, passed *unanimously* a resolution approving of the Declaration of Independence. The fact upon which considerable stress has been laid—that the New York delegates in the Continental Congress did not vote for the adhesion of their State—is a purely private and local affair between themselves and their constituents, and does not, in the slightest degree, affect the question of the *willingness* of New York to declare itself independent. There was very little Toryism that dared to show itself to the public at this late date. Most of the leading loyalists had either left the State or were in hiding; and indeed, as a matter of fact, New Yorkers were as nearly unanimous at the time as New Jersey or Pennsylvania. Finally, when the vote was taken for formal independence, the New York delegates who, as we have seen, could not act for their State, were probably better disposed than those of Pennsylvania, who could act, and yet were intending to vote four against independence and three for it; and it was only by great persuasion that two of the four were induced to absent themselves so as to turn the minority into a majority. Therefore, although the *Colony* of New York failed, for the above reasons, to vote, the *State* failed not to act for liberty and independence.


Clinton, however, during the year 1776 was able to be with the Congress but a brief period, from about the the 7th of June to the 7th of July, the invasion of New York when but few military men were available, imperatively calling him to her defence, and preventing his signing the Declaration on the 15th of July. On his arrival home he found a letter awaiting him from General Washington, informing him that the British ships had successfully sailed past New York, and directing him to take post in the Highlands. The experience which he had gained in his first school of arms under Bradstreet he now used to advantage. The English fleet soon made its appearance in the Tappan

Zee; and during the remainder of the summer he was engaged in guarding the passes and forts of the Highlands with a few regiments of militia.

In the spring of 1777 Clinton was a deputy to the New York Provincial Congress, which framed the first State Constitution, but was again called into the field by Congress, who, appreciating his excellent judgment in organizing the militia for the defense of the State the preceding summer, appointed him, on the 25th of March, 1777, a brigadier-general in the Continental army.

The period when Clinton assumed for the second time the command of the Highlands was most critical. It was known that Sir Henry Clinton intended to form a junction with Burgoyne at Albany, at which city the latter General was daily expected; and at the moment it seemed as though it depended entirely on Clinton to arrest the progress of the enemy. This he seems fully to have realized; for as soon as reliable intelligence reached him of the English army being on the move, he prorogued the Legislature, then sitting at Kingston, and hastened to his post at the gate of the Highlands; first, however, ordering out half of the militia of New York, with the assurance that they should be relieved in one month by the other half. The British fleet, convoying between three and five thousand men, and commanded by Commodore Holtham, moved up the Hudson early in October, 1777, destined to operate in the first instance, against Forts Montgomery and Clinton, near the southern entrance to the Highlands. These fortresses had been constructed chiefly for the purpose of preventing ships from ascending the river, and were not defensible in the rear. They were commanded by George Clinton, with the assistance of General James Clinton, his brother.


Sir Henry Clinton having first landed a portion of his force on Verplanck's Point, as though he intended an attack upon Peekskill, early in the morning of the 6th of October, crossed the river under cover of a fog and landed his troops at Stoney Point, twelve miles below the forts. A small advanced party of the Americans was met and attacked at about ten o'clock, when within two and a half miles of the fort. This party was driven in, having returned the enemy's fire. Having arrived within a mile of the forts Sir Henry divided his troops into two columns; the one, consisting of nine hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, was destined for the attack on Fort Montgomery; the other, under the immediate command of Sir Henry Clinton, was to storm the stronger post of Fort Clinton. Ascertaining that the enemy were advancing along the west side of the mountain to attack his rear, Clinton ordered a detachment of



upward of one hundred men, under Colonel Lamb, together with a brass field-piece and fifty men more, to take up a strong position in advance. They were soon sharply engaged, and another detachment of an equal number was sent to their assistance. They kept their field-piece sharply playing upon the enemy's advancing column, and were only compelled to give way by the point of the bayonet, spiking their field-piece before they relinquished it. Pressing rapidly onward, the British vigorously attacked both forts upon all sides. The fire was maintained with spirit and without cessation until about five o'clock in the afternoon, when a flag approaching, Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston was ordered to receive it. The officer was the bearer of a peremptory summons to surrender, as he alleged, to prevent the effusion of blood. Nor would he treat unless upon the basis of the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war, in which case he was authorized to assure them of good usage. The proposition being rejected "with scorn," in about ten minutes the attack was renewed and kept up till after dark, when the enemy forced the American lines and redoubts at both forts; and the garrisons, determined not to surrender, undertook to fight their way out. The last attack of the British grenadiers, under Lord Rawdon, was desperate; but the Americans, militia as well as regulars, resisted with great spirit, and favored by the darkness, many of them escaped. Clinton himself leaped a precipice in the dark and made his way to the river bank. Here he found his brother James, who had just discovered a small skiff, and who now urged him to jump in and make his way across the river. Clinton indignantly refused to go unless his brother accompanied him. This was impossible, as the boat would not safely hold more than one; and to end the dispute James fairly pushed his brother into the boat, shoved her off, and springing on a horse wandering loose near by galloped away. Clinton passed over the river to Putnam's headquarters; and James, having dashed through a squad of English troops, by one of whom he was severely wounded in the thigh by a bayonet, made his way over the mountains to his home in Orange County, where he was joined the next day by Clinton and about two hundred of the survivors of the battle. Of the British forces Colonel Grant, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Count Grabowski, a Polish nobleman serving as a volunteer under Sir Henry, were slain. "The presence of an intelligent commanding officer of reasonable skill," says an able military critic in summing up this engagement, "or the absolute control of the posts by Governor Clinton, would have prevented the loss of Forts Clinton and Montgomery."

Notwithstanding, however, his apparent defeat, Clinton had in reality won a victory. It is true that Sir Henry soon after forced the evacuation of Fort Constitution, opposite West Point, and that General Vaughan, with a strong detachment, proceeded as far as *Æsopus* (Kingston), which he laid in ashes; still the heroism displayed in the defence of the Highlands gave the English General such a distaste for further fighting as effectually to prevent his advance upon Albany. Nor was it Clinton's stubborn resistance alone that aided in defeating the enemy's well-laid combinations. Had Sir Henry succeeded in forwarding to Burgoyne intelligence of his progress up the river, the latter, encouraged by the near approach of the British troops, would unquestionably have risked another battle, thus rendering the issue of that campaign perhaps doubtful. The spy, however, whom Sir Henry sent for that purpose, was happily caught and brought before Clinton, who, after forcing from him by an emetic a silver bullet, containing the encouraging message of the English General, hung him on an apple-tree in sight of the burning village of Kingston. Meanwhile Clinton did not allow his defeat to paralyze his efforts. "I shall endeavor," he wrote to General Gates on the 9th of October, "to keep between them (the British) and your army with two Continental regiments and some militia, and hope by this means to prevent them marching to Albany." Convinced also by his late experience that the Hudson should be more effectually guarded, he carefully examined the present site of West Point with a view to its thorough defence; and although elected the preceding June as the first Governor of his native State, he did not quit the field until the news of Burgoyne's surrender had forced Sir Henry Clinton, disappointed and chagrined, to take refuge within his lines in the vicinity of New York. That he lost no ground in the affections of his countrymen by his unsuccessful defence of the Highland forts, but rather gained in their confidence, is shown by his reelection as Governor in 1780, an office he retained by successive reelections until 1795. Even then he was strongly urged again to become a candidate, but having, as he said, been in the public service for thirty years, he declined, and retired to private life. From the period of his first occupation of the gubernatorial chair until its final relinquishment, he exhibited great energy of character, and rendered important services both in a civil and military capacity.

Up to the year 1780 the people of the lower section of the Mohawk Valley, severely as they had experienced the calamities of the war, had by no means reached the full measure of their suffering; but it was



their lot in the course of that year repeatedly to experience the tender mercies of an enemy, exasperated by the devastations of Sullivan's expedition, armed with knife, tomahawk and brand, and to see their fairest villages laid waste, their fields desolated, and their dwellings reduced to ashes. The first blow was as sudden as it was unexpected. On Sunday, the 21st of May, at dead of night, Sir John Johnson entered the north part of Johnstown at the head of five hundred men, composed of some British troops, a detachment of his own regiment of Royal Greens, and about two hundred Indians and Tories. Sir John had penetrated the country by way of Lake Champlain to Crown Point, and thence by Lake Scaron (Schroon Lake) through the woods to the Sacandaga River; and so unawares had he stolen upon the sleeping inhabitants that he arrived in the heart of the country undiscovered, except by the resident loyalists, who were probably in the secret. His raid was entirely unopposed, and after several murders of peculiar atrocity, committed by his followers, he was allowed to retreat with a large number of prisoners—his path being lighted up by the conflagration of the dwellings of his old neighbors—unmolested save by Captain Putnam and four men, who hung upon his rear and observed his course for a distance of twenty-five miles.

Governor Clinton was at Kingston at the time of the invasion. Hastening to Albany on the first rumor of the intelligence, he collected such militia and other forces as he could obtain, and moved to Lake George with a view to intercept Sir John. It was supposed that the course of the enemy might possibly lie in the direction of Oswegatchie, and for the purpose of striking him upon such a march Colonel Van Schaick, with eight hundred men, followed him by the way of Johnstown. Descending Lake George to Ticonderoga, the Governor was joined by a body of the militia from the New Hampshire Grants. But the pursuit was bootless. The marauders succeeded in reaching Crown Point, whence, taking to their batteaux, they escaped down the lake to St. John's, and transferred their captives in safety to the fortress of Chamblée. But the desire of vengeance on the part of the savages was not yet satisfied. Another and more extensive expedition against the Mohawk Valley was therefore planned and carried into execution in October of the same year under the auspices of Sir John Johnson, Joseph Brant and *Corn-Planter*, the famous Seneca warrior. The moment that the tidings of the appearance of Sir John in the Schoharie settlements reached Albany, General Robert Van Rensselaer, at the head of a strong body of militia, pushed on by forced marches to encounter him, accompanied

by Governor Clinton. Meanwhile Colonel Brown in a smart skirmish, and at the expense of his own life, had checked the invaders. General Van Rensselaer arrived shortly after, and pressed forward in pursuit as far as Fort Herkimer, when he was overtaken by Clinton, who did not, however, interfere with the command. Governor Clinton suggested further pursuit, and Van Rensselaer started on the track of the enemy. That General, however, having from some unaccountable reason turned back after advancing a short distance, Sir John was enabled to fall rapidly back by way of Onondaga Lake upon Oswego, and thus make good his retreat.

In all of these efforts for the defence of his State, Clinton was ably seconded by his friend Philip Schuyler, his attachment to whom seems to have begun when they were companions-in-arms at the siege of Fort Frontenac in 1758; and on this occasion particularly Schuyler "was in continual correspondence with the Governor from his home at Saratoga, and offered freely for the public use whatever he possessed that was needed. 'All my cattle fit for the knife,' he wrote to Clinton, at Albany, on the 20th of October, 'are already killed, and I have sent to try and collect some more, but I fear a supply will arrive too late;' and when the Governor returned to Poughkeepsie, after the invasion had ceased, Schuyler kept him fully informed of every important event in Northern and Western New York."

The year following these invasions (1781) brought with it no relaxation of Clinton's vigilance. The air was filled with Indian alarms, and rumors of projected movements of the British were rife; on the northern frontier especially another storm seemed about to break. "The enemy's morning and evening guns at Ticonderoga," wrote Schuyler to General James Clinton, under date of May 21st, "have been distinctly heard near Fort Anne for three or four days past." At the same time came equally alarming intelligence that an expedition, under Sir John Johnson, was meditated against Pittsburg; while to render affairs still more complicated, the troubles between New York State and the Green Mountains Boys, on account of the New Hampshire Grants, which during the common peril had smouldered, burst out afresh.

Although the Vermonters had formed themselves into an independent State Government, the Legislature of New York still attempted to assert its right of jurisdiction, although it made liberal proffers of compromise in regard to titles of land—offering to recognize those which had previously been in dispute. A proclamation to

this effect, conceived in the most liberal spirit, had been issued by Governor Clinton in February, 1778, avowing, however, in regard to the contumacious "the rightful supremacy of New York over their persons and property, as disaffected subjects." But like every preceding effort, either of force or conciliation, the present was of no avail. Ethan Allen issued a counter proclamation to the people of the Grants, and the work of their own independent organization proceeded without serious interruption. They were the more encouraged to persevere in this course, from an impression that although Congress could not then sanction proceedings in regard to New York that were clearly illegal, the New England members, and some of the Southern also, would nevertheless not be very deep mourners at their success.

It must be confessed that the action of Congress was such as to give rise to unpleasant suspicions. "So long ago as the month of August last," wrote Clinton to President Jay on the 7th of June, 1779, "I remonstrated to Congress, through General Washington, on the conduct of Brigadier-General Starke, then commanding at Albany, for receiving from the revolted subjects of this State several of its citizens, who had been apprehended and destined to banishment by Colonel Allen and his associates, and for detaining them under military confinement. To this atrocious insult, on the civil authority of this State, Congress, though acquainted with it, has not to this day thought proper to pay the least attention. Nor can I forbear observing that the present inattention of Congress on this point strikes me with additional surprise, when I consider this is not the first instance in which their officers of high rank have aimed a bold stab at the honor and authority of this State." And notwithstanding the continual remonstrances of Clinton through Jay to Congress, that body was in no haste apparently to right New York. Jay, it is true, wrote Clinton from time to time to the effect that "our New England brethren appear sincerely disposed to terminate these unhappy disorders;" but this was a general phrase that meant nothing. At length Congress passed a resolution, appointing a committee to visit the Grants, and confer with the Vermonters; in short what at the present time would be called an "Investigating Committee." This, however, was extremely distasteful to the New York Legislature, and Clinton, more sensible than some statesmen of a later day, protested strongly against it, on the ground that *action*, and not *talk*, was what was needed. "However pure," he added, "the intention of Congress may have been in this resolution for appointing a committee to confer with the revolted citizens of this State, I am appre-

hensive it will by no means produce the salutary effects for which I suppose it was calculated." Still, although Clinton so wrote, it is evident that fears of a combination against his own State gave the writer considerable uneasiness. "I presume," the Governor wrote again to the New York delegates in Congress, "it is unnecessary to inform you that the Vermont business is now arrived at a crisis, or to urge any arguments to induce your utmost exertions in obtaining the sense of Congress without delay. The Legislature will meet on Tuesday next, and in the meantime I shall order the one thousand men, destined for the defence of the frontiers and to complete the Continental battalions, to march to Brattleborough for the protection of that and the adjacent towns, unless the interposition of Congress shall render this measure unnecessary." And on the 29th of October of the same year (1779), in a letter to James Duane from Poughkeepsie, he intimated that, "in the event of a certain contingency, the New York delegates would be withdrawn from Congress, and the resources of the State, which have been so lavishly afforded to the Continent, be withheld for the defence of New York." He also in an earnest letter called the attention of Washington to the subject, saying plainly, that in view of the danger which threatened New York, he "must request that your Excellency will be pleased to give the necessary directions for returning within the State the six brass 6-pounders, together with their apparatus, which the State lent for the use of the army in 1776, as soon as possible." He also in the same letter severely commented upon the conduct of Ethan Allen in seizing and imprisoning the civil and military officers of New York State in the county of Cumberland; and the Commander-in-Chief issued orders to General Schuyler to arrest him in the event of certain contingencies." The latter, says Mr. Lossing in his *Life of Schuyler*, shared in Clinton's apprehensions, and on the 31st of October he wrote to the Governor as follows:

"The conduct of some people to the eastward is alarmingly mysterious. A flag, under pretext of settling a cartel with Vermont, has been on the Grants. Allen has disbanded his militia, and the enemy in number of sixteen hundred are rapidly advancing toward us. \* \* \* Entreat General Washington for more Continental troops, and let me beg of your Excellency to hasten up here."

Meanwhile the causes of irritation became more and more frequent and exasperating, until in the year 1781 the parties were again on the verge of open hostilities. The people of the Grants, as they had grown in strength had increased in arrogance, until they had extended their



claims to the Hudson River; and it was no diminution of the perplexities of New York that strong indications appeared in several of the northern towns, to which the people of the Grants had previously interposed not even a shadow of a claim, of a disposition to go over to Vermont.

On the other hand, Governor Clinton, inflexibly determined to preserve the disputed jurisdiction, was exerting himself to the utmost for that object. In the spring of this year (1781) he transmitted a special message to the Legislature, then sitting at Poughkeepsie, containing important information respecting the designs of the Vermonters, by which it appeared that Dr. Smith (a brother of the historian) was actively engaged in fermenting disaffection, and had held interviews with Ethan Allen upon the subject in Albany. Allen, it is true, pretended at the time that his visit to Albany was solely for the purpose of waiting on the Governor to receive his answer to a petition which the Vermonters had laid before the Assembly; but Clinton wisely mistrusted his errand, and refused either to see him or hold any intercourse with him whatever. In order, moreover, to bring the question of jurisdiction to the test, several persons, by the Governor's order, were arrested later in the summer, within the territory of the Grants, under the pretext of some military delinquency. This procedure was applying the brand to the powder. Governor Chittenden lost no time in writing to Captain Van Rensselaer demanding the release of the prisoners taken from the Grants, asserting their "determination to maintain the government they had set up," and threatening that in the event of an invasion of the territory of New York by the common enemy, unless these prisoners were given up, they would render no assistance to New York. Nor was this all. While the country was threatened by invasion both from the north and the west, the spirit of the Vermont insurgents began to spread among the militia in the northern towns east of the Hudson, belonging to General Gansevoort's own brigade. Thus, on the one hand, General Starke was calling upon him for assistance against the enemy apparently approaching from Lake Champlain, and on the other, Governor Clinton was directing him to quell the spirit of insubordination along the line of the New Hampshire Grants; and both of these duties were to be discharged with a knowledge that a portion of his own command was infected with the insurgent spirit. Added to which he was privately informed that the Green Mountain Boys were maturing a plot for his abduction. Meanwhile, the Government of the Grants had effected an organization of their own militia; and disclosures

had been made to the Government of New York, imputing to the leading men of the Grants a design, in the event of a certain contingency, of throwing the weight of their own forces into the scale of the Crown. This was the position of affairs when Governor Clinton addressed to General Gansevoort the following letter :

POUGHKEEPSIE, Oct. 18, 1781.

Dear Sir :

Your letter of the 15th instant was delivered to me on the evening of the 16th. I have delayed answering it, in hopes that the Legislature would ere this have formed a quorum, and that I might have availed myself of their advice on the subject to which it relates ; but as this is not yet the case, and it is uncertain when I shall be enabled to lay the matter before them, I conceive it might be improper longer to defer expressing my own sentiments to you on this subject.

The different unwarrantable attempts, during the Summer, of the people on the Grants to establish their usurped jurisdiction, even beyond their former claim, and the repetition of it (alluded to in your letter,) in direct opposition to a resolution of Congress injurious to this State and favorable to their project of independence, and at a time when the common enemy are advancing, can only be accounted for by what other parts of their conduct have given us too much reason to suspect—disaffection to the common cause. On my part, I have hitherto shown a disposition to evade entering into any altercation with them, that might, in its most remote consequences, give encouragement to the enemy, and expose the frontier settlements to their ravages ; and from these considerations alone I have submitted to insults which otherwise would not have been borne with ; and I could have wished to have continued this kind of conduct until the approaching season would have secured us against the incursions of the common enemy. But as from the accounts contained in Colonel Van Rensselaer's letter, it would appear that the militia embodying under Mr. Chittenden's orders are for the service of the enemy, and that their first object was to make you a prisoner, it would be unjustifiable to suffer them to proceed. It is therefore my desire that you maintain your authority throughout every part of your brigade, and for this purpose, that you carry the laws of the State into execution against those who shall presume to disobey your lawful orders. I would only observe that these sentiments are founded on an idea that the accounts given by Colonel Van Rensselaer in his letter may be relied on ; it being still my earnest desire, for the reasons above explained, not to do any thing that will bring matters to extremities, at least before the close of the campaign, if it can consistently be avoided. \* \* \* \* \*

I am, with great respect and esteem,

Dear Sir, your most obed't serv't

Brig. Gen. Gansevoort.

GEO. CLINTON.


The apprehension of Clinton was by no means groundless. Indeed,

there was at this time too much reason to fear that treason was deeply and extensively at work ; and from the temper of great numbers of the people, and the carriage of the disaffected, there was just cause to dread that, should the enemy again invade the country, either from the north or the west, his standard would be joined by much larger numbers of people than would have rallied beneath it at any former period. These fears received additional confirmation by the statements, under oath, of two prisoners who had escaped from Canada in the autumn of the present year—John Edgar and David Abeel. The substance of the statements of these men was, that several of the leading men of the New Hampshire Grants were forming an alliance with the King's officers in Canada. Among these leaders were Ethan and Ira Allen and the two Fays, and their consultations with the British agents were sometimes held at Castleton, on the Grants, and sometimes in Canada. Mr. Abeel's information was that the Grants were to furnish the King with fifteen hundred men, to be under the command of Ethan Allen, who was then in Canada upon that business. A third account, submitted to the Legislature at this time by Clinton, was somewhat different and more in detail. In this paper it was stated, "first, that the territory claimed by the Vermontese should be formed into a distinct Colony or Government ; secondly, that the form of government should be similar to that of Connecticut, save that the nomination of the Governor should be vested in the Crown ; thirdly, that they should be allowed to remain neutral, unless the war should be carried within their own territory ; fourthly, they were to raise two battalions, to be in the pay of the Crown, but to be called into service only for the defense of the Colony ; fifthly, they were to be allowed a free trade with Canada. General Haldimand had not deemed himself at liberty to decide definitively upon propositions of so much importance, and had accordingly transmitted them to England for the royal consideration. An answer was then expected." Such was the purport of the intelligence, and such was the weight of the testimony, that Governor Clinton did not hesitate to assert that they "proved a treasonable and dangerous intercourse and connexion between the leaders of the revolt in the northeastern part of the State and the common enemy.

The Legislature of the Grants assembled at Charlestown in October, about which time General St. Leger, agreeable to an arrangement with Allen and Fay, ascended the lake with a strong force to Ticonderoga, where he rested. Meanwhile, a rumor of the capture of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown had such an effect upon the Vermonters as

to cause Allen and Fay to write to the British Commissioners, with St. Leger, that it would be imprudent at that particular juncture to promulgate the royal proclamation, and urging delay to a more auspicious moment. The messenger with these despatches had not been longer than an hour at the headquarters of St. Leger at Ticonderoga before the rumor respecting Cornwallis was confirmed by an express. All ideas of further operations in that quarter were, therefore, instantly abandoned; and before evening of the same day St. Leger's troops were reembarked, and with a fair wind he sailed immediately back to St. John's.

With the return of St. Leger to St. John's all active operations ceased with the enemy at the north; but the difficulties of the State Government with the New Hampshire Grants were on the increase, and the controversy ran so high that by the first of December an insurrection broke out in the regiments of Colonel John Van Rensselaer and Colonel Henry K. Van Rensselaer, in the northeastern towns of the State. These disturbances arose in Schaghticoke, Hoosic, St. Coick's and the parts adjacent, belonging then to the county of Albany, but claimed by the Government of the Grants. General Gansevoort was apprised of the insurrection on the fifth. He at once directed Colonels Yates and H. K. Van Rensselaer, whose regiments at that time were the least disaffected, to collect such troops as they could, and repair to St. Coick to the assistance of Colonel John Van Rensselaer. An express being dispatched to Clinton, at Poughkeepsie, with the news, and a request for directions what course to pursue in the emergency, the return of the messenger brought very explicit orders from the indomitable Governor. "I perfectly approve of your conduct," said Clinton, "and have only to add, that should the force already detached prove insufficient to quell the insurrection, you will make such addition to it as to render it effectual. I have transmitted to General Robert Van Rensselaer the information, and have directed him, in case it should be necessary, on your application to give assistance from his brigade." Although the fact had not been stated in the dispatches forwarded to Governor Clinton, that the movement had originated in the Grants, yet the Governor was at no loss at once to attribute it to the "usurped government of that pretended State;" and it was his resolute determination, as he expressed it, to oppose force to force, and in regard to the Grants themselves, to "repel force by force." On the 16th, the day after receiving Clinton's instructions, Gansevoort took the field himself, repairing in the first instance to the headquarters of Starke at Saratoga (Schuylerville), in order to obtain a detachment of troops and a



field piece. But Starke was lukewarm; his troops, he said, were too naked to move from their quarters, and he pleaded the impropriety of his interfering without an order from General Heath. Gansevoort then crossed over to the east side of the river in order to rouse the militia in Hoosic. His efforts, however, were fruitless. None of the militia responded, and only eighty men could be depended on out of the four regiments of Yates, Henry K. Van Rensselaer and Van Vechten. Indeed of the latter regiment, only the Colonel, a few officers and one private could be prevailed on to march. Under these discouraging circumstances Gansevoort was compelled to relinquish the expedition, and the insurgents remained the victors, to the no small terror of those of the inhabitants who were well disposed, inasmuch as they were apprehensive of being taken prisoners and carried away, as had been the case with others, should they refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the Government of Vermont.

Although Clinton had thus failed to subdue the sturdy mountaineers, a task that the Colonial Governors of New York for thirty years had been unable to accomplish, his ill-success was owing to the force of circumstances, and not to lack of ability. His position during all the controversy had in truth been most trying; for this trouble with the Vermonters was in effect a serious insurrection within his own State, calling for his closest attention, occurring too at a time when he was endeavoring by every possible means to assist the General Government in her war against the common enemy. This fact was recognized by Washington, who, throughout the war and to the close of his life, continued to place implicit confidence in Clinton's judgment. He was consulted at every important step in the Sullivan campaign, and was kept informed of the progress made by St. Clair in his treaties with the western tribes. Nor were these marks of confidence merely of respect to his professional opinions. The cordial regard in which he was held by Washington is shown, not only by the solicitude with which the latter watched over the safety of his person, but in the circumstance that almost his first act on retiring into private life, was to write to him as one upon whose affectionate sympathy he could rely. "The scene, my dear friend," said he in a letter to Clinton, written three days after his arrival at Mount Vernon, "is at length closed. I feel myself eased of a load of public care, and hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues." The following manuscript letter from Washington to Clinton is in point:

HEADQUARTERS, DOBB'S FERRY, August 10, 1780.


Dear Sir—An anxiety for your Excellency's safety induces me to transmit a report I lately received from New York, though it may not in reality have a sufficient foundation; still caution on the subject may not be improper. I am informed that George Harden, James Kilty, one Blue of Dutchess, and a fourth person, whose name is not noted, are promised a very considerable reward if they will seize your person and conduct you to New York. \* \* \* \*

With wishes for your personal safety, I am, with great esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedt. humb. servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

In 1783 Clinton accompanied the Commander-in-Chief on a tour of the northern and western posts of the State. The party, which besides Clinton included Alexander Hamilton and Colonels Humphreys and Fish, ascended the Hudson as far as Albany, whence they were conveyed by General Schuyler in carriages to Saratoga (Schuylerville). After remaining there two days as the guests of that officer, and visiting in his company the battle and surrender grounds, they journeyed on to Lake George, and embarking in boats which had been provided for them visited Ticonderoga, and sailed down Lake Champlain to Crown Point. On their return the party halted a day at the "High-Rock Spring," their attention having been called to it by Schuyler while at the latter's house. Thence they left on horseback for below, with the intention of visiting on their route the newly discovered spring at Ballston Spa (afterwards known as the "Iron-Railing Spring"), and of dining with General Gordon, who at that time lived in the vicinity. On their way through the woods between the two springs they lost the path. Near the site of Factory Village lived one "Tom" Conner, who was chopping wood at his cabin door. They inquired of him the way to the spring, and received the requisite directions. The party accordingly retraced their steps a short distance upon the road by which they had come, but soon becoming bewildered, rode back for more explicit directions. "Tom" had by this time lost his temper, and peevishly cried out to the spokesman of the party, who happened to be Washington: "I tell you turn back and take the first right-hand path into the woods, and then stick to it; any damned fool would know the way!" When "Tom" afterwards learned who it was whom he had addressed in this unceremonious and profane manner he was extremely chagrined. His neighbors for a long time afterwards chafed poor "Tom" on his "reception of General Washington." The party, following the backwoodsman's instructions, found the spring, then flowing




through a barrel, and in the midst of a dense forest. From the spring Washington and his companions proceeded to General Gordon's, where they dined. Toward nightfall they left for Schenectady, General Gordon, attired in full regimentals, escorting them and riding upon Washington's right. As the party moved off the late James Scott, the father of the Hon. George G. Scott of Ballston, then in his tenth year, boy-like, secreted himself behind a rail-fence by the roadside, and peeped through the rails. He ever afterwards retained a vivid recollection of Washington's face and appearance on horseback. From Schenectady the party pushed up the Mohawk Valley as far as Fort Stanwix and the headwaters of the Susquehanna; and it was on this trip that Clinton first conceived the project of a canal between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, which he subsequently recommended to the Legislature in his speech on opening the session of 1791, an idea which, more than a quarter of a century afterwards, was carried out to its legitimate end in the grand Erie Canal by his illustrious nephew, Governor De Witt Clinton.

In 1787 Governor Clinton was instrumental in crushing a stupendous scheme for dismembering the State. Emboldened probably by the success which had crowned the efforts of the Green Mountain Boys in robbing New York of her territory, a daring company of speculators, residing upon the banks of the Hudson, attempted to grasp the entire country remaining to the Six Nations after the treaty of 1784, with a view, as it was believed, of ultimately dividing New York, and creating a separate State from its western territory. The laws of New York even at that early day prohibited the purchase of any Indian lands whatever, by individuals or by companies, within the State; but Colonel John Livingston and his associates attempted to escape the legal difficulties by an evasion. Instead of making a *purchase*, they negotiated with forty-five chiefs of the Six Nations in the autumn of 1787 for a *lease* of their entire territory within the State of New York, exclusive of certain reservations, for and during the period of *nine hundred and ninety-nine years*, at the nominal yearly rent of two thousand Spanish milled dollars, to be paid annually on the fourth day of July. A lease of such extended duration was equivalent to a purchase of the fee of the land, and was so considered by the lessees, whose object, as it was understood, was to throw a large population as rapidly as possible into that territory to form the nucleus of another independent State. But the Government of the State and the people took the alarm. Remonstrances were poured in upon the Legislature from Hudson, Pough-

keepsie and other large towns, expressing the surprise and anxiety with which the remonstrants had observed the movements of the association, and protesting against the application making by the latter to obtain the sanction of their claim by the Government. But although this action of their constituents might have been necessary to spur up the members of the Legislature, it was not needed by the lynx-eyed Governor, who, before the petitions had reached their destination, had already in a stirring message called the attention of the Legislature specially to the subject. Finally the hopes of the company were extinguished by the law of March, 1788, proposed by Egbert Benson, then in the State Senate, declaring the preemptive right to the lands to be rested in the State, and authorizing the strongest measures of force to be used by the Executive in the removal of all intruders from the lands. In order, however, that not even the color of injustice towards the lessees might remain, the Legislature five years afterwards made a grant to them of a district of country, ten miles square, in the northern part of the State, and subsequently they received grants of several large tracts in the Genesee country from Phelps and Gorham.

In June, 1788, Governor Clinton presided over the State Convention held in Poughkeepsie to ratify the Federal Constitution. Next to the emancipation of the American Colonies from British thralldom, and their recognition by the English monarch as the United States of America, free and independent, the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the instrument which was to bind the almost disjointed members of the Republic together as one people, was the most important event that the people of New York had ever been called to commemorate. The period intervening between the formation of the Constitution and its adoption by the requisite number of States, was one of deep anxiety to the patriots of that day. A violent opposition sprung up in various parts of the confederation, which was so successfully fomented by demagogues and those who feared they might lose importance in the national councils should the new federal edifice be erected, that the friends of the Constitution, seeing nothing better than civil tumult and anarchy in the perspective should that instrument be rejected, entertained the most lively apprehensions upon the subject. There were, however, among the opponents of the proposed Constitution some good men and real patriots, who honestly believed that in the event of its adoption too much power would pass from the States to the Federal Congress and the Executive. Among these was George Clinton. The ablest tongues and pens in the Union were brought into action; and it






was that contest which enlisted on the one side the talent of Clinton, and on the other combined the wisdom of Hamilton, Jay and Madison in the "Federalist," the best exposition of the Constitution that ever has been, or probably ever will be written.

The action of the respective States was slow, and the proceedings of their conventions were watched with absorbing interest. When at length it was found that the vote of New York would turn the scale, her convention, as before mentioned, being in session at Poughkeepsie, all eyes were eagerly turned toward that quarter. The chief reason of the reluctance of New York to come into the Constitutional Union was the fear, in view of the rising destiny of their city and State, of making over too much of their local power to the central government, especially their great share of revenue from imports, and their commanding position between New England and the South and West. The contest, however, was not long in doubt. Hamilton redoubled his wonderful efforts; Livingston put the whole energies of his capacious mind in requisition, and the Federalists triumphed. When the momentous question was decided, Clinton was not the man to embarrass the Government by cynical carpings or factious opposition. In the celebrations and rejoicings which followed the ratification he lent his cooperation, and at the Inauguration Ball given to President Washington in 1789, he, with his wife, was among the most cheerful of the invited guests.

But although the adoption by all the States of the Federal Constitution seemed to promise prosperity, it was not long before the young republic found herself involved in serious complications with her Indian neighbors; and for a number of years the talents of Pickering, Clinton and others found ample scope in this peculiar line of diplomacy. In the summer of 1791 many of the western nations, the Miamies especially, had assumed a hostile attitude toward the United States; and it was considered a matter of great importance to secure the services of Thayendanegea (Brant) in pacifying that particular tribe. Colonel Timothy Pickering was instructed by the General Government to treat that chief with "great kindness," that he might the more readily be persuaded to attend a council at the Painted-Post on the 13th of June; and General Knox, the Secretary of War, knowing of the friendship subsisting between Brant and Governor Clinton, addressed a letter to the latter upon the subject. "Aware of your Excellency's influence over Captain Joseph Brant," wrote the Secretary, "I have conceived the idea that you might induce him, by proper arrangements, to undertake to

conciliate the western Indians to pacific measures, and bring them to hold a general treaty. This measure would be abundantly more compatible with the feelings and interest of the United States than to extirpate the Indians, which seems to be the inevitable consequence of a war of long continuance with them. You are entirely able to estimate Brant's talents, and the degree of confidence that might be placed in him on such an occasion. Perhaps Colonel Willett, of whose talents in managing the minds of men I have a high opinion, might accept of an agency on this occasion as it might respect Brant. If your Excellency should entertain the opinion strongly that Brant might be employed with good effect, I earnestly request that you would take the necessary measures for the purpose, according to your own judgment." To this letter Governor Clinton, on the 27th of April, replied as follows: "I have communicated to Colonel Willett your confidence in his talents and desire for the interposition of his influence with Brant, but have it not in my power to inform you of his explicit answer. \* \* \* I had, in June last, appointed an interview with Brant, contemplating the danger you appear to apprehend from his address and his influence with several of the Indian nations (which, I am persuaded, is very considerable), and from different letters I have since received from him, I have reason to hope he will give me the opportunity of a personal conference with him at this place (New York) the beginning of the ensuing summer, if the proposed convention, to which I will not venture to say he may not be opposed, should not prevent it. But the good understanding between us, and the friendly and familiar intercourse I have successfully endeavoured to preserve, will, I doubt not, predominate over any transient disgust that the measures of the Union may have heretofore excited in his mind, and enable me to procure an interview with him at any time and place not particularly inconvenient." In his letter of reply to Governor Clinton, under date of May 11th, the Secretary, after speaking of the hostility of Brant to the Corn-Planter, refers to a former design of the Mohawk Chief to place himself at the head of the great Indian Confederacy northwest of the Ohio, the Six Nations included, and cites a letter, which he had just received from the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, the Indian missionary, intimating that he had not yet abandoned that project. The United States could not, of course, countenance the formation of any Confederacy by which the whole of the then vast body of Indians might be moved by a single impulse; and with a view of diverting him from such a purpose, and of securing his friendship to the United States, Governor Clinton was requested, if possible, to effect the interview,



of which he had spoken, with Captain Brant. Authority was at the same time given the Governor to enter into any pecuniary engagements which he should judge necessary to make sure of his attachment to the United States.


It would seem as though the influence of Clinton and Pickering over the Chief was beneficial. In June of the following year (1792) Thayendanegea, on the invitation of the General Government, visited Philadelphia; at which time the true causes of the war with the western Indians were explained to him, and great pains were taken by the President and Secretary of War to impress upon his mind the sincere desire of the United States to cultivate the most amicable relations with the sons of the forest, of any and every tribe. In the end, the Chief was induced to undertake a mission of peace to the Miamies, for which purpose he was furnished with ample instructions by the Secretary of War. Most emphatically was he enjoined to undeceive the Indians in regard to their apprehensions that the Government was seeking to wrest from them farther portions of their lands. The Chief left Philadelphia about the 1st of July, on which occasion Secretary of War Knox wrote to Governor Clinton as follows: "Captain Brant appears to be a judicious and sensible man. I flatter myself his journey will be satisfactory to himself and beneficial to the United States."

Scarcely had this matter been brought to a happy issue when the attention of Clinton was directed particularly to Indian troubles within his own State. The Caughnauagas and St. Regis Indians, small offshoots from the Mohawks, and residing on the banks of the St. Lawrence, had for a number of years past, been growing more and more inimical towards New York on account of a dispute regarding certain lands to which they laid claim; and at this time, when the Indian nations along the entire border of the United States were in an exceedingly inflammable condition, the open hostility of even so small a clan as the Caughnauagas might easily prove the spark which should produce a wide-spread conflagration. This fact was realized in its fullest extent by the Governor; who, also recognizing the extreme delicacy of treatment which the case demanded, invited the Caughnauagas, or as they called themselves, "the Seven Nations of Canada," to a conference. Accordingly, in the winter of 1792-1793, the Legislature being in session at Albany, a delegation from the "Seven Nations" came to that city and held several conferences with the Governor. At first they assumed quite a belligerent attitude. They complained that some of the people of the State had settled on their lands near Lake Champlain and on the

River St. Lawrence, and demanded that commissioners should at once be appointed to inquire into the matter. The reply of Clinton was firm but conciliatory. He stated that although he was aware it was generally difficult to define their rights and their boundaries, yet it was to be presumed that the Indian title to a considerable part of the lands on the borders of the lake had been extinguished by the French Government before the conquest of Canada, as those lands, or the greater portion of them, had been granted to individuals by that government before that period; added to which, it was held by the State that the Seven Nations had never any just title to the land, inasmuch as it originally belonged to the Six Nations, of whom the claimants formed but a small number.

The calmness of the Governor, together with the friendly tone of his voice, sensibly cooled the temper of the delegation. They replied in a respectful manner, but insisted, nevertheless, upon their claim to a tract of land covering a large portion of the northern part of the State; all, indeed, lying between Lake Champlain on the east and the head waters of the Mohawk on the west, bounded north by the St. Lawrence and south by a line to be drawn from a point on the Half-way Brook, between Fort Edward and Lake George, to the junction of Canada Creek with the Mohawk River, in the neighborhood of Little Falls. In his rejoinder, the following day, the Governor said that he was neither authorized nor disposed to controvert their claims, which he would submit to the Legislature, who, he doubted not, would pay respectful attention to them, and adopt suitable measures to effect a settlement with their tribe upon a fair and liberal basis. The Governor was as good as his word. Shortly after, he appointed a commission, consisting of Egbert Benson, Richard Varick and James Watson, to treat with their chiefs upon the subject; but it was not until the summer of 1796, during the Governorship of John Jay, that a permanent arrangement was effected, by virtue of which the Seven Nations relinquished their claims, with the exception of the St. Regis reservation, for a small sum in hand paid, and a yet smaller perpetual annuity. Thus, by a tact worthy of Sir William Johnson himself, Clinton dissolved a complication which, under existing circumstances, unless handled with great skill, might have led to a border warfare—short, it is true—but while it lasted, replete with all the horrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife.

At the first Presidential election Clinton received three of the electoral votes cast for the Vice Presidency. In 1792, when Washington



was reelected, he had for the same office fifty votes; and at the sixth Presidential election (1809-13) he received six ballots from New York for the office of President.

During the winter of 1799-1800 the Republicans considered it of the last importance, if they would gain the approaching presidential election, to secure the vote of New York, and it was with a view to Clinton's influence that his name, through the efforts of Aaron Burr, was placed at the head of the State ticket, in connection with those of Brockholst Livingston, Horatio Gates and other distinguished men. The Republican ticket was successful, and after having passed six years in retirement Clinton once more took his seat in the State Legislature. The country was at this time in an excited and critical condition. But the leaders of the Republicans had not counted in vain upon Clinton's aid; and to him may justly be attributed the great political revolution which terminated in the overwhelming defeat and final extinction of the Federal party.


In 1801 he again became a candidate for Governor, and was elected by nearly four thousand majority over his Federal opponent, Stephen Van Rensselaer. After holding the governorship for one term, he was in 1804 elevated to the office of Vice President of the United States, a position which he filled with dignity until his death. His last important public act was to negative by his casting vote in the Senate the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank in 1811. Of the causes which led to this action of the Vice President, I have neither the space nor intention to speak, my object in this sketch being more particularly to direct attention to Clinton's relations with his own State. He died at Washington on the 20th of April, 1812, and was buried in the Congressional Cemetery. His monument, erected by his children, bears the following inscription, far more just than such tributes usually are: "While he lived his virtue, wisdom and valor were the pride, the ornament and security of his country; and when he died he left an illustrious example of a well-spent life, worthy of all imitation."

As a military man, Clinton was bold and courageous, and endowed with a will that rarely failed him in sudden emergencies. At a critical period of the war he saved the army of Washington from disbanding by the impressment—an act justified by the exigency—of large quantities of flour in the State of New York. He thought little of councils, because, to use his own words, "the duty of looking out for danger makes men cowards." Although he never won signal victories—on the contrary suffering

defeat—yet by his cool judgment, calm self-possession, and unfaltering trust in the ultimate triumph of the cause, he contributed greatly in keeping the public mind from despondency, and in reanimating the troops with fresh ardor and an unswerving determination to succeed; on account of which, as well as for keeping the State in accord with the General Government, both in the matter of troops and moral sympathy, George Clinton might, to use a term in vogue at the present day, appropriately be styled “The Great War Governor” of the American Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

As a civil magistrate he was a staunch friend to literature, common schools, social order and internal improvements. In private life he was affectionate, winning, though dignified in his manner, strong in his dislikes, warm in his friendships, and always ready to do a kind act.<sup>2</sup> It must not be inferred, however, on account of these amiable traits that he was lacking either in firmness or in decision. It is related that at the close of the Revolutionary war, when violence against Tories was the order of the day, a British officer was seized by the Whigs and placed in a cart preparatory to his being tarred and feathered. At this instant Governor Clinton with a naked sword rushed in among the mob, and rescued the victim at great personal peril. Some years later, in 1788, a terrible riot occurred in New York City, which, although afterwards facetiously called the “Doctor's Mob,” was at the time no laughable matter. The rioters, infuriated by a rumor that the bodies of their relatives had been dug up for dissection, quickly obtained control of the city, and roamed like wild beasts through the streets, committing every kind of violence. Prominent citizens, among whom were Hamilton, Jay and Baron Steuben, endeavored to appease the popular fury, but in vain. Jay and Steuben were felled to the ground with stones and severely injured, and it was not until Clinton appeared at the head of the militia, who by his order fired and killed five of the rioters, that the disturbance was quelled.

But it was perhaps his conduct in connection with “Shay's Rebellion” that particularly showed his ability to meet an exigency. Soon after the followers of Daniel Shay had been dispersed at Springfield, Mass., by General Shepherd, a large number of them fled to Lebanon, N. Y., where they made an apparently formidable stand. The Legislature of New York having no precedent to guide it, was powerless to give its Governor authority to act in the matter. Nevertheless Clinton, with his usual contempt for “red-tape,” promptly called out the militia, and repairing to the spot speedily scattered the insurgents, and thus destroyed every vestige of the insurrection.



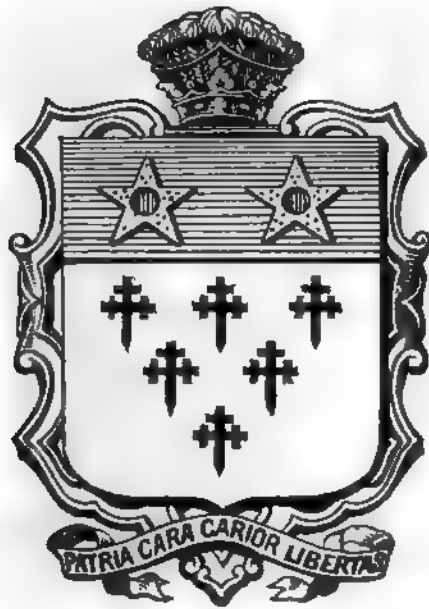
To sum up, the life of George Clinton is that of one who wielded vast influence in his day, more by sound judgment, marvellous energy and great moral force of character than by any high-sounding or specially brilliant achievements.'

WILLIAM L. STONE

'At the opening of the session of 1795 Governor Clinton initiated the great movement for the organization of a Common School system by the following recommendation: "While it is evident that the general establishment and liberal endowment of academies are highly to be commended, and are attended with the most beneficial consequences, yet it cannot be denied that they are principally confined to the children of the opulent, and that a great portion of the community is excluded from their immediate advantage. *The establishment of Common Schools throughout the State* is happily calculated to remedy this inconvenience, and will therefore engage your early and decided consideration."

'When Brant visited New York in 1797 he called on Aaron Burr and his daughter Theodosia, the latter of whom did all in her power to entertain him. Miss Burr, after she became Mrs. Alston, visited the chief at Grand River in company with her husband. Seeing that when Brant saw her in New York "she was very young, and had assumed a new name," Governor Clinton gave the young married couple a cordial letter of introduction to the chief.

'I have been greatly aided in the preparation of this sketch by the courtesy of Mr. Henry A. Homes, the genial Librarian of the New York State Library, and Mr. Frank Burdge, the author of the Centennial sketch of Simon Boerum.



## THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH

DESCRIBED BY DR. JAMES MCHENRY, SECRETARY TO GENERAL WASHINGTON

The following documents, containing a view of the battle of Monmouth, now for the first time given to the public, are in the handwriting of Dr. McHenry, and were found among the papers of his grandson, Colonel Ramsay McHenry, of "Monmouth," Harford County, Maryland, who died the 13th August, 1878. The authority for the statements they contain is unquestioned, as the writer's family intimacy with Washington during this campaign afforded him the best opportunity of judging of the critical events upon which turned the issues of the momentous 28th June, 1778.

HEAD QUARTERS, ENGLISH TOWN,  
30th June, 1778, 8 o'clock A. M.

DEAR GEORGE :

In my letter to my father, to which I referred you in my last, I omitted several particulars till they could be better ascertained. As we remained masters of the ground, of course the burying of the dead became our duty. The returns of the parties employed for this purpose amount to 233 killed. Ours not more than 52 rank and file, which is in a proportion of about one to four. The account of the prisoners we have taken is not yet brought in. They may be near 60. Besides those which they left at Monmouth Court house (about 45) of their own, we found several on the field.

Gen. Clinton, by this march through the Jerseys, must have weakened his army full 2500. The desertions before we crossed the Delaware amounted to 428.— Since we entered the Jerseys we may set down 200 more; and it is moderate, I assure you, to calculate for 400 taken down by the march, and 100 actually dead from fatigue. Near some little brooks we have found a dozen of their soldiers in this condition. In particular their route since the action is marked with such melancholy spectacles. To this we may add 30 or 40 killed in their different skirmishes with our militia and flying parties.— Now, allowing the usual number of wounded for one that is killed, and I believe it will coincide pretty nearly with the above calculation.

General Lee, who led the advanced corps, consisting of above 5000 of our most valuable troops, with officers selected for this particular command—either from false information of the enemies' force and disposition, or from some causes



not yet fully understood, gave orders to retreat. His men recoiling on our main army, that were moving on to their support, had like to have produced the most alarming confusion. However, by the exertions of our General, a small front was formed, that gave the first check to the enemy's progress till a more solid opposition was made.

I cannot in justice to the commander-in-chief, whose great admirer you are, pass over his conduct during the whole course of the combat. I believe in most matters I am as little swayed by public opinion as any in the service. I have no interest or ambition which any person in it can gratify to tempt me to give that lustre to *one* character which belongs more properly to another. I do not think, for my part, the general ever in one day displayed more military powers, or acquired more real reputation. He gave a new turn to the action. He retrieved what had been lost. He was always in danger—examining the enemies manoeuvres—exhorting the troops—and directing the operation of his plans. He unfolded surprising abilities, which produced uncommon effects. Gen. Greene also, who commanded on the right, and Lord Stirling, on the left, distinguished themselves also by great address, coolness and courage. Indeed every Brigadier General and officer who engaged seemed animated with the spirit of their commander. As to our troops, you must allow them the highest commendation for fighting and conquering the culled and picked, the very flower of the British army, their light Infantry, guards and grenadiers. Two of the General's aids had their horses shot under them, another was slightly wounded. If I escaped unhurt, that had the honor to be not far from his person during most of the day, it is owing to that providence who seems to have him under his particular protection.

We are now on our march to the North River. Col. Morgan, with his corps of light troops, and Col. Moylan's dragoons are still hanging on the enemy, and waiting to see them safely a ship-board.

I am, Dr George, in esteem & friendship your very humble servt,

JAMES MCHENRY

P. S. 10 o'clock, P. M.

This evening General Lee was arrested for misbehaviour before the enemy—for retreating, &c.

George Lux, Esqr., Baltimore.

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HEAD QUARTERS, PARAMUS,

11 July, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

As there has been a very defective narration of the battle of Monmouth published in the Trenton paper, and no perfect one of the various contentions, the order of battle, or the behaviour of our officers, that I know of, I must request you to put the enclosed into the hands of Mr. Dunlap or any of the

printers in Philadelphia. There will be a propriety for the present in concealing the writer, tho let me assure you that no circumstantial detail whatsoever can be more free from prejudice.

I am, Sir, with much respect,  
your most obedient and very humble Servant,  
Colonel [John] Cox, Philadelphia. JAMES MCHENRY

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman of the Army to his friend in this City, dated—

CAMP NEAR BRUNSWICK, 1st July, 1778.

You are anxious to have the conclusion of the journal of so memorable a march of two rival armies. You say it will in some measure designate the intentions and skill of General Clinton, besides, help you to fix the characters of our different commanders, when unscreened by their lines of circumvallation. Let me advise you once again. I do not pretend in those confidential letters any more than a contour of our operations—to finish the lights and shades must be the work of a literary leasure, at most times incompatible with the life of a soldier. We are not all Cæsars.

In my last I laid down the progress of both armies to the 27th ultimo. I fixed the position of the two camps. I mentioned the plan for the attack, under the direction, in the first instance, of Gen. Lee, so soon as the enemy should recommence their march, and then left you on the line of suspense, with all the doubtful issue of events before your eyes.

Gen. Lee was then at English Town, three miles in van of our main army, at the head of a command of about 5000 troops, four fifths of which were chosen for this special service. We were to support and co-operate with this corps.

Early the 28 the enemy marched from Freehold Town. General Lee was ordered to put his troops in motion, and came up with their rear guard near the Court-house, upon which some loose firing with cannon commenced.

The commander-in-chief was now in full march with the main body of the army, and within about two miles and a half from the Court-house, when he was surprised with the unexpected retreat of the whole advanced detachment. Their recoiling thus suddenly upon him, without the least previous notice or advice whatsoever, would have produced the most alarming confusion, and might have proved fatal to our whole army, had it not been for the great exertions of his Excellency and the troops, who were brought into action on this trying occasion.

The first impression often saves the lives of thousands, and determines the complexion of a battle. But this advantage unfortunately fell into the hands of our enemy.

I have not been able to learn that, upon Gen. Washington's coming up with General Lee, the latter gave satisfactory reasons for his retreat. But whether it was owing to a defect in the original scheme of attack, or in its execution in the first instance under Gen. Lee, should in my opinion be well inquired into. For

from one or other of these causes we lost the fairest opportunity this war has afforded to destroy the British army. It was the very moment for attack, so many circumstances concurring to render it successful. The investigation therefore is a matter of no small significance to the public, as it will not only serve to settle the worth of her respective officers, but determine how far she may trust them with the powers of conducting a war.

It is a circumstance not altogether unworthy remark, and much to the reputation of our retreating troops, that on the appearance of the General, and under his direction, two regiments immediately formed within about 200 yards of the enemy, who were displayed in front, and in full advance. They were commanded by Colonel Stewart and Lieut. Colonel Ramsay. General Lee and Gen. Wayne were present. The British grenadiers charged with great spirit and force. We gave way. As a considerable part of Gen. Lee's detachment had retreated to English Town, he retired from the field to collect the stragglers, to which he did not return.

The next impression was sustained by a part of General Varnum's Brigade, under the command of Lieut. Col. Olney, which covered at the same time the retreat of the two regiments. This onset was of longer continuance, of various countenance, and strongly animated by the behaviour of the officers and soldiers on both sides. Here, tho' we gave way a little, we exceeded greatly in execution. Here too the enemy received considerable opposition from Col. Livingston, who was on the right of Col. Olney.

During these contentions the right and left wing unfolded, and the whole order of battle formed on very advantageous ground. The right wing, under the command of Major Gen. Greene—the left, of Major Gen. Lord Stirling.

The enemy continuing to press forward, and at the same time inclining to our left, met with a still more serious check from some batteries of cannon, well posted by Lord Stirling on the right of his wing, and seconded by a detachment of infantry, under Col. Scilly and Col. Parker of the 1st Virginia regt., who, penetrating the woods, fell on the enemy's right flank with great spirit and success. The enemy, repulsed in this quarter, seemed to bend towards our right.


But General Wayne, occupying a barn and orchard in front, gave them a very warm reception. Gen. Greene at the same critical moment had taken possession of a piece of ground on their left with a brigade under the immediate command of Gen. Woodford, where he formed a battery of cannon, which severely enfiladed the enemy, and co-operating with the gallant opposition given them in front by Gen. Wayne, obliged them to retire with great loss. Here Col. Moncton of their grenadiers and several of their officers fell. On our part Lt. Col. Bonner was killed & Col. Barber wounded, both having very much distinguished themselves in the field. Previous to this Major Dickison was killed by a cannon ball. He was an officer of uncommon merit, to whose services we cannot pay too great a tribute of praise and remembrance.

After this we had several contentions, all terminating in our favor. In each of which we forced the enemy. But I cannot close the account without taking notice of an affair much to the honor of our troops. A small party of infantry were ordered to re-occupy a piece of ground, from which we had forced the enemy, and to which they were again advancing. In rising the hill our infantry received an unexpected charge from the grenadiers, which threw them into confusion. But recovering themselves, suddenly they formed under the enemy's fire, advanced, and very gallantly made themselves masters of the post. This was in face of our front line—of the front line of both armies, and had a most beautiful appearance. The rallying and charge were admirably executed.

Night now coming on prevented our pursuing any further the advantages we had gained. The troops that were ordered to gain the enemy's right and left flank did not reach their ground till night came on. The attack was therefore delayed until morning. But the enemy, fearing the event of another day, retreated about midnight, leaving behind them all the marks of disgrace and precipitancy.

During the course of a series of conflicts, in which there was so frequent occasion for the display of military talents, it is difficult to draw the line of deserving between the different officers who had an opportunity of being engaged. In attempting a catalogue some will be omitted. Gen. Wayne was conspicuous through the whole day. Of Col. Scilly we cannot speak too highly. Lt. Col. Olney, Col. Stewart, Lt. Col. Ramsay, Lt. Col. Barber, Col. Parker, Colonel Livingston, Col. Butler and Col. Craig, with their respective officers, behaved on all occasions most gallantly. The officers of our artillery deserve all manner of commendation; never were cannon better posted, or better served than ours. Capt. Herd of the dragoons was indefatigable in reconnoitring, & in performing every duty of a brave and good officer. The General's family were also unremitting in their endeavours. And Gen. Reed & Gen. Cadwallader, who had attached themselves to his person, were extremely active. Indeed every gentleman who was engaged seemed to act to the full extent of his force and situation, and to vie with each other for pre-eminence in honor. Some even carried this principle in the ardor of military pursuit beyond its purpose. This was the case with Lt. Col. Ramsay. While his men were on the retreat he was attacked by one of the enemy's dragoons, who charged him very briskly. The Colonel was on foot. It was for some time between them a trial of skill & courage. After the horseman fired his pistol, the Colonel closed in, and wounded and dismounted him. Several dragoons now came up to support their comrade; the Colonel engaged them *cominus ense*, giving & receiving very serious wounds, till at length attacked in his rear, and overpowered by numbers, he was made prisoner. *Genl. Clinton* paid a proper attention to such uncommon prowess, and generously liberated the Colonel the following day on his parole.

I do not think that in any one instance the Commander-in-Chief ever unfolded



greater abilities, or that were attended with happier effects. I am confident that by his presence, exertions and superior conduct the glory of the day was regained. He thro' the whole series of actions at all times appeared in as much danger as any soldier in the field. But it required it, in order to recover what we had lost by our morning's misadventure. The enemy, who were advancing rapidly, elated by our retreat, were to be checked— The most advantageous ground to be seized— The main body of the army to be formed— The enemy's intentions and dispositions to be discovered—and a new plan of attack to be concerted—and all this too in the smallest interval of time— But it is in those moments of a battle that the genius of a general is displayed, when a very inconsiderable weight determines whether it shall be a victory or a defeat.

General Greene and Lord Stirling gave the most evident and unequivocal marks of great military worth—their dispositions were judicious—their judgment cool and clear, and their bravery always pointed and efficacious.

The Marquis De La Fayette was sadly disappointed. He had flattered himself, from his advanced situation under Gen. Lee, with the first laurels of the day. The honors of war you know have a distinguished place in the breast of a French nobleman. I could see that the Marquis on this occasion felt peculiarly unhappy. He was ordered by Gen. Washington to form in the rear of our army, to support us in case of a retreat. His ambuscades and order on this occasion were very judicious.

I am told Gen. Lee claims great praise in what he terms a retrograde manouvre. I confess I am no proper judge of its merit, nor ever heard that it was a preconcerted or communicated scheme till after the engagement. But I suppose the measure and matter will be ascertained by the present court martial.

How General Clinton feels after so inglorious a day, I know not. He thanked Gen. Washington by flag for his humane & generous treatment of the wounded, and for the honors of war paid to Colonel Moncton and the other officers who were killed and left on the field of action.

Altho' the victory was not so *extensive* as we could wish, yet it has every substantial and unequivocal proof of its being one. We gained the field of battle before evening— We encamped on the ground that night— We buried of their killed & those who died of fatigue 303— They, moreover, left 45 of their wounded behind them at Monmouth, tho' within 12 miles of a place where every idea of an attack was inadmissable, & to which they retreated with a precipitancy fully evincive of their defeat and situation.

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This interesting narrative of the battle of Monmouth was written by Dr. McHenry for immediate publication, in order to correct certain meagre or false accounts of the action which had crept into the public prints. His friend, Colonel Cox, to whom he sent the communication,

which he desired should appear without the author's name, was not successful in inducing Mr. Dunlap to give it a place in his paper; the cautious, perhaps wary publisher declined the matter lest some of his readers might fault such a plain statement, and the manuscript was returned to the writer, who made no further effort in the matter; and his wishes are now consummated after the interval of a century.

Dr. McHenry's life was fully and ably portrayed by Mr. Frederick J. Brown in his address read before the Maryland Historical Society, 13th November, 1876, and but little can be added to it here. A student of medicine under Rush, he afterwards joined the army as an assistant surgeon, and in January, 1776, was in attendance at the American Hospital at Cambridge. On the 26th August following, Congress, "having a proper sense of the merit and services of doctor McHenry, recommend to the directors of the different hospitals belonging to the United States, to appoint doctor McHenry to the first vacancy that shall happen of surgeon's berth in any of the said hospitals;" a copy of which resolution Dr. Rush next day forwarded to him. It is during this service that Graydon mentions with gratitude his curing him of an attack of quinsy. On the 10th August he had been appointed Surgeon of the Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion, commanded by Colonel Robert Magaw, and was among the prisoners taken in the capture of Fort Washington, the 16th of November following. He was paroled the 27th of January, 1777, but not exchanged until the 5th of March, 1778. On the 15th of May following he was appointed Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, and remained in Washington's military family until August, 1780, when he was transferred to Lafayette's staff, where he continued until the close of the war. He was present at the breakfast on the 24th of September, 1780, at Robinson's house, when Arnold was surprised by the information that Washington had knowledge of his treason and fled. Dr. McHenry was active in all the political movements of the day, a member of the Convention of 1787 which framed the Constitution, and was called to Washington's Cabinet as Secretary of War to succeed Pickering, who became Secretary of State 1st January, 1796. The memory of his control of this portfolio is preserved in the name of Fort McHenry, whose bombardment in 1814 became the occasion of the creation of our anthem, The Star-Spangled Banner; it was here that Lafayette landed in 1824 when visiting Baltimore, and in his reply to the address of welcome alluded to "the confidential friend in his military family of whom the fort, most nobly defended in the last war, brought back the affecting recollection."

McHenry remained in the War Department through the fore part of the Adams Administration, when, upon a disagreement with President Adams on the French question, he resigned in May, 1800. His reasons for this action are fully explained to his nephew, John McHenry, in the letter published in Gibbs' *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and Adams*, ii., 346-8. Mr. Brown, in his address, well paints the difficulties he found himself exposed to at this period of our national affairs, and in a clear narrative of the political events of the day establishes the rectitude and the sincerity of all of McHenry's actions toward his chief, displayed without any abandonment of his views upon the great questions which then agitated our parties. The remainder of his life was spent in leisure, but without freedom from a great interest in all public affairs. In 1813 he was President of the first Bible Society formed in Baltimore. On the 16th of May, 1816, he died at his residence, "Fayetteville," named from his former commander; a handsome estate, about a mile west of the Baltimore Court House, and lately in the possession of Mr. Thomas Winans. His features are best known to us in the engraving St. Memin made in 1803.

Dr. McHenry was born on the 16th of November, 1753, in Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, the son of Daniel and Agnes McHenry. He received a classical education in Dublin, but his health failing him he made a voyage to America, and came to Baltimore about 1771. His accounts written home were so flattering that his father was induced to come over shortly after with a younger son, and they established themselves in the importing business, which soon grew into one of great magnitude. He married, the 8th of January, 1784, Margaretta, daughter of David Caldwell, of Philadelphia, who survived him many years, dying on the 20th of November, 1833. Their children were: 1. Grace, born the 2d of November, 1784, died the 24th of March, 1789; 2. Daniel William, born the 12th of November, 1786, married, the 23d of June, 1812, Sophia Hall, daughter of his father's long-time friend, Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay (who had married Charlotte Hall, the niece of Bishop White), and died the 30th of June 1814, leaving an only child, Ramsay, born the 15th of January, 1814, and died the 13th of August, 1878, s. p. at "Monmouth," where the account of the battle was found; 3. Anna, born the 20th of March, 1788, married, the 4th of February, 1808, James Pillar Boyd, and died the 6th of April, 1837. Their children are: Mary, born the 2d of March 1810; James McHenry, born the 15th of December, 1811, died the 8th of December, 1847; Andrew, born the 9th of November, 1814; John Pillar, born the 3d of August, 1816;

4. John, born the 27th of March, 1791, married, the 7th of December, 1819, Julianna Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel John Eager Howard, and died the 6th of October, 1821, leaving James Howard, born the 17th of October, 1820, their only child; 5. Margaretta, born the 7th of March, 1794, died the 26th of November, 1809. Mr. Brown, in his address, quotes freely from the "record left by a young kinsman, John McHenry," who is understood to have been a nephew; he married, in 1820, Miss Martha Hall, a younger sister of Mrs. Ramsay, and died in October, 1856.

Allusion has been made to Dr. McHenry's long-time friend, Colonel Ramsay; and it seems fitting to quote here, in connection with the foregoing papers, a little incident of the battle of Monmouth, of which, in justice to his friend, Dr. McHenry had written a narrative in his own hand in his copy of Marshall's Washington, on the margin of page 473, Vol. III. (Philadelphia, 1804), lately in the library at "Monmouth," an estate of Colonels Ramsay and McHenry, which was thus named in honor of that day, and which now, since his death, has passed into strangers' hands.

"I was at General Washington's side when he gave his orders to Colonels Stewart and Ramsay. General Lee's command were retiring before the British troops, which were pressing close upon them. General Washington arrived at this juncture, contemplated the scene for a few moments, then called to him Colonel Stewart and Colonel Ramsay, when taking the latter by the hand, 'Gentlemen,' said he to them, 'I shall depend on your immediate exertions to check with your two regiments the progress of the enemy till I can form the main army.' 'We shall check them,' said Colonel Ramsay. These officers performed what they promised. Colonel Stewart was early wounded and carried off the field. Colonel Ramsay maintained the ground he had taken till left without troops. In this situation he engaged in single combat with some British dragoons, nor yielded till cut down by numbers, and left for dead on the field. It may not be superfluous to add, that this important service, which arrested the progress of the British army and gave time to the Commander-in-Chief to bring up and assign proper positions to the main army, was gratefully remembered on his accession to the Presidency of the U. S.; he appointed Colonel Ramsay to the civil office of Marshal, and afterwards to a place of more profit in the customs."

THOMAS H. MONTGOMERY





## LIST OF FRENCH OFFICERS

WHO SERVED IN THE AMERICAN ARMIES WITH COMMISSIONS FROM  
CONGRESS PRIOR TO THE TREATIES MADE BETWEEN FRANCE AND  
THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. REPRINTED  
FROM ESSAIS HISTORIQUES EL POLITIQUES SUR LA  
REVOLUTION DE L'AMÉRIQUE, BY HILLIARD  
D'AUBERTEUIL, PARIS, 1782.

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1776

February 27th.

M. DUGAN.....Receives a compensation for his services in the  
campaign of Canada, and is recommended to  
the Generals of the Continental Army to be  
employed according to his capacity.

March 19th.

M. ARUNDEL.....Appointed Captain of Artillery under the orders  
of General Lee.

March 21st.

LE CHEV. DE SAINT-AULAIRE....Employed as Captain of an independent company  
to serve in Canada.

June 26th.

ANTOINE FELIX VIEBERT.....Recommended to General Washington to test  
his capacity as engineer.

June 26th.

LOUIS DUBOIS.....Appointed Colonel of a battalion lately raised  
for the army of Canada.

July 16th.

LE CHEV. DE KERMORVAN.....Appointed engineer in the Continental service  
with sixty piasters or silver dollars per month,  
and the rank of Lt Colonel ; retired the 5th of  
March, 1778, after having served in the Army  
of Gates, in the regiment of riflemen, com-  
manded by Morgan.

July 20th.

JAC. ANT. DE FRANCHESSEN.....Knight of Saint Louis, volunteer, with the rank  
of Lt Colonel.

July 23d.

SAINT-MARTIN.....Appointed Engineer with the rank of Lt Colonel

July 29th.

JEAN-ARTHUR DE VERMONET....Brevetted Captain, and the 18th of September  
following, brevetted Major in consideration of  
his services and his capacity, and at the request  
of General Washington

July 29th.

FIDÈLE DORRÉ..... Volunteer, recommended by Congress to General Washington, to be employed according to his capacity.

The same day

CHRISTOPHE PELLISSIER..... Appointed Engineer with the rank of Lt. Colonel.

September 18th.

JACQUES-PAUL GOVERT..... Breveted Captain, Lieutenant of Artillery.

September 19th.

MARQUIS DE MALMADY..... Breveted Major.

The same day.

CHEV. DU PLESSIS MAUDUIT.... Breveted Captain of Artillery, distinguished himself at Germantown and at Redbank; appointed Lt. Colonel the 20th of November, 1777, at the request of Washington; returned to the French service in 1779.

JEAN-LOUIS IMBERT..... Employed as engineer with the rank of Captain.

CHRÉTIEN DE COLERUS..... Employed with the rank of Major.

JEAN-LOUIS DE VIRNEJOIX..... Employed with the rank of Captain.

October 7th.

PIERRE FRANCOIS DE BOYS..... Breveted Major to follow the Army.

November 5th.

MAT-AL. DE LA ROCHEFERMOY... Appointed brigadier general of the Continental armies, offered his resignation the 31st of January. Died retired from the service.

# 1777

March 21st.

LE COMTE DE MONTFORT..... Sent to Washington to act as Lieutenant.

DE LA NEUVILLE..... Breveted Colonel, since appointed Brigadier General in consideration of his services. Retired the 4th of December, 1778.

March 24th.

DE FANEUIL..... Volunteer, with the rank of Colonel, without pay or rations.

ARM. MARQ. DE LA ROUERIE..... Breveted Colonel of an independent corps.

- May 12th.  
**LOUIS FLEURY**.....Appointed engineer, with the rank of Colonel; Congress presents him with a horse to recompense him for his conduct at Brandywine the 11th of September, 1777; breveted Lt. Colonel the 26th of November of the same year.
- May 13th.  
**THOMAS CONWAY** .....Chevalier de Saint Louis, appointed Brigadier General, commanded a division at Brandywine and Germantown; retired as Major General in 1779.
- May 26th.  
**MOTTIN DE LA BALME** .....Brevetd Lieutenant Colonel of Cavalry, with pay to date from the preceding month of January; the 18th of July following appointed inspector of Cavalry with the rank of Colonel; resigned October 12th.
- The same day.  
**COPPIN DE LA GARDE**.....Recommended for employment in the division of General Sullivan.
- July 16th.  
**MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE**.....Appointed Major General; appointed to the command of a division of the Continental Army December 1st. Congress offers him public thanks the 21st of October, 1778, and has him presented with a sword, in the name of the United States, on his arrival in France.
- July 28th.  
**DE VALLENAYS**.....Brevetd Captain of cavalry on pay.
- The same day.  
**LE CHEVALIER DU PORTAIL**....Appointed Engineer in Chief, with the rank of Colonel; appointed Brigadier General November the 17th; elected since major general and Chief of the Corps of engineers of the Continental Army.
- DE LA RADIERE**.....Appointed engineer with the rank of Lt. Colonel; appointed Colonel the 17th of November. Died in the service.
- DE GOUVION** .....Engineer with the rank of Major; breveted Lt. Colonel the 17th of November.
- July 29th.  
**BARON DE HOLZENDORF** .....Brevetd Lt. Colonel, with pay since the 17th of November preceding; resigned the 31st January, 1778.

PRUDHOMME DE BORRE.....Elected Brigadier General. Resigned September 14th, 1777.

August 11th.

TRONSON DU COUDRAY.....Appointed inspector general of the military stores, with rank of Major General; requests to join the army as volunteer with the simple brevet of Captain the 16th of the same month. Drowned in the Schuykill the 17th of September. Congress had him buried at public cost.

August 11th.

CHEVALIER DE FAILLY.....Breveted Lt. Colonel, with pay from December 1st, 1776.

The same day.

DES EPINIERES.....Nephew of Mr. Caron de Beaumarchais, breveted Captain; since appointed Major; left, to return to France, December 4th, 1778. Died at Paris in 1782.

September 15th.

LE COMTE DE PULASKI.....A Pole, having served in France, and for a year in the Continental Army. Appointed Commander in Chief of Cavalry, with the rank of Brigadier General. Was killed at Savannah.

The same day.

NICOLAS ROGER.....Aid-de-camp of General du Coudray, breveted Major; promoted Lieutenant Colonel the 10th December, 1778.

The same day.

DE BEDEAUX.....Breveted captain, with pay from the 10th of May preceding. Appointed Lt. Colonel of the Legion of Pulaski, December 10th, 1778. Dead.

The same day.

BARON DE KALB.....Elected Major General of the Continental armies.

DE VRIGNY.....Captain; resigned October 21st, 1778.

October 4th.

CHEVALIER DU BUISSON.....Breveted major; retired in 1781.

November 16th.

CHEVALIER DE LA COLOMBE.....Aid-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, breveted Captain.

November 17th.

CHEVALIER DORSET.....Lieutenant in the volunteers who came over to America in the following of Tronson du Coudray. Congress accorded him a compensation for his return.

November 17th.

DE LAUMOI.....Brevetd Colonel, in consideration of his services as engineer.

The same day.

DE GEMAT .....Aid-de-camp of M. de la Fayette, obtains the rank of Lt. Colonel in consideration of his services; promoted the following year to the rank of Colonel; receives the command of a regiment of Riflemen.

1778

January 1st.

CHEVAL. DE VILLEFRANCHE.....Engineer, with the rank of Major, under the orders of General du Portail.

January 2d.

DENIS DE BONCHET.....Is brevetd Major in consideration of his services in the Northern Army, and Congress allows him a compensation to return to France on account of his health.

January 11th.

FERDINAND DE BRAHM.....Having served as Engineer in South Carolina, is brevetd Engineer, with the rank of Major, in the service of the United States.

February 18th.

DE PONTIERE.....Brevetd Captain of Cavalry.

The same day.

DE PONCEAUX .....Brevetd Captain.

and April 16th.....Captain, brevetd Engineer to date from December 1st, 1776; brevetd Major, November 5th.

June 13th.

DU CAMBRAY.....Attached to the corps of engineers commanded by General du Portail, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

June 15th.

MARQUIS DE VIENNE.....Major in the French Troops, brevetd Colonel; after having served as volunteer during one campaign, takes leave October the 27th to return to France.

September 18th.

BECHET DE ROCHEFONTAINE.....Brevetd Engineer, with the rank of Captain.

October 23d.

DE L'ECLISE.....Employed in the Northern Army with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

October 27th.

M. TOUZAR..... Captain of Artillery in the regiment of La Fere, and serving as volunteer in America; having lost an arm in dismounting a battery and in taking one of the enemy's cannon, Congress gives him the rank of Colonel and a life pension of 30 dollars per month.

The same day.

M. BRICE..... Aid-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, breveted Lt. Colonel.

The same day.

DE NEVILLE..... Aid-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, breveted Lt. Colonel.

November 5th.

DE PONGIBEAN..... Volunteer, receives a compensation for his return to France.

November 7th.

CHEVALIER DE CREMIS..... Brevetd Lt Colonel; retired in 1779.

## LETTERS OF DE FERSEN

AID-DE-CAMP TO ROCHAMBEAU

WRITTEN TO HIS FATHER IN SWEDEN

1780-1782

*Translated for the Magazine from Baron de  
Klönckowström's Count de Fersen  
Paris—1878*

### II

Newport, 9th January, 1781

There is nothing new in our military movements, my dear father. It seems that we are all on the defensive, and it is quite difficult to know when the next campaign will open; that will probably depend upon the time when reinforcements arrive from Europe. Whoever receives them first should, it seems to me, profit by the advantage to attack the other. If those in France which are said to be intended for us are so in fact, we shall have for a time at least

a superiority on the sea. This is the only way to carry on and bring to an end this war, which is as ruinous as it is long; so long as we are not masters of the sea, we may perhaps prevent the English from penetrating the country, but nothing can compel them to leave the coast; their commerce will continue to flourish, and will enable them to obtain supplies which they would necessarily be without but for this. So long as they remain masters of Quebec, Halifax, New York, Charleston and Jamaica, they will not make peace; it will only follow the ruin of their commerce and the capture of one or two of these places. This year that of Jamaica has been missed; I do not believe the opportunity will occur again. The reinforcement said to be intended for us is of eight vessels, one of 110 guns, three of 80, three of 74 and one of 64.

We do not know the number of the troops. This news only reaches us by a vessel arrived fifteen days ago in thirty-eight days ; for since our arrival here we have not had any letters ; this neglect on the part of the Minister or the Ministry is unpardonable.

The campaign in the South is more active than ours in the North. I have already sent you word, my dear father, that Lord Cornwallis, who commands the English troops in this section, had in the month of September a very considerable advantage over General Gates. Some time later his advance guard of 1,400 men, under the orders of Colonel Ferguson, having advanced imprudently into the country, was surrounded by 3,000 militia men, and wholly defeated. This accident, added to the sickness which began to show itself in the English army, forced Lord Cornwallis to fall back on Camden. During this time General Clinton sent 2,500 men to join Lord Cornwallis ; they disembarked at Portsmouth in Virginia, but the retreat upon Camden preventing them from effecting the junction, they reembarked, and are gone it is said to Cape Fear. It is even said that the army of Cornwallis at Camden is surrounded, that they are suffering greatly from sickness and hunger, and have been reduced to eat their horses ; this rumor needs confirmation. That of the embarkation of 2,500 men who have left New York for the South is more certain. It seems to be intended to join the other corps of the same force at Cape Fear, and to march from there upon Camden to deliver Cornwallis if he is surrounded, and to join him in order to

begin operations. If this junction be effected, which it can hardly fail to be, all the South is lost ; the Americans have no army there ; that which was there was destroyed under Gates, and the little that remains does not deserve the name of an army ; they are without clothing, shoes or arms. To oppose to these veteran and disciplined troops, there is but the militia, which only rallies when the danger is imminent, and who fly when it becomes great.

Such is the state of affairs in the South ; ours is no better. We are obliged to remain tranquil spectators of the loss of this part of America, and we can not help ourselves. I have not yet made any journey into the country ; several of the officers of the army are gone ; I shall wait their return ; what they have may seen and the blunders they will have made may be of service to me ; I shall wait till the month of March.

The several States of America have just passed a resolve to raise an army of 20,000 men for three years ; the allotment has been made, and it seems that the spirits of every one have risen again. It is hoped that all the recruits may be had by the 1st March. I hope so, but I am by no means sure of it. Some will be taken for three years, others for the whole war ; but neither the one nor the other will be willing to serve for nothing ; it is only by heavy engagements that the different regiments can be completed. Money is scarce, indeed there is none ; the taxes are inadequate ; no credit, no resources. This would be the moment to be of some assistance to them, and to make amends

for the lazy and useless campaign we have made, by supplying them with the money and clothing they are in need of; but we shall be in the same situation of need ourselves if some does not arrive soon from France, and be driven to the shameful necessity of paying our army in paper.

You see, my dear father, by this showing, which is very exact, the reasons which stand in the way of the formation of an army, which can only be raised and kept up by means of money; add to this that the spirit of patriotism only exists in the chief and principal men in the country, who are making very great sacrifices; the rest who make up the great mass think only of their personal interests. Money is the controlling idea in all their actions, they only think of how it may be gained; every one is for himself, no one for the general good. The inhabitants of the coast, even the best Whigs, carry to the English fleet anchored in Gardner Bay provisions of all kinds, and this because they are well paid; they overcharge us mercilessly; every thing is enormously dear; in all the dealings we have had with them they have treated us more like enemies than friends. Their greed is unequalled, money is their God; virtue, honor, all count for nothing to them compared with the precious metal. I do not mean that there are no estimable people of noble and generous character: there are many, but I speak of the nation in general; I believe that they are more like the Dutch than the English.

This, my dear father, is my opinion upon the country, the inhabitants and upon this war; it agrees with that en-

tertained by persons better informed and better able to judge than I. With troops, ships and much money, all this will change; but if enough of this last article for the wants of ourselves and our allies is not soon sent over, nothing is mended, and the French Ministry will cap the climax of its stupidity. We have just received a painful piece of news, that of the desertion of the Pennsylvania line; so they call about 2500 men raised in this province; they have gone over to the English, because of their discontent, or rather their want of every thing. They have neither clothing nor shoes, and even were without food for three or four days. There is a rumor that they changed their minds on the way, and that they returned to their duty, sending six sergeants to treat with Congress of the conditions upon which they will return to duty; this last rumor needs confirmation. However this may be, this desertion is a dangerous example. It shows the reliance to be put in such troops. We have no fresh news from the South; we do not know what is happening there.

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Newport, 14th January, 1781

We receive details of two affairs to the southward, in which the Americans had the advantage. Some small detachments were repulsed. The Pennsylvania line has not gone over to the English; it has taken a very strong position near Morristown. Everything was conducted in the most perfect order; the sergeants are at the head of the affair. There are two officers; they conduct themselves perfectly well, sending into the country to take whatever they happen



to need, and giving receipts which Congress, they say, will pay. General Clinton sent two spies to them with a letter, in which he promised them the fourteen months pay which is due them, a gratification in addition, new clothing, and in the future the pay of English troops. He promises them that they shall always remain a separate corps in the English army and be commanded by their own officers; he promises promotion and considerable reward to the leaders. Notwithstanding all these promises they arrested the spies and hung them. Congress has just sent three of its members to treat with them; they have named six of their sergeants and invested them with full power. They demand the fourteen months' pay due them, clothing and subsistence for the future. This demand would certainly be granted them but the difficulty is to find the money; it will only be found with difficulty. This would be the moment for us to supply it and to aid them with all that is requisite to appease the rebellion; but we have nothing, and without prompt assistance from France we shall have nothing left in a month with which to pay our own army.

There is a coolness between Washington and M. de Rochambeau; the dissatisfaction is on the part of the American General, ours is ignorant of the reason. He has given me orders to go with a letter from him, and to inform myself of the reason for his discontent, to heal the breach if possible, or if the affair be more grave to report to him the cause. You see, my dear father, that I am in diplomacy; this is my first trial. I shall try to come out from it with honor.

Newport, 3d April, 1781

It is impossible to form any opinion concerning the war operations we are about to undertake here. I cannot even form a plan before seeing the turn affairs will take after this campaign. The war cannot last long; it must be an affair of one or two campaigns at the most; I think, even, that if this campaign be as vigorous as it promises to be, it will be the last. This country is not in a condition to sustain a longer war; it is ruined; no more money, no more men; if France does not assist them with vigor they will be obliged to make peace. Up to the present time she has not made any great effort. We have been for ten months, a handful of men, on this island; we have, as yet, been of no service; the South is devastated by the English; we cannot send any troops there because of our small number, and if the English manage well the entire South will be taken. Discouragement will follow this loss, and peace will be the certain consequence.

We are expecting news from this part of the country. It is said that Lord Cornwallis, who commanded the English troops at the South, having advanced imprudently into the country, had been forced to fall back; that he had taken a favorable position, but that he was surrounded by the militia of the country, and to all appearance must be captured or terribly cut up on his retreat. But now a whole month has passed without any confirmation of this news, and I can hardly believe it. The first information we have will be interesting.

I informed you, my dear father, that Arnold had been sent to Chesapeake Bay to do all the damage possible. He has been there since the month of January. It was resolved to send a detachment to undertake his capture by arranging a combined operation with 1,500 Americans under the orders of M. de Lafayette; 1,700 men embarked upon the fleet, under the orders of the Baron de Vioménil; they left the 18th March. I add to this an account of what happened and of the combat they had. You will see that it is not to our disadvantage. We say that we won, but it was not, however, our object that we won, for the English are where we should be and we were compelled to return here. Until now I have always believed that in war a detachment was only victorious when it completely realized the object for which it was formed. Two of our vessels were so roughly handled, that as M. Destouches was about to make signal to renew the engagement, these two vessels signaled very severe damages. Only four of the English ships were closely engaged, the others fired from a distance. The number of our killed and wounded reaches nearly 300; only 200 are set down in the report. In one of them which I send you I have corrected the grossest blunders which appear. To correct all that there are it would be necessary to rewrite it.

—  
Newport, 11th April, 1781

In the South the English under the orders of Lord Cornwallis have just had a very considerable advantage over General Greene, who commands the

American army in that section. We do not know what results may follow this advantage; I believe no other than the rendering of the retreat of Lord Cornwallis more secure. He had advanced too far into the interior and his supplies had begun to fail him. If he only draws this fruit from his victory it is still a very great one. I hear this general accused every day of rashness and want of skill, but I cannot make up my mind to consider a man a bad general, who, until now, has always been successful, and who, having penetrated into a hostile country too far, begins his retreat under the eyes of his enemy, halts in an advantageous position, beats the enemy, forces them to fall back 20 miles from the field of battle, and secures a comfortable and easy retreat. This war is to the honor of the English, although their generals have behaved very badly in America. I very much fear it will not be as much to our own.

It seems that the winter is all over here. We are now enjoying the finest weather imaginable; it is even warm quite often.

We are daily expecting a merchant convoy and the second division. The arrival of these troops will decide, I suppose, the operations of this campaign.

—  
Newport, 13th May, 1781

Since my last nothing has happened here. We remain quietly at Newport, the English at New York and General Washington at New Windsor, on the Hudson river. God knows when we shall leave this position. We have been here now a long time. The southern cam-

paign draws also to its close. We are approaching the summer, a season in which all operations are impossible, unless with very considerable losses from heat and the bad atmosphere. Lord Cornwallis, who had advanced too far into a hostile country, finding difficulty in obtaining supplies, was compelled to fall back. General Greene, with 4,000 men and as many militia, worried him greatly in his retreat. Lord Cornwallis halted in a favorable position, waited for General Greene and an action began. All the militia, after the first fire, broke and ran home; not one stopped until he reached his house. The rest were repulsed and forced to fall back to a point 12 miles distant. Lord Cornwallis continued his retreat to Camden, and thence, I suppose, to Charleston, where he will pass the sickly season, and begin the campaign again in the fall.

We are making all preparation for the march; everybody is arranging his equipments. I have already informed you, my dear father, of what mine is composed. My companions have *cantines*, but I think this a heavy and useless expense. I shall be, perhaps a little less comfortable, but no matter, it would involve too great an expense.

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Newport, 17th May, 1781

It is impossible to form any conjecture upon the campaign we are about to begin; nothing has leaked out of the news which the General has received from France, so that we know nothing of the strength of the reinforcement that is on the way; some say 620; others 1,500 men; others pretend that

M. de Grasse, who went to the Islands [West Indies] with twenty-one vessels and 10,000 troops, will come here with a part as soon as the climate renders operations impossible in that quarter, say in the month of July or August. If this should be the case we will at once undertake the siege of New York, and may reasonably hope with some success. Without this it is a chimera and impossibility to which we have already made great sacrifices. If succor as considerable as these do not arrive we will evacuate Rhode Island, and establish our storehouses at Providence, whither we have already sent a part of our artillery and army stores. We will march towards the North river; we will approach New York which we will threaten, in order to prevent General Clinton from making any detachments and to give Washington time to reach Virginia, drive out Arnold, and destroy the base the English seem disposed to establish there. Perhaps, also, the Americans may remain before New York and we may be entrusted with the Virginia expedition. I should like this better.

Such was the plan of campaign of the General before the arrival of the frigate which brought him out a new Admiral and despatches from the Court. Since then I know not what change there may be, but I believe that at least until the arrival of M. de Grasse nothing will be changed. In a few days there will be another conference between General Washington and M. de Rochambeau, at the same place as last year, at Hartford, 40 leagues from here; then the plan of campaign will probably be agreed upon;

so that it be active and that something be done I shall be content. We have been long enough in inaction—in shameful inaction. It would have been of more use to the Americans to have sent out the money which we have cost the King here ; they would have employed it to better purpose. An army of 15,000 men was required here or nothing ; 5,000 were sent out, who have been now for a year in garrison at Newport, and of no use, unless it be in having consumed a great quantity of provisions and raised their price. I hope we shall soon wake up from this lethargy and take an active part.

I will not speak to you of my private business, my dear father ; since the last in which I mentioned it to you nothing new has happened, or it is more correct to say, I have heard nothing of it. I heartily wish it could be arranged, for I am beginning to grow weary of M. de Rochambeau. He treats me with distinction, it is true, and I am very grateful for it ; but he is distrustful in a way that is disagreeable and indeed insulting ; he places more confidence in me than in my comrades, but that he grants me is meagre enough ; he has no more in his general officers, who are quite dissatisfied, as are the higher officers of the army. They have, however, the good sense to conceal it and keep harmony for the good of the cause.

We push our economy so far that we have not even a spy at New York, because that would cost perhaps 50 louis a month ; we prefer to receive our news from General Washington, and to leave to the Americans, who have no money to pay for them, the care of getting

them. The spies who are there work for the love of country. Owing to this we always get our news too late, and we shall end in having none at all, for people soon weary of exercising gratis a trade that leads to the gallows.

We are getting ready to march, but I do not know when we shall march in fact. A part of the munitions of artillery and the heavy army wagons are already in the stores at Providence. The general officers are completing their equipments.

Our army continues to be as little disciplined as the French army ordinarily is. The leaders are, however, very severe, and there is not a day that two or three officers are not under arrest. I have witnessed scenes so unbecoming that a whole corps deserved to be broken ; but we are only 5,000 men, and can afford to lose nothing.

The fleet received orders to sail yesterday, and we supply 500 soldiers to complete the ships' crews ; there are hardly any sailors left and the several forces are compelled to supply them. This puts the Colonels in very bad humor, and rightly enough ; it distresses me ; there are 500 men the less and we need all our soldiers. I believe the squadron goes out to meet the convoy which is coming to us. It is reported that the English have sent out ten ships and a frigate to capture them.

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Newport, 3d June, 1781

At last we are off ; in eight or ten days the army will be on the march. This is the result of the conference between the two Generals. What the plan of campaign is, whither we are

going, is and should be a secret. I hope we may be active, and that we shall not be moved from New York only to garrison some other little town. Our fleet remains here under guard of the American militia and 400 of our troops. I heartily pity those who will be ordered to this detachment. The whole army is enchanted to leave.

Nothing has happened in this country since my last. The English are making progress in the south; they burn and waste everything; but they scatter money, make friends, and within a short time all this section of America will be conquered; the English will then acknowledge the independence of the provinces of the North, or at least will treat them as independent, and hold on to those of the South. Think whether that would be glorious for the hopes of the King! What confirms me in this idea is that everything seems to indicate a total evacuation of New York. Several detachments have been already made; another, of 2,500 men, has just been made. Besides many things are sent off at night, and after sundown no inhabitant is allowed to go out of doors. If they evacuate New York wholly to carry their forces to the southward they will be wise. I am compelled to close.

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#### NOTES

**THE EMPIRE STATE.**—It is known but to very few persons that the name or soubriquet of the State of New York, which is generally called the "Empire State," is not assumed by our citizens out of State pride, but was first given by General Washington.

The proof of this may be found in his reply to the address of the Common Council of the city of New York, signed by James Duane, Mayor, and dated the 2d of December, 1784. In this letter he says: 'I pray that Heaven may bestow its choicest blessing on your city—That the devastation of war in which you found it may soon be without a trace. That a well regulated and beneficial commerce may enrichen your citizens—And that your State (at present the seat of the Empire) may set such examples of wisdom and liberality as shall have a tendency to strengthen and give a permanency to the Union at home—and credit and respectability to it abroad.'

H. E. P.

*Pierrepont Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.*

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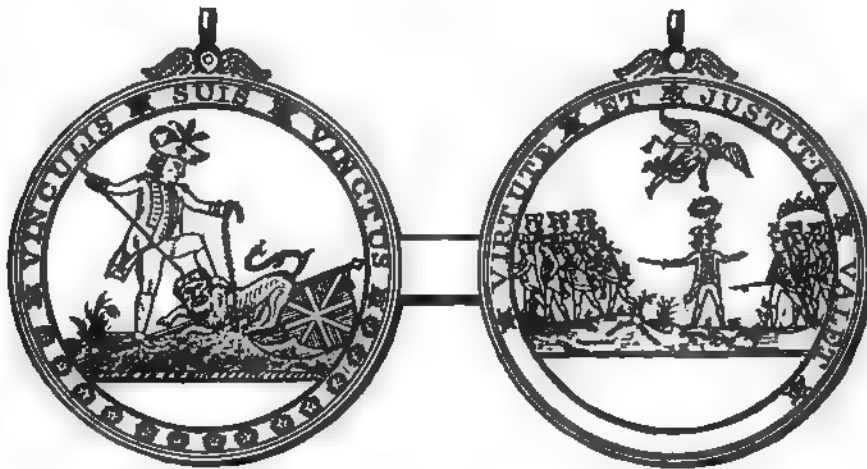
**EPITAPH OF A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION.** — "Captain Oliver Brown, of the Artillery of the Massachusetts Line, Revolutionary War. — Born in Lexington, Mass., 1752— He stood in front of the first Cannon fired by the British on the Americans in the Affray at Lexington—witnessed the Tea Party, Boston Harbour—was at the Battle of Bunker's Hill—Commissioned by Congress 16th of January 1776 — Commanded the Volunteer party that bore off the Leaden Statue of King George from the Battery of New York, and made it into bullets for the American army—Bore a conspicuous part in Command of Artillery at the battles of Harlem Heights, White Plains, Princeton, Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. After serving his Country he enlisted in the Armies of the Son of God, and surrendered to the last Enemy

on the 17th of February, 1846, in full assurance of a never-ending *Peace*."

H. E. H.

A SECOND HOWARD MEDAL—In the account of the dinner given by the Society of the Cincinnati to Lafayette, in Baltimore, reprinted in Niles' Register for October 16th, 1824, two swords

crossing to his men to advance; whilst hovering in the air is the figure of Justice, with her scales. The motto is 'Virtute et Justitia Valet.' On the reverse is the figure of an officer treading upon the British lion and flag, with one hand piercing him with a spear, and the other holding the end of a chain passing around the body of the animal.



are mentioned, one of which had been voted to General Smith, the other to Commodore Barney, by Congress.

"From the point where the two swords crossed each other were suspended two precious revolutionary relics, the high rewards also, of a grateful country, to one of her best and bravest sons. They were two silver medals which the revolutionary Congress had presented to Colonel John Eager Howard. Upon the first was the device of an officer on horseback," etc., etc. (Here follows a description of the Cowpens Medal.) "The other medal has the device of an officer pointing with his sword to a retreating enemy and beck-

The motto around the device is 'Vinculis suis Vincitur.'"

Mrs. Read, my mother's sister, now the only surviving child of Colonel Howard, remembers that at the time of the dinner given in Baltimore by the Cincinnati Society to Lafayette, in 1824, she took me and my cousin, John Eager Howard, to the house at which the dinner was given, and that whilst she remained in a private room, we two boys were taken into the dining-room toward the close of the entertainment, and that Colonel Howard gave to each of us one of his revolutionary medals. The second medal described in the account of that dinner published in Niles' Regis-

Each picture is about thirteen feet six inches high, including the frames.—*Pennsylvania Packet*, April 1, 1784.

PETERSFIELD.

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS.—(III, 263.) In the annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1874, p. 4, appears the following paragraph: "With the death of Daniel T. Bakeman, of Freedom, Cattaraugus Co., New York, April 5, 1869, the last of the pensioned soldiers of the Revolution passed away."

Washington.

J. F. H.

THE COLUMBIAD.—(III, 55.) Cannot "Collector" be obliging enough to give a further account of a "volume printed in New York in 1798, entitled 'Columbiad,' an epic poem in Twelve Books?" I cannot find any account of such a book. Joel Barlow's famous "Columbiad, a poem in ten books," was printed in Philadelphia in 1807. Were there two Columbiads?

Columbia College.

B. R. BETTS.

CAPTAIN SMITH ON THE STAGE.—(III, 55.) Dramaticus can possibly find all he desires in Rev. C. D. Neill's "Early Settlement of Virginia and Virgineola as noticed by Poets and Players in times of Shakespeare," etc.

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.

DE BRY'S VOYAGES.—(III, 262) The information desired can be found in "Stevens' Bibliotheca Historica," and "Sabin's Dictionary." In the catalogue of Mr. Field's Indian Library (sold May,

1875), opposite page 72, Mr. Sabin gives four pages about DeBry, describing a set of his voyages "absolutely perfect," except four pages of part XIII. This set sold for \$648 at Field's sale.

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.

VAN CORTLANDT, THE ROYALIST.—(II, 500.) This gentleman was cousin to Brigadier-General Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Continental army. For further particulars see the genealogical chart in the first volume of Bolton's History of Westchester County.

The articles on Philip and Pierre Van Cortlandt in Drake's "Dictionary of American Biography" contain the greatest number of blunders in the smallest space that I have ever had the ill-fortune to meet with.

C. A. C.

COL. ROBINSON'S LETTER TO ARNOLD.—(II, 756.) Sargent merely states it *on the authority of Marbois*, that this letter was found amongst Arnold's papers. Mr. Sargent's own shrewd conjecture is that (supposing the letter to be genuine) it was written by Beverly Robinson.

"Marbois," said Winthrop Sargent, "may have had access to information or documents now unknown, as all of Arnold's papers, both at West Point and Philadelphia, were seized, and apparently scattered in various hands. Certainly some of Marbois' statements are not easily reconciled with the current history of the time; but it is incredible that he should give *with quotation marks* translations of letters that had no existence but in his own imagination."

C. A. C.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.** Designed as an Aid in Teaching and in Historical Studies. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY. Fifth edition. Revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo, pp. 526. CHARLES SCRIBNER & SONS. New York, 1879.

This work, recognized as a text-book on the important subject of which it treats, made its first appearance, at a time when it was most needed, just before the late civil war, in which the principles of an international code were to be put to severe test in practice under new circumstances. A second edition, with some changes in order of arrangement, and much new matter, appeared in 1864; to a third was added a supplement, bringing the list of treaties down to the time of publication, and an appendix on subjects newly brought into prominence by the war of the rebellion. The fourth edition contained still further additions, and now in a fifth, entirely rewritten and enlarged, and printed from new stereotype plates, under the supervision of the author, are given the final touches to this probably last edition which will appear of the work.

Dr. Woolsey, in the cool impartiality of a well-balanced and judicial mind, has not sought to excuse the errors or wrongs committed by our Government in its diplomatic relations with other countries. We remember to have heard the late Albert Gallatin, a supreme authority on this subject, say, that up to the period of the Mexican war there had been no blot on the fair escutcheon of the United States. Mr. Woolsey cannot now conscientiously repeat such a verdict as this.

In his treatment of the subject he has had in view rather the enlightenment of young men of liberal education than that of lawyers as a special class, and wisely, since it seems to be almost a settled policy of the Government to select men of general literary culture for high diplomatic posts in preference to mere lawyers. The several chapters of Part I. treat of the origin and growth of International law; the powers and obligations of States; their rights as independent sovereignties; their territorial and property rights; the rights of intercourse and of resident foreigners; the forms and agents of international intercourse; contracts and treaties. Part II. is wholly devoted to International Law and usage in a state of war. Appendix I contains a selection of works on international law; Appendix II, a list of treaties since the Reformation.

The eminent fitness of the late distinguished President of Yale College for a work of this

character needs no comment at our hands. It is compact in method, and clear in language, and in every way thorough.

**SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THE HONORABLE JOHN READ OF BOSTON, 1722-1749.** By GEORGE B. REED. 8vo, pp. 18. Appendix, iv. Privately printed. Boston, 1879.

The subject of this sketch, from the pen of the well-known Law Bookseller of Brattle street, Boston, was a distinguished lawyer and citizen of that city in the middle of the last century, who has only hitherto received slight biographical notice in Knapp's "Sketches of Eminent Lawyers," published in 1821.

John Read, whose fame as a brilliant advocate was well known in the generation of lawyers to which Gridley, Trowbridge and Pyncheon belonged, and a tradition of that of Lowell and Parsons, was a native of Connecticut, but a graduate of Harvard in 1697. He began life as a minister, but later studied law, and was admitted attorney at the bar in 1708, and appointed Queen's Attorney in 1712. In 1719 he was appointed by Connecticut one of the commissioners on the boundary between that Colony and New York. In 1720 he was one of the commissioners of Massachusetts to consult with those of other Colonies as to means to restore credit to the paper money in circulation. His fame as a lawyer arose from his great knowledge of special pleading. He was a member of the House of Representatives in 1738, and of the Governor's Council under Belcher and Shirley in 1741 and 1742. He died in 1749, leaving a large estate. For the information of the curious, the author has added to his entertaining sketch an inventory of the law-books in Mr. Read's library, forty-three in number.

**THE HAND-BOOK OF MOUNT DESERT, COAST OF MAINE.** With all the Routes thither; Descriptions of the Scenery and Topography; Sketches of the History, with illustrations, and a map of Mount Desert, and Penobscot and Frenchman's Bay, from the United States Coast Survey. 16mo, pp. 161. W. WILLIAMS & CO., Boston. T. WHITTAKER, New York.

This is a guide-book after our own heart. It provides the indispensable information as to the best method of reaching this charming spot, which wears quite another face, with all its improvements, from what it did when Champlain had his first pow-wow with the Indians not far



distant, and much kindly advice as to where best to lay the weary head and to supply the cravings of the inner appetite, which scenery excites, but does not satisfy; and besides all this, tells the reader what to see and how to see it; not in a doctoral manner, but spicing much learning with pleasant narrative. Mr. Oldstyle, who plays the historian of the island, is always ready for a nineteenth century joke, and is never; no—"hardly ever" pedantic in his recital of the many wonderful events that have befallen Mount Desert. No one can say that they have seen this famous spot, once all desert, now all oasis, that has not seen it with this guide in hand.

**BARNES' ONE TERM HISTORY — A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS.** 16mo, pp. 298—xlvi. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, Chicago and New Orleans [1879].

This, a school-book on another plan, is intended as a history to be mastered in a single term. The method adopted is a division into epochs, each of which is preceded by questions and a map. The text comprises only the important events, explanations and illustrations being given in notes at the foot of the page. The events are then classified under general topics, which are given in a larger type at the beginning of each paragraph. A form of mnemotechnics is introduced to fix principal events and dates in the memory. Partisan treatment is avoided, and the new States have their full space accorded. Finally a series of questions is appended under the title of Historical Recreations. Colored maps illustrate the wars of the continent and the territorial development of the United States. An index closes the volume, which seems well adapted to the purpose intended.

#### THE NEW PURITAN—NEW ENGLAND

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO. Some account of the Life of ROBERT PIKE, the Puritan, who defended the Quakers, resisted clerical domination, and opposed the witchcraft prosecution. By JAMES S. PIKE. 12mo, pp. 237. HARPER & BROTHERS. New York, 1879.

Chief Justice Sewall, the same who sinned so grievously in the judicial execution of the Salem witches, and so honestly atoned for his sin in his manly confession, has been aptly styled the last of the Puritans. He has been said to have outlived his time. Robert Pike, of whom Whittier said that he was one of the wisest and worthiest of the early settlers of the valley of the Merrimac, is here styled by his biographer the New Puritan. He was born in 1616, while Sewall

did not come into the world until nearly half a century later.

Pike, who was of English birth, lived through the century, dying in 1706 in his ninety-first year. In this period he was engaged in three conspicuous controversies, which become the salient chapters in his biography, and entitle him to the attention of the historic student. The first was his arraignment in 1653 by the General Court of Massachusetts for his criticisms on its legislative treatment of the Quakers, for which he was by them tried, convicted, fined and disfranchised. The General Court of Massachusetts did not endure any hostile aspersions. They made a broad distinction between liberty of conscience and freedom of speech. Let it not be forgotten that the rule of Massachusetts was almost Mosaic in its theocracy. The second occasion was the arraignment of Pike in 1675 for resistance to the dogmatic authority of his pastor, John Wheelwright, and through him of the clergy, and his discipline and excommunication therefor. The third was his opposition to the Salem witchcraft prosecution of 1692, in the justice of which the better sense of the people soon joined. The peculiarity of his attitude in all these controversies lies in the fact that he was both orthodox and conservative, and a thorough Puritan. Hence, perhaps, the title now given him of the *New Puritan*.

His life was characteristic of the time. His early education was received in England. He was nineteen when he left Southampton for America with his father. He joined the colony which settled Salisbury on the Merrimac in 1639. In his struggles with the General Court he was nobly sustained by his fellow-citizens, and returned to it by them as their representative. He filled the part of Captain of the Salisbury troop of horse, and was busily employed in his command during the King Philip's war. In one of its intermissions, when the Indians sued for peace, he was appointed head of the commission to treat as to terms. His active life closed in 1695. His last ten years were spent at home.

An appendix contains—I. The depositions taken by him in the case of Susannah Martin, executed as a witch in 1692; II. Case of Mary Bradbury, accused of witchcraft; III. Robert Pike's real estate transactions, 1651—1705; IV. The administration on his estate; V. The will of Timothy Pike, his grandson; VI. Some curious court records. The serious inquirer will find grave matter in the perusal of this volume.

#### NOTICE

The descriptive list of Washington portraits announced in the April number, is being prepared by Mr. William S. Baker, of Philadelphia. The conjunction of another name with his in the announcement was an error. EDITOR.

## JOHN ADAMS DIX

A funeral at old Trinity, and a burial in the hallowed ground of its ancient graveyard, is always an imposing scene. The massive building, with its broad buttresses and towering spire, looks down upon the busiest street on the American Continent, and under its shadow amid the dust of generations upon generations lie the remains of a host of illustrious dead. The contrast between the solemn quiet within and the ceaseless hum of the stirring world without the railing is always solemn. The most eager hurrying passer pauses on his way, startled by the unexpected reminder of the inevitable end of each earthly career. But most solemn, most impressive are the rare occasions when one of "the great of earth" is gathered to his fathers. Then at the first toll of the summoning bell the busy life without is instantly paralyzed, and attentive thousands collect around the inclosure to witness the majestic ceremonies with which the church accompanies the final commitment of dust to dust.

Spectacles are historic instructors. They play an important part in national education, and they should be encouraged rather than deprecated. The eye is the most perfect of our organs, the readiest aid to our intelligence. Things seen stamp themselves upon the retina, and remain fixed pictures when things heard have long faded from memory. Of all scenes the most impressive is a military funeral. The ordered pomp of the bier, the measured tread and reversed arms of the accompanying escort, the solemn notes of the dirge, with its beat of muffled drums, leave an indelible trace on the mind. No one of the long line of heroes, whose last obsequies have been the occasion of such a public solemnity, was more deserving of these honors than the admirable man whose body was on Thursday, the 24th of April, committed to the earth in Trinity Church-yard. In the general respect for his character, and in remembrance of the varied posts of honor and usefulness he had filled in his long and ample life, a civic and military display, unrivalled in the history of the city, was the desire of the whole community in which he lived, and the eyes of the nation were turned to New York to witness the historic pageant. But, in accordance with the strict instructions laid by him upon his family in his last hours, no such ceremony accompanied the funeral of General Dix.

The great assemblage which gathered at the head of Wall street was not called together by any summons, but was a spontaneous popular tribute to the memory of his services and his virtues. Within the church large delegations from the State and Municipal Legislatures, the army and the navy, the professions and all the corporations of commerce, science, litera-

ture and art filled every seat and standing place, except the great aisle and the chancel, in which the clergy and choristers were gathered. But, as if in compensation for the lack of any military appurtenances, the execution of a dying wish of the lamented patriot gave to the scene a dramatic tinge, heroic in its simplicity. He had asked that the coffin in which he was buried should be draped with the American flag. So long as history remains to tell the story of the great civic war, in which he performed illustrious service, the famous words, in which with soldierly instinct he crystallized the patriotic sentiment of the country into a devotion to the Flag, the symbol of its integrity, will be graven in imperishable characters on the hearts of our people. History will preserve with equal fidelity the simple and affecting scene which Trinity Church presented when his coffin, gracefully wrapped in the stars and stripes, was borne up the broad aisle, and laid at the foot of the chancel.

John Adams Dix was born at Boscawen, New Hampshire, on the 24th July, 1798. He died in New York on the 21st April, 1879. The son of Timothy Dix, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the United States Army, an excellent officer and an ardent patriot, he was early destined to the military profession; and after schooling at the Exeter Academy, and a subsequent course of study in the College of the Sulpicians at Montreal, he was on the breaking out of the war of 1812 summoned home by his father, who obtained for him an appointment as cadet in the United States Army, and an assignment to duty in Baltimore, where he was himself was stationed as recruiting officer. The young cadet's duties, however, were merely clerical, and he had ample time to pursue his studies at St. Mary's College in Baltimore, where he acquired great proficiency in the languages. The next year (1813) he received an Ensign's commission, and was assigned to duty in his father's regiment, the Fourteenth Infantry, then at Sackett's Harbor. Soon after his arrival in camp he was promoted Third Lieutenant in the Twenty-third Infantry, in 1814 made Second Lieutenant, and in June of the same year transferred to an artillery regiment. He saw some hard service on the St. Lawrence as Adjutant of Upham's independent battalion. In 1816 he was promoted First Lieutenant, in 1819 made Aid-de-Camp to General Brown, in 1821 transferred to the First and later to the Third Artillery, in which he received a captaincy in 1825. In 1826 he married, and retired from the service; the prospect of a long peace offering no adequate promise to his enterprising, ambitious spirit.

After a visit to Cuba and Europe he applied himself assiduously to the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in 1828. The prac-

tice of the law, however, did not satisfy him, and he at once took an ardent interest in politics, attaching himself naturally enough to the Jackson party. As a reward for his political services in the campaign, which closed with the triumphant election of the hero of New Orleans, Dix was in 1830 appointed Adjutant-General of the State, a position in which his military experience was of signal service. In 1833 he was elected Secretary of State. His practical knowledge of engineering was here of service in the Canal Board, and his fine literary training on the Board of Public Instruction, of both of which he was by virtue of his office a member.

In 1841 and 1842 he represented the county of Albany in the Legislature, and was one of the celebrated Albany Regency, a political oligarchy, which ruled the Democratic party with a rod of iron. On his return from a second visit to Europe in 1844 he was elected to the Senate to the United States, to fill the unexpired term of Silas Wright, who had resigned to run for Governor of the State of New York. All these were the well-devised plans of the Regency to hold the control of the State.

It was as Senator that Dix had the first opportunity of showing the independence and uprightness of his character. The slavery question was already beginning to control national legislation and to divide parties. To a man like Dix, whose early years were passed in the free air of the New Hampshire hills, and all of whose instincts were on the side of personal liberty, there could be no hesitation. He became at once the leader of the Free Soil wing of the Democratic party of New York, and its candidate for Governor in 1848, but was defeated by Hamilton Fish, and the Legislature also having passed into the hands of the Whig party, he was replaced in the Senate by Mr. Seward.

On the election of Pierce as President in 1852 he had the tender of important posts in his administration and abroad, but the ostracism of the Southern leaders would not allow of his acceptance. He received the appointment of Assistant United States Treasurer in New York in 1853, but his want of sympathy with the authorities at Washington soon led to his resignation of the office. In 1859 he was appointed Postmaster of New York.

The crisis of his career is now reached. On the breaking up of Buchanan's Cabinet at the outset of secession, Dix was forced upon the President as Secretary of the Treasury. It was in the short period that he held this post that he issued the famous order to a subordinate in New Orleans—"If any man attempt to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." Nor would he have asked of his subordinate that

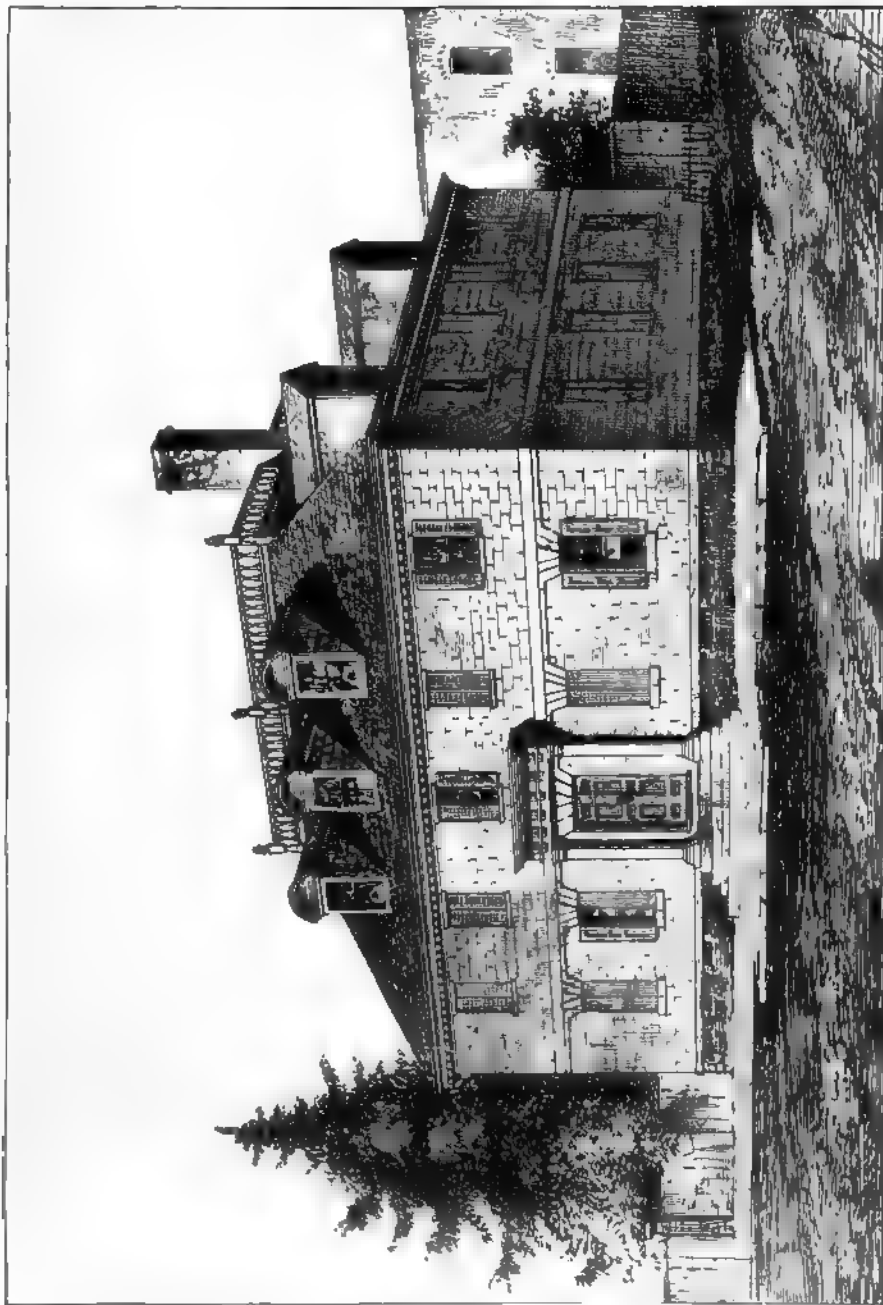
which he would not have done himself. In the administration of justice he was stern as an ancient Roman, as he showed when Governor of New York. No persuasion could bend his decision where public interests required the sternest application of the law.

After presiding at the famous meeting in Union Square, which electrified the country, on the news of the attack on Fort Sumter, he threw himself at once into the contest which had been summarily forced on the country, received the appointments of Brigadier and Major General of Volunteers in quick succession, and was assigned first to the Baltimore district, the post of danger, then to Fortress Monroe, and finally to the Eastern Department, with his headquarters at New York, in which difficult field his great administrative faculties were of invaluable assistance to the Government.

In 1866 he was appointed Minister to France, a post for which he was eminently fitted by the accomplishments of his mind, the graces of his person, and the dignified courtesy of his manners. Returned home in 1872, he was the unanimous choice of the Republican party for Governor, and elected by an immense majority. With this service his public life closed. While in its review no incident of special brilliancy attracts attention, it will be found that he was equal to every emergency, and showed a reserved intellectual power, sufficient for the severest strain, only found in minds of the highest order and natures thoroughly trained. While not a seeker of office, he understood his own fitness, and accepted government as his true career. Yet never did man hanker less for the power and emolument of place than he. Indeed side by side with his active political life, to which he devoted his active energies, he maintained the independent and distinct habits of a scholar. His translations of the classic poets into English verse are as fine renderings of the originals into their precise English equivalents as the language affords, gems in their exquisite chiseling and sparkle. Among these, the best known is his version of the *Monkish verses*, the *Dies Irae*, which is faultless in its adherence to meter and sense. He also leaves behind him two books, "*A Winter in Madeira*" and "*A Summer in Spain*," in which he records in easy passages his personal experiences of foreign travel. In conversation he was attractive, genial and instructive; scholarly, without the faintest tinge of pedantry. He was the idol of his home, and beloved by all with whom he was brought into personal contact.

In addition to these many social qualities, he had the love for outdoor sports and exercise which seems natural to statesmen. In a word, he was a thoroughly representative man of the best type of American character.





THE VERNON HOUSE, NEWPORT, R. I.—HEADQUARTERS OF ROCHAMBEAU.

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## THE RAIN FOREST OF THE ISLAND

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## THE FRENCH IN RHODE ISLAND

I—EXPEDITION OF COUNT D'ESTAING—1778

**T**HERE is no more beautiful instance of national gratitude than the affection with which France is regarded by the American people. While the traditional policy of the United States, the wise legacy of the Father of his country, has prevented any direct assistance to France in her many struggles, our sympathy and moral support have never failed her. Our regard has outlived the contemptuous encroachments of the first, and the unfriendly diplomacy of the second Empire; and now that, after nearly a century of struggle against the combined powers of Europe, the prejudices of her own higher classes, the faithlessness of her rulers, and the repressive forces of military power, she has shaken off the last shackle which bound her strong and noble limbs, and with firm and stately step entered upon full possession of her government, these American States, which she helped to found, return the cry with which their own declaration of independence was greeted—the cry of Live the Republic.

In its origin the sympathy of the United States for France was as sudden as in its continuation it has been steadfast. It sprung into life full grown in a moment. In the history of the two countries there is no evidence of any premonitory symptoms. The espousal of the cause of the people of the American colonies dissipated, as by the wand of enchantment the antipathy which the ancestral feud of the mother country with her rival across the channel had given to them as an inheritance, and the hot struggles of a hundred fields on the American Continent had perpetuated and heightened. Besides the feeling of national gratitude, which makes the name of France sacred to every true American, there still exists a lively recollection of the personal qualities of the gallant men who shared the privations, the dangers and the triumphs of





the American army. Wherever they lived, or camped or marched, their discipline, their manners and their charming social qualities endeared them individually to the populations whom they visited.

Before passing to a recital of the incidents of their sojourn in Rhode Island, a glimpse of the events which immediately determined the dispatch of an expeditionary corps to aid the Americans in their struggle may not be thought superfluous. A few general reflections will properly precede the narrative. It is quite the habit of historians, and particularly of French historians, to claim that the fall of the Bastille in 1789 was the opening of the Great Revolution. This is true in no sense of the word. It was in America that the universal aspiration towards individual liberty, under which the Continent of Europe was heaving during the middle of the eighteenth century, found first expression. The cry of "no taxation without representation" was the first distinct formula of the popular yearning. It was the volley of musketry that met the English troops at Lexington, before which the secular walls of the Bastille crumbled, and with it the first of a hundred thrones.

The declaration of hostilities was received with intense satisfaction by the French aristocracy. In no country is national spirit greater than in France; and the nobility, who owned the larger part of the land, and held all the great posts of trust, considered the honor of the country as in their keeping. Their pride had been deeply wounded by the mortifying conditions of the Treaty of 1763, the most glorious and advantageous to the arms of England, the most restrictive to the ambition of France in the history of the countries. By it France had virtually surrendered her claim to participate in the empire of the Western continent, where for more than a century she had maintained a not unequal control, and over which her fondest dream had been to acquire undisputed dominion.

The generous inspiration of Lafayette to abandon favor and promotion, and the delights of domestic felicity for service in the cause of liberty was not confined to his own young and manly breast. His example was immediately followed by numbers of the first gentlemen. Sympathy with America became the fashion in the higher circles of the gay court. The hesitation of the Government to sanction any overt movement in the almost hopeless condition of the finances of the kingdom was amply compensated by the ardor which inflamed not only the men, but the ladies of the capital. During the earlier half of the eighteenth century the favorites of the monarch had exercised a direct influence upon public affairs, and the influence of women, constantly

increasing, had become so powerful that they have been said to have so gotten the upper-hand at the period of the revolt of the American colonies "as to have subjugated the men to such an extent that they only felt or thought as the women felt." When, on the death of Louis the Fifteenth, the throne passed into the hands of Louis the Sixteenth, it was but the throne that passed. Marie Antoinette, by the same stroke of fortune, inherited the power that Du Barry had wielded; through the affection of the King she moulded the destinies of the State; and Marie Antoinette espoused the American cause.

The declaration of war, however, immediately checked the departure of the French youth as volunteers for the American service. To the French nobility, the most exclusive of Europe, the King was the fountain of honor. The proud cognomen of the Grand Monarque, *Le Roi Soleil*, and his device of the sun in meridian glory, was no vain boast. *Dieu et le Roi* was the sentiment of every nobleman in the kingdom. There were other reasons also why they preferred the King's service. The hopes of many of the volunteers who had crossed the seas had been sadly disappointed. They had encountered the difficulty of a strange language, the prejudice of religion, the antagonism of race, and the jealousies of the American youth, which not even political sympathy or common aspiration towards a larger liberty were always sufficient to overcome. Now, however, the path was smooth; the way of glory was the way to certain advancement as well, and the ranks of the service were rapidly filled. Among the most ambitious and distinguished of the officers already in the service was the Count d'Estaing.

At the instance of Count d'Estaing the Queen, little foreboding that the success of the revolt of the American colonies against the English crown would be the forerunner of a revolution, in which the crown of France and all that she held dear would be engulfed, herself persuaded the king to direct a naval expedition to be organized; Count d'Estaing was ordered with his squadron to the American coast, carrying with him Gérard de Rayneval with diplomatic powers to acknowledge the independence of the American Colonies, and to concert a scheme of offensive war. The squadron consisted of twelve ships of the line and four frigates. The Count hoisted his flag on the *Languedoc*. On the *Languedoc* also returned Silas Deane, one of the Commissioners of the United States to the Court of France. He brought with him letters from Vergennes and the special commendation of the king.

The fleet left Toulon the 13th of April, 1778, and passed the Straights of Gibraltar the night of the 17th to 18th May. On the 20th the

captains of the vessels opened their sealed dispatches, and learned their true destination. The Count d'Estaing was ordered to open hostilities at forty leagues distance west of Cape St. Vincent. High mass was held the same morning with great pomp on board the Languedoc. All the chief officers assisted in full-dress uniform. The commander's pennant and the national ensign were hoisted, and the ship decorated. The orders of reprisal and prize distribution were read amid the cheers of the crew and cries of *Vive le Roi*. The campaign was opened.

The time of sailing of the Count d'Estaing, and the secrecy of his destination, gave him reasonable assurance of surprising and defeating the squadron of Lord Howe, which was held at the mouth of the Delaware to cover the position of Sir Henry Clinton at Philadelphia. To effect this, and to anticipate any reinforcement of the British fleet, celerity of movement was requisite. Unfortunately the French fleet was badly composed; the vessels of widely unequal speed; thus the rapid sailers were kept back by the slower vessels. Moreover, the Count d'Estaing wasted valuable time in numerous useless evolutions. Land was only seen in July. On the 8th, eighty-seven days after their departure from Toulon, the fleet anchored off the mouth of the Delaware. The bird had flown. Sir Henry Clinton, obeying orders from home, had evacuated Philadelphia on the 22d June, and the army and fleet were now safe in the harbor of New York.

On the 11th Congress, which was then sitting at York, was informed by a letter from Silas Deane (written on the 10th) that the fleet was arrived in Delaware Bay, and measures were at once taken to supply a sufficient number of skillful pilots acquainted with the coast.

Dispatching the Frigate *Chimère* to Philadelphia to convey M. Gérard, the ambassador to Congress, D'Estaing set sail with his fleet, and came to anchor off Shrewsbury; but the determined attitude of Admiral Howe, who had strengthened himself by arming some transports, and the unwillingness of the American pilots, who went on board the Languedoc on the 16th, to take the larger vessels, which drew twenty-three, twenty-four and twenty-five feet of water, across the New York bar, effectually prevented any offensive action. On the 20th D'Estaing called a council of his captains, and in their presence offered one hundred and fifty thousand francs to the pilots, if they would attempt the passage, but they declined the undertaking as sure to end in failure.


Meanwhile Congress had directed General Washington to cooperate with the Count d'Estaing in the execution of such offensive operations

against the enemy as they should mutually approve, and empowered him to call upon the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey for the aid of their militia. An expedition to capture the British garrison in Rhode Island was arranged by Washington. General Sullivan, who was placed in command of the district of Rhode Island, was directed to form the American troops into two divisions, to the command of which Greene and Lafayette were assigned. The cooperation of d'Estaing was secured.

On the 22d July the French fleet raised anchor, and set sail to the southward, but changed their course as soon as they were out of sight of the English. The English forces in Rhode Island were under command of General Pigott and concentrated at Newport. The plan of attack agreed upon by the allies was that General Sullivan should land on the north of the island, protected by the French fleet, while d'Estaing would also force the passage of the principal channel, and take the fortifications of the town in reverse.

On the 29th of July the French fleet dropped anchor at the mouth of the great middle channel. The *Fantasque* and *Sagittaire* were ordered to watch the Narragansett or western passage, while the frigates *Aimable*, *Alcmène* and the corvette *Stanley* should anchor in the eastern passage, where the water was too shallow for vessels of heavier draft. The holding of these three passages cut off the retreat of the English vessels in the bay. At daylight on the 5th of August the *Sagittaire* and *Fantasque* sailed up the western passage, doubled the point of Conanicut Island, and dropped anchor in the middle passage. A number of English vessels were set on fire and destroyed, Commander Suffren with French generosity abstaining from firing upon the boats which landed their crews. The *Protecteur* and the *Provence* then took the positions of the *Sagittaire* and the *Fantasque* at the mouth of the Narragansett pass.

On the 8th of August, Sullivan announcing himself as ready to cross from the main land to Rhode Island, Count d'Estaing forced the middle passage with eight vessels under a heavy fire of the English batteries. In the night of the 8th Sullivan landed ten thousand men and a large force of artillery at the northern end of the island. On the morning of the 9th four thousand soldiers and sailors were landed from the fleet on Conanicut Island to be organized and drilled. This corps was intended to cooperate with the American forces, and to act under the orders of d'Estaing in person, who as a Major-General in the army



as well as an Admiral was entirely competent to the command. Well concerted as these arrangements appear to have been, they were nevertheless destined to fail in their purpose. Procrastination and delay were again to postpone the hour of action. In the first instance it has been shown, and here we quote the authority of M. le Capitaine Chevalier, whose admirable History of the French Marine during the War of American Independence supplies the most accurate details on record of its movements; in the first instance the plans of the French Government were defeated by the delay of the fleet in crossing the Atlantic. In the second, which now comes under notice, the plans of the allied forces were to fall to the ground from the delay of General Sullivan in his preparatory movements, a delay, which Bancroft has characterized as a whim.


While the precious hours between the 29th of July and the 9th of August were slipping away, and with them the golden opportunity which once lost never returns, Lord Admiral Howe was straining every nerve to succor the beleaguered garrison of Newport. Fortune favored his efforts. In the July days that followed the departure of the French fleet from Shrewsbury harbor, four British men-of-war had arrived at Sandy Hook from different quarters; one that had been separated from the fleet of Admiral Byron, two from Halifax and one from the West Indies. Thus reinforced, Admiral Howe felt strong enough again to put to sea, and on the 6th left Sandy Hook with thirteen ships, one of seventy-four, seven of sixty-four, five of fifty guns, seven frigates, and a number of transports, laden with troops, provisions and munitions of war. His appearance off the Rhode Island coast during the day of the 9th August, at the very time which, but for his arrival, would have proved what is termed in modern parlance the "psychological moment," for the British garrison, compelled an immediate change in the dispositions of d'Estaing. The men and material landed on Conanicut Island were immediately reembarked, offensive movements abandoned and measures taken to defend the entrance of the Bay. The French officers were eager for the encounter.

On the 10th a breeze stirring from the north-northeast, the French squadron cut their cables, and sailed out of the harbor. Admiral Howe, surprised by the rapidity of their movements, hastily signalled such of his vessels as had come to anchor, and stood out to sea under full sail. He thus avoided an unequal engagement, and drew the French from their positions. The superior sailing qualities of the English vessels, which the authority already mentioned frankly admits as decisive on

many important occasions, here in the first encounter on the American coast were plainly shown. The French were unable to force their enemy to an engagement. The next day the wind increased to a gale, and the two squadrons were separated and scattered. The want of homogeneity, in composition and speed, of the vessels of the French fleet now proved to be an element not only of disadvantage, but of positive danger. On the morning of the 13th the French Admiral found himself alone, with his ship *Le Languedoc* badly injured by the heavy storm, her bowsprit broken, her rigging down, and the helm of her rudder gone. In this situation she was attacked towards sunset by one of the enemy's vessels, who took advantage of her distress and raked her from the rear. The *Languedoc* was gallantly defended by her stern battery until darkness put an end to the conflict. The next morning all the vessels, except the *César*, rallied to the Admiral's flag. The squadron was again anchored, the *Languedoc* refitted with rigging and the damages to the other vessels repaired. The *Marseillais*, also attacked, had lost her mizzen-mast and bowsprit. Sail was again hoisted on the 17th, and on the 20th the fleet came to anchor off Rhode Island. Here d'Estaing was informed by Lafayette, who went in person on board the *Languedoc*, of a new peril.

On learning of the departure of the squadron of d'Estaing from Toulon, the British Admiralty ordered Admiral Byron to the American coast to reenforce Admiral Howe. Byron left Plymouth on the 12th June with thirteen vessels. Heavy weather dispersed the squadron. The Admiral himself put into Halifax, but others of the fleet within a few days arrived at New York. The British squadron was now superior in number and guns, while two of the best of the French vessels, the *Languedoc* and the *Marseillais*, were seriously disabled. A council of all the superior officers and captains was called by d'Estaing on board the *Languedoc*, when it was unanimously agreed that not a moment's delay should be made in making the port of Boston, where damages could be repaired in full security.

General Sullivan, who had impatiently awaited the return of the French to begin hostilities, was grievously disappointed, and endeavored to induce the Count d'Estaing to reconsider his decision; but without result; the situation was too grave to admit of delay, and on the 21st the squadron weighed anchor and set sail for Boston, which it reached in safety the 28th of the same month. This sudden departure placed General Sullivan in a difficult position, from which he extricated himself without serious loss, and with credit to himself and



his army. On the 31st of August he was safe on the mainland. The next day Sir Henry Clinton reached Newport with four thousand men, and an escort of several men-of-war. General Sullivan, chafing under his disappointment, indulged in unbecoming censure of the conduct of d'Estaing, and aroused a strong feeling against the French, which culminated in a riot in Boston, in which two of the officers of the fleet, Messieurs de Saint Sauveur and Pléville de Peley, were dangerously injured, the former mortally. The crisis was critical. A single false step might alienate the good will of the French Government, and turn back the feeling of friendship which had been brought to practical result with such difficulty. D'Estaing, with prompt spontaneity, which showed the elevation of his character, immediately offered to march his men overland from Boston to Newport to cooperate in an attack of the post. Fortunately the leaders of opinion were equal to the emergency. The indiscreet words of General Sullivan were disavowed by Washington and Greene, and even Congress, alarmed at the gravity of the emergency, adopted a resolution, bearing witness to its "appreciation of the zeal and attachment the Count d'Estaing had shown to the cause of the United States on several occasions, and especially in the noble and generous offer to march from Boston at the head of his troops to cooperate in the reduction of Rhode Island." The safe withdrawal of the American troops to the mainland rendered any such movement unnecessary.

Thus closed in defeat and disappointment the first visit of the French forces to the shores of Rhode Island. The overawed patriots, who still remained in Newport under the domination of the British garrison, here first saw the royal standard of France, with its golden fleur de lys on the broad field of white, floating in friendly guise. It is easy to imagine the joy which filled their hearts as the noble squadron sailed up the broad channels of the beautiful bay, and their sinking disappointment as the fleet of succor weighed final anchor, and under the pressure of an inexorable necessity spread their sails and took their eastern course. Not yet, however, had the citizens of the charming town made acquaintance with the personnel of the fleet, among whom was the flower of the French navy, men of fortune and of rank, all eager to shed their blood, if need be, in the cause of Liberty. Chief among the officers was the famous Bailli de Suffren, who had forced the middle passage with the *Fantasque* and the *Sagittaire*, and was to acquire fresh reputation in later campaigns.

Notwithstanding the failure of the main purpose of the expedition

its results were not without honor to the French arms. The English frigates *Grand Duke*, of forty guns; *Orpheus*, *Lark*, *Juno* and *Flora*, of thirty-two; *Cerberus* of twenty-eight; the corvettes *King Fisher*, *Falcon*, and some smaller vessels were burned by the English to avoid capture in the harbor; the corvette *Senegal* and a bomb ketch fell into the power of the French fleet after the storm of the 11th of August.

The operations of the French fleet along the coast and in the West Indies during the winter, and the check of the allies before Savannah in the fall of 1779, need not here be related. The presence of the French fleet on the coast compelled the British commanders to exercise the greatest circumspection in the uncertainty of what point might be next attacked, paralyzed their offensive efforts, and caused a concentration of their forces at New York. Among the important consequences was the hasty evacuation of Rhode Island on the 25 October. The next morning the American troops which had been stationed at Tiverton and Bristol crossed to the Island and took possession of Newport.

The fleet, which had left Toulon the 13th April, 1778, recalled by M. de Sartines, reached France on their return in the month of December, 1779. Notwithstanding his well-earned character for dash, bravery and patriotism, the Count d'Estaing did not carry home with him an increase of reputation. His officers entertained but slight opinion of his seamanship and conduct as a naval commander. The honors of the campaign were with the Bailli de Suffren, d'Orvillier, de Guichen, La Motte Picquet and others.

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## II—EXPEDITION OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU—1780—I

Among those whom the prospects of an European war determined to return to France to take service under the King, was the Marquis de Lafayette. A Major-General in the service of the United States, he received from Congress on the 21st October, 1778, an indefinite leave of absence, and the Minister at the Court of Versailles was directed to present him with a sword of honor in the name of the United States. Moreover, he carried a letter of special recommendation from Congress to the King. He was at this time in his twenty-second year. He sailed from Boston on the 11th January, 1779, on board the *Alliance*, a frigate of thirty-six guns, which the King had placed at his disposal. The arrival of the brilliant young nobleman




was an event in the gay capital. The King gave him the command of a regiment of dragoons, and he entertained hopes of immediate active service. Before joining his regiment, he used his prestige and great social influence to promote the interest of his friends beyond the sea. His entreaties for succor of vessels and money were incessant. Possessing the confidence of the Governments of both countries, he became the tie between them. The fear of a revival of the old colonial prejudice against the French nation, and the jealousy, which had already shown itself in the Continental army, of the French officers, for a long time restrained Lafayette from asking the Ministry for any assistance in men. Indeed, he had left America with an understanding that no such request should be made. Notwithstanding this injunction, and assuming the responsibility of the step, he made direct application to the Ministry early in 1780, and in a letter of the 20th of February to M. de Vergennes submitted a plan of operations for an expeditionary corps, to consist of thirty-six hundred men, to be under his personal command. Later, considerations presented themselves which decided him to resume his command in the American army.

Charged with private dispatches for Congress, he sailed from Rochefort on the 6th March in the King's frigate *Hermione*, of thirty-six guns, Chevalier de la Touche, commander, and arrived at Boston on the 27th April. He was received with acclamation and demonstrations of popular joy, and carried in triumph to the house of Governor Hancock. He at once informed Washington that he had intelligence of the last importance for his own ear, and on the 2d May set out for Headquarters at Morristown, which he reached the 10th May. The news which he brought was of the definitive intention of the French Court to send a fleet and army to cooperate with the Americans, and the rapid organization of the expeditionary corps. The details had been agreed upon before the departure of the Marquis from France, and for a time were kept a profound secret by Congress and the high military authorities. The British Government, however, were early aware of the equipment of the squadron at Brest destined for America, and in March Sir Henry Clinton was advised that Canada was probably aimed at. Perhaps it was known that this was the open desire of Lafayette. Indeed, it was only the jealousy of de Vergennes of any further aggrandizement of American power that prevented the expedition taking that direction.

State secrets, however, when they concern the movement of fleets and armies, are rarely secrets long. On the 17th May Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, the Tory sheet of New York City, announced that

"the Marquis de la Fayette had his audience of leave of his Majesty on the 29th of last month (February) on his return to America, where he is to serve under the Comte de Rochambeau, who goes out with the regiments de Bourbonnais, Auvergne, Saintonge, Neustrie, Roverque, Royal Deux-Ponts, Royal Corse and Anhalt; they are to march for Brest the 15th of this month. All the Colonels of these regiments are ordered to set out the 25th, to be present at the embarkation." The news spread with rapidity, though as yet there was only speculation as to where the fleet would make a landing. Upon his departure from Paris, 5th March, 1780, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to avoid mistake or delay, had ordered Lafayette to post officers at Cape Henry and on the Rhode Island coast to watch the arrival of the fleet, and convey to it all requisite information as to the plans of the Americans and the position of the enemy. In accordance with these instructions, the Marquis on the 19th May, 1780, wrote in duplicate to the Count de Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay, commander of the French squadron, with an elaborate exposition of the state of affairs, and the wishes of General Washington. The original was handed to M. de Galvan with instructions to proceed to the mouth of the Chesapeake, where the fleet would probably first make land, and copies were also sent by trusty messengers to Point Judith, and Seaconnet, the western and eastern points of the main-land coast of Rhode Island.

Steps were now taken for the reception and supply of the expected reinforcements. Congress, which had passed resolutions expressive of their satisfaction at the return of Lafayette, raised a committee to receive such communications as he had to make concerning the campaign, and to confer with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Minister to the United States. Later information was received, to the effect that the fleet would "in the first instance touch at Rhode Island, for the purpose of landing their sick and supernumerary stores, and to meet the intelligence necessary to direct their operations." This was communicated by Washington to Major-General Heath, who was then at his house in Roxbury on a temporary leave of absence from his command of the Highland posts. He was directed immediately to repair to Providence, to be ready to present himself to the French commanders on their arrival, with an offer of his advice and services. To no person could this delicate mission have been more safely entrusted than to Heath, in whose judgment Washington placed implicit confidence. He was of New England origin, and had only recently been transferred from the command of the Eastern District to




his new and important post. He was also instructed to establish a market between the fleet and army and the country, that the allies might not be imposed upon in their purchases. Heath left his house on the 15th, and reached Providence the next day, being met at the Patucket Bridge by Deputy Governor Bowen and others of the principal gentlemen of the town. Dr. Craik was sent on by Washington to take up houses for hospitals, and make other sanitary arrangements. Congress also busied itself in preparation. On the 29th May it called upon the several States to complete their battalions of the army with all possible dispatch. On the 5th June, by their President, they introduced to the Rhode Island Government Monsieur Louis Ethis de Corny, who had been appointed Commissary-General of the French forces. De Corny held the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry in the United States Army. He happened to be at Versailles when the expedition was concerted, and though not attached to it, obtained the appointment. He was escorted to Providence by a troop of horse; the Government ordered a house to be vacated for his accommodation, and at his request the handsome college building in the city, a large edifice in a salubrious situation, was given up for a hospital for the sick. On the 2d July, General Heath received news that the fleet left France on the 20th May, and that it was rumored there that if it fell to the northward, it would visit Halifax; if to the southward, it would proceed to Rhode Island.

The 4th of July, the anniversary of American independence, was celebrated at Providence with universal glee. Thirteen cannon were fired from the Park, and the Governor, the French Commissary and a number of gentlemen dined with General Heath.

The command of the French squadron was entrusted to Monsieur de Ternay, Chef d'Escadre. His fleet consisted of seven ships of the line: the Duc de Bourgogne, eighty guns; the Neptune and Conquérant, of seventy-four; the Provence, Eveillé, Jason, and Ardent, of sixty-four; three frigates, the Surveillante, Amazone, and Gentille, of thirty guns. Besides these were the corvette Fantasque, of twenty guns, armed *en flûte*, which was fitted as a hospital ship, and carried the heavy artillery, the treasure and numerous passengers, and the cutter La Guêpe, fourteen guns; in all, twelve vessels carrying six hundred and eighteen guns; the transports were thirty-two in number, upon which the expeditionary corps of five thousand was embarked. On the night of the 20th May, the wind turning to the northeast, the squadron, which had been at anchor at Bertheaume, in the roadstead of Brest, set

sail. Although detained for several days in the gulf of Biscay by a sudden change of wind, the fleet gained an offing without meeting a single hostile cruiser. M. de Ternay had not been without apprehension that his movements would be interfered with by the squadron which Admiral Graves was known to be fitting out at Portsmouth, for the express purpose of pursuing and forcing him to action. On the 20th June the French fleet was to the southwest of the Bermudas, running rapidly before the wind, when five British vessels were signalled to the northeast, bearing straight down. Order of battle was formed, and the transports sent to leeward. The hostile vessels were part of a division of Commodore Cornwallis, returning to the Antilles after escorting a convoy to the Bermudas. The English, discovering that they were in presence, not of a merchant fleet, but a superior armed force, changed their course. One of the English vessels became separated from her companions, and would have fallen a prey to de Ternay, had not his prudence dictated to him the danger of an action which might expose his convoy. The two squadrons held the same course during the day, but under cover of the night the English Commodore turned to the southward, and M. de Ternay held on his way to the American coast. On the 4th July, just before dark, he arrived at the mouth of the Chesapeake, where his frigates signalled to him the presence of ten or twelve sail at anchor in the bay. Fearing that the strange vessels might make part of the squadron of Arbuthnot, who was on the American station, or of Graves, who was expected, de Ternay, with commendable judgment, changed his course several times during the night, and the next day steered straight for Rhode Island.

As they neared the land they entered one of the heavy fogs for which the coast is famous. They were heartily weary of the long protracted passage. The condition of the sick was such that one who was of the expedition, Commissary Blanchard, relates that it was questionable whether even an action would be more murderous than a longer stay at sea. Perhaps the fog lifting might reveal the presence of an enemy in superior force. Finally at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th land was descried from the masts of the *Conquérant*; it had already been signalled by a merchantman who had been captured. It was Martha's Vineyard that was seen. The moment was one of excitement; the sick came out from their beds with joy. No enemy was in sight. At eight o'clock the fleet hove to. Early in the morning of the 10th it again weighed anchor; about noon pilots came on board from the neighboring islands to offer their services. The fleet again anchored



at ten. On the morning of the 11th sail was made, but the weather being foggy, and the signal of danger being made by one of the convoy, the fleet anchored again. About eight o'clock the fog lifted, and the shore line was distinctly visible. Point Judith, only a league distant; beyond, the Newport point, and what was most satisfactory, on each of the points of the shore, the French flag, white with golden fleur de lis, was discovered. This was the signal agreed upon with Lafayette that Rhode Island was safe in American hands, and the French would be well received. General de Rochambeau with his staff went at once on board the frigate *Hermione*, and sailed for Newport, where he landed before noon.

The prudence of de Ternay, in using all speed to reach his destination, and in avoiding any conflict which would in the least delay his course, was in happy contrast with the dilatoriness of d'Estaing in the preceding campaign. In fact, any other course might have seriously compromised the success of his mission, safely to land the expeditionary corps, an event from which the happiest consequences were expected by all the friends of the United States. Admiral Graves left Portsmouth in pursuit with seven vessels early in May. He met in the Channel the same westerly gale which detained the French squadron in the gulf. Compelled to turn back by stress of weather, he passed fifteen days in the port of Plymouth. Putting to sea again, he crowded sail to reach the American coast before the French, and on the 13th July, only forty-eight hours after the arrival of de Ternay at Rhode Island entered the port of New York, where he found Arbuthnot with four vessels. A few days later the French fleet would have found its course to Rhode Island blocked by eleven vessels.


The circumstances which attended the arrival of the squadron of de Ternay were in as striking contrast to those which met that of d'Estaing as the conduct of their commanders. The one was received with a hot and angry fire, and only entered the hostile harbor by sheer force; the second visit of the French to Rhode Island was welcomed with every demonstration of popular joy.

As soon as the squadron was safely anchored, the troops of de Rochambeau were landed. They sadly needed repose after their passage, more than a third being on the sick list on their arrival. The sick were immediately moved to the interior, where arrangements had been made for their reception, as has been previously shown, and the forts which defended the town were put in the possession of the French, who at once set to work to remodel and put them in a situation for defence.

The account of the forces given by the New York Tory sheet was not far from the truth. Owing to a want of transports, the regiments of Neustrie and Anhalt, with two or three hundred men of Lauzun's legion, were left in France. The troops embarked, five thousand and eighty-eight men, consisted of the regiments of Bourbonnais, Soissonnais, Saintonge, Royal Deux-Ponts, the latter an Alsatian regiment, about five hundred artillerists and six hundred men of Lauzun's legion, three hundred of whom were intended for a troop of horse.

On the appearance of the fleet in the offing, a dispatch was sent to General Heath, at Providence, who was engaged preparing for their reception and provisioning by the establishment of an equitable market between the fleet and the country. The dispatch reached General Heath at one o'clock at night. On the 11th an express was sent to General Washington, whose headquarters were at Bergen county, in New Jersey, and General Heath took the packet down the bay to Newport. The day being calm, he only reached the harbor at midnight. The Count de Rochambeau had gone on shore in the evening. The next morning General Heath waited on the Count on shore. After breakfast he went on board the Duc de Bourgogne, and paid his respects to the Chevalier de Ternay. At ten the Admiral saluted the town with thirteen guns, which were returned with a like number. In the evening of the 12th, the town was beautifully illuminated, and thirteen grand rockets were fired in front of the State house, much to the delight of the French. A letter from Newport (published in the New Jersey Gazette, August 2, 1780) says of this occasion, in the stately style of the period, that the "brilliant appearance of the numerous Gentlemen, Officers of the fleet and army of our illustrious ally who were on shore, with that of the Ladies and Gentlemen of the town, and the joy which every friend to liberty expressed on the happy occasion, afforded a pleasing prospect of the future felicity and grandeur of this country, in alliance with the most polite, powerful and generous nation in the world."

On the 12th General Heath dined with the Count de Rochambeau. On the 13th the Chevalier de Ternay and the principal officers of the squadron went on shore. On the 14th the Count de Rochambeau and the General officers of the French army dined with General Heath, and in the days succeeding mutual entertainments were exchanged in what Heath terms "happy fraternity." Even this word "fraternity," later famous as one of the French revolutionary trilogy, antedated, it will be observed, the rising of 1789. It must not be imagined, however, that with all this gayety the Frenchmen found their bed one of roses, or enjoyed a lazy interval of repose.




The French troops, on their disembarkation, were immediately encamped across the island, covering the town, their left resting on the sea, and their right on the ships at anchor, which lay under the protection of batteries which de Rochambeau erected on commanding positions, and carefully flanked with earthworks. These batteries the French manned with their guns, which excited the surprise of the Americans. In the words of a contemporaneous account, "the great and small artillery landed by our generous allies, and disposed in different parts of this town and island, exceed anything of the kind ever seen here. They have brass cannon from 4 to 48 pounders, and in great plenty." Nor will any wonder at their admiration who has seen in our arsenals, as glorious reminders of the heroic days, the beautiful pieces of ordnance from the French foundries of the period, ornamented with wreaths and decorations, bearing baptismal names, and some cheering or loving device engraved in quaint lettering. Guns to love, to stand by, and die by, if duty calls, with pride. The disposition of the works and batteries was such that a rapid concentration could be made by interior lines on any threatened point. In twelve days the port was in a state of reasonable defense. The works were not yet completed when intelligence was received of the arrival of Admiral Graves at Sandy Hook on the 13th. Well might Rochambeau, as he frankly does in his memoirs, congratulate himself on de Ternay's prudent and successful avoidance of this fleet, from which they might have had rough usage.

On the 21st July, in the afternoon Admirals Graves and Arbuthnot made their appearance off the harbor with eleven vessels; one of ninety, six of seventy-four, three of sixty-four and one of fifty guns. The next day the number of the British vessels had increased to nineteen, of which eight or nine were line-of-battle ships. While they cruised off and on, the French squadron held their station, stretching from Rose Island to Goat Island Harbors. Hesitating to run the fire of the French, the British commanders concluded to await the arrival of Clinton, who was preparing a corps to repeat against the allies their own unsuccessful operation of 1778.

The news of the arrival of the French spread with great rapidity. The continent throbbed with it. The express of General Heath, with letters from Rochambeau, enclosing copies of his instructions from the King, reached Washington at headquarters at Bergen county on the 14th. It was carried by Colonel de la Rochefontaine. The same day it was announced to the troops, and received, in the words of an officer,

whose letter has been preserved, with great joy. It was known at Philadelphia, where Congress then held its sessions, on Sunday, the 15th. Nor were the enemy in their stronghold in New York far behind in gaining the intelligence. The preliminary movement had not escaped their observation. An article appeared in Rivington's Royal Gazette, so curious in its details and so characteristic of the Franco-phobia which animated the English of the eighteenth century as thoroughly as it does the Germans of the nineteenth, that it is given entire. "We are informed," the editor writes on the 16th, "that the rebels are busily employed in making fascines, gabions and other articles for carrying on military operations: as from the Marquis de Lafayette's report to Mr. Washington that the Chevalier de Ternay may be expected at this time to land a body of troops on this Continent; in which case possession of the land would be taken in the name of the French King; \* \* \* however in this intention they probably will be molested by a power that has hitherto often proved too mighty for the united house of Bourbon. The prospect of a French army landing in the northern provinces alarms the Republican fraternity in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Should their Roman Catholic allies ever nestle themselves on one of the revolted States, it is apprehended their Independence must give way to the establishment of a French Government, laws, customs, &c., ever abhorrent to the sour and turbulent temper of a Puritan." On the 18th, news of the arrival of the fleet reached the city. On the 25th that of their landing on Conanicut was made public. On the 2d of August the same Tory sheet announced that "the French Admiral has taken possession of Rhode Island in the name of the King of France, and displayed the French colours without the least deference to the flag of their ally, the revolted Americans; this affords disgust and mortification to the rebels, evincing that their Roman Catholic friends intend to keep possession of all they seize on in North America." The rumor of the hoisting of the French flag no doubt sprung from the posting of the two French flags at the entrance of the harbor as signals of safety to the approaching fleet.

First impressions are rarely effaced. The courtly polish of the French contrasted strikingly with the overbearing arrogance which the colonists had, with rare exceptions, met from British officers. A Providence letter of the 22d, made public in the newspapers, is explicit on this point: "The French officers of every rank," it says, "have rendered themselves agreeable by that politeness which characterizes the French nation;" and adds that "the officers and soldiers wear cockades





of three colors, emblematic of a triple alliance between France, Spain and America." This seems to have been the first use of the tri-color. Such was the impression produced by the French. It is of equal interest to know how our plain, practical ancestors appeared to foreign eyes, accustomed to splendor and display.


Newport before the revolution was one of the most commercial cities on the continent. Its merchants traded with every port which the exclusive regulations of the British navigation laws left open to their enterprise. No town in the colonies was more prosperous, and in none was social life on a more generous scale. Close relations with Bristol, the most liberal of English cities, and a free intercourse with foreign countries gave to the little town a cosmopolitan coloring. If evidence be needed of the truth of this assertion, it may be found in the fact that there were in the city three hundred families of Jewish race; that peculiar people, whose steps for nineteen centuries have marked the commercial highways of the world, pausing only where they found liberty, if not freedom; toleration, if not perfect equality; and everywhere by their industry and patriotism adding to the prosperity of the people among whom they dwelled. In the enjoyment of material comforts, which successful trade brought to its merchant princes, the arts and sciences were not neglected. In the well-poised words of the accomplished orator, who summed up its history on the centennial of the national birthday: "The people of Newport in 1774 possessed as much wealth, enterprise, intelligence and refinement as any other place in America." Foreign languages were commonly understood here also, as the records of the great mercantile houses show. Spanish was the commercial medium of the last century, and French the *sine qua non* of a polite education.

The population of Newport, about nine thousand souls in 1774, had dwindled rapidly. It lost four thousand in the succeeding year. During the three years that it was in the British occupation, from 6th December, 1776, to the 25th October, 1779, the island had endured every form of suffering that the presence of an enemy could inflict. Its thick forests, luxuriant in the moderate and moist temperature; its extensive orchards, the fame of the fruit of which was European even; its numerous plantations of ornamental shrubbery, had all been cut down and consumed. Such had been the destruction, that in the severe winter of 1779-80 wood was sold at twenty dollars the cord, while corn brought four, and potatoes two dollars the bushel.

In an anonymous journal, which the indefatigable and lamented author of *Les Français en Amérique*, the late Thomas Balch,

rescued from oblivion, and which is ascribed by him to M. le Baron Cromot du Bourg, an aid of de Rochambeau, there is a curious description of Rhode Island and Newport, as they appeared to him at this period. He found the country in its irregularity not unlike parts of the Normandy coast. He was surprised to see the fields fenced in by rude walls of stones, piled one upon another, and by the large area covered by the villages, some of which, he relates, were four and five, and even fifteen miles long, with houses thinly scattered here and there. Rhode Island, he says, "must before the war have been one of the most agreeable spots in the world, as, in spite of the disasters it has been subjected to, its houses destroyed and all its woods cut down, it is still a most charming residence." The land seemed to him very much cut up. This was before the subdivision of French soil among small holders, it must be remembered, and therefore attracted his attention. A few of the fields were under cultivation; there were extensive orchards, as fine as in Normandy. There was but little game on the island, but great numbers of domestic animals. He notices particularly the horses, though he found them in small variety. They were excellent leapers, being early trained to this exercise; and he also remarks upon their peculiar gait, the French amble, of which they would not be cured; a life-like description of the Narragansett pacer. Of Newport he says that it is "the only town on the island, with but two principal streets, but still a pretty town. Three-fourths of the houses are scattered at a distance, and are in themselves small farms." In the houses the French found little to admire, the summit of architecture being a building of brick; but they speak with unstinted praise of their interior comfort.

Abundant letters remain to show the opinion the French officers formed of their American hosts. Rochambeau notices particularly the independence of religion from politics, the strict observance of the Sabbath, the universal hospitality, the liberty accorded to young women and the utter indifference of single women to married men. He praises the virtue of the women and their intelligent motherhood. In the dwellings of the rich merchants he found elegant English furniture, while the dresses of the ladies were of the last fashion of Paris. Memoirs of the officers contain personal notices also of the ladies whom they met. De Lauzun's description of the Hunter family, with whom he resided at Newport, is too familiar to be repeated. These charming ladies are only cited as a type of the breeding and culture of the higher social circles of the last century. The appetites of the Americans seem to




have greatly astonished the French. Four meals a day they found to be common. Indeed, they go so far as to say that our good forefathers spent most of their time at table.

A plan of the town of Newport, surveyed by Charles Blaskowitz, engraved and published by William Faden, Charing Cross, September 1, 1777, gives a perfect representation of the old town, as it essentially remains to-day. Thames and Spring streets were then as now the principal streets. The beautiful avenues and estates, which encircle the older city in arms of green, matchless in wealth of foliage and incomparable lawns of tender verdure, are a growth of this century. This excellent plan is not our only guide to the old city. There still exists in the possession of Mr. Henry T. Drowne of Rhode Island, now a resident of New York City, a French manuscript chart, giving a complete list of the houses occupied by the French officers, with the names of their owners, the streets in which they were, and even the street numbers. Here we find that the Count de Rochambeau was quartered in the house of William Vernon, in New Lane, No. 302, corner of Mary and Clarke streets; Baron de Vioménil, his *Maréchal de Camp*, at the house of Joseph Wanton, 214 Thames street, while de Tarlé, the Intendant, had his Quartermaster-General's office, at No. 274 of the same street; Desandrouins, Colonel of the Engineers, was at the house of Colonel John Malbone, 28 Thames street; and the afterwards famous Count de Fersen, the devoted adorer and faithful friend of Marie Antoinette, made his home with Robert Stevens, one of the principal merchants of the day. The Duke de Lauzun, gayest of the gay youths, found a welcome at the hands of Mrs. Deborah Hunter, at 264 Thames street. Of the high officers of the fleet, the Chevalier de Ternay lived at the (Colonel) Wanton house on the point, 608 Water street, and the gallant Destouches with William Redwood, at 627 of the same street. The Provost Marshal opened his office at the town prison, and the Paymaster knew that his chest would be safe, and perhaps his bills find easy discount, with the Jewish merchants Seixas and Levy, at 314 Ruppert street. Some of the houses thus occupied still remain, or have only recently been destroyed. Of these, on or near Washington Square, the centre of the old town, the most celebrated are the Vernon Mansion, the Hunter House and the once elegant building, noted for its rich and elaborately furnished interior, then the dwelling of Mr. Levy.

While the newly landed troops were recovering their health and vigor in the genial climate, and the officers accustoming themselves to the simple manners they found on the primitive soil, Rochambeau and de

Ternay waited impatiently the arrival of the second detachment. The original expeditionary force was to have consisted of 7,683 men, but from the lack of transports 2,645 were left behind. The letter of Lafayette, which was placed in Rochambeau's hands on his arrival, had urged an immediate descent upon New York, which had been for a long time the point to which the mind of Washington was chiefly directed as the key of the seaboard. In the opinion of Rochambeau success was not sufficiently assured to risk the venture; indeed the superiority of the naval strength of the English had at once placed any movement of the allies, which involved a cooperation of the French fleet, out of the question.

Although the continent rejoiced over the new situation, Washington was anxious and impatient. In a letter of July 22d, to the Hon. Joseph Jones, as yet unpublished, although some of the same thoughts appear in other parts of his correspondence at this juncture (a letter preserved in the extensive collection of Mr. J. C. McGuire of the District of Columbia), Washington says: "This is a decisive moment, and I will go further and say *the* most important America has seen. The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance, and (if) we disappoint its intentions by our supineness we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind." Passing then to a consideration of the comparative situations of France and England, he draws the conclusion that France was not in a condition to endure the taxation, which another campaign would involve, for any duration. The circumstances of France therefore, as well as those of America, he concluded, called for peace, and to obtain it one great effort must at once be made. If the American States did their duty, the campaign might be made decisive, but the duty must be done in earnest, or disgrace would be the consequence. While thus, by public counsel and private appeal, urging the Legislatures to action, he pressed Rochambeau to movement with equal vigor. Lafayette, who shared his impatience, hurried to the French camp. He arrived in Newport on the 21st July, and at once submitted the plan, devised by Washington, of an attack on New York, to which Rochambeau objected the sanitary condition of his troops and his expectation of the arrival at any moment of at least twenty-five hundred men, and probably a much larger force; moreover, he added, the Chevalier de Ternay had written to Admiral de Guichen, who commanded the French fleet on the West-India Station, calling upon him to send the five vessels promised from his squadron, and concluded that he hoped to be ready to take part in the present campaign before its close,




and in the next, certainly, with greatly superior forces. A summary of this conversation was sent by Lafayette to Rochambeau immediately on his arrival at headquarters; Lafayette added that in his judgment the fate of America depended upon the activity of the French army during the summer, and complained that the occupation of Rhode Island was of no use to the Americans. Rochambeau replied in a vein of satire that he had never heard that the occupation of Rhode Island had done the Americans any harm; that the presence of the fleet left the American privateers free for excellent service; and closed by saying that he awaited the orders of his *Generallissime* (Washington), of whom he entreated an interview. This letter Lafayette answered by an apology, expressing his mortification to see the French fleet blockaded in Rhode Island and the troops inactive. De Rochambeau closed this part of their correspondence by reminding his impetuous young friend that even the port of Brest had been blockaded for more than two months by an English fleet, which had prevented the despatch of the second division, and added, referring to a movement of the troops, that he awaited the moment which promised certain success, saying, in words as creditable as they were true, "that he had an experience of command of forty years, and that of fifteen thousand men who had been killed or wounded under his orders, he could not reproach himself with the loss of a single person killed on his account." Washington was disappointed, and for a long time did not seem disposed to grant the interview Rochambeau requested. He pleaded the embarrassment of leaving his camp. De Ternay also positively declined to accede to Washington's urgent request to proceed to Sandy Hook, the passage of which was too dangerous for vessels of the draught of his seventy-fours.

On the 25th and 26th July intelligence arrived of an intended attack by Clinton with ten thousand men. General Heath at once ordered Colonel Greene, with his regiment of Continentals, to take post at Bristol Ferry, at the mouth of the Pocasset River, and on Butts' Hill to command the northern approaches to the island. He also called on the Governor of Rhode Island for fifteen hundred men, the militia regiments of Colonels Tyler and Perry and for eight hundred men, Massachusetts troops, under Brigadier Godfrey. Signals were put out as far as Watch Hill. On the 31st Heath was advised by Washington, who had crossed the Hudson with all the militia he could gather, that he was about to move down from the Highlands towards Kingsbridge, either to create a diversion or attack, as circumstances should favor. On Rhode Island all was bustle and activity. "The militia came

in with great spirit. They were formed into brigades, and every disposition made for instant and vigorous defence at every point where it was supposed an attempt might be made. The batteries were strengthened, a very strong one erected on Rose Island, and redoubts on Coasters Island; the strong works on Butts' Hill pushed; avenues across the fields, by the shortest routes, were opened from the encampment of the French army to those points where their instant presence might be judged necessary; and marks fixed, at small distances from each other, to prevent any mistakes in the routes either by day or night. Indeed no precaution was omitted, or probable advantage of ground or situation neglected. Had Sir Henry made the attempt which he menaced, he would undoubtedly have met a warm reception; but for some reason or other he gave up his design, and the militia were again sent home. Perhaps on no occasion, says General Heath, from whose diary this soldierly account is taken, "did the militia discover more ardour in pressing to the field, or more regularity when there, than at that time, which was everywhere testified by the inhabitants."

Clinton actually embarked six thousand men at Throg's Neck on transports, but, when everything was ready, he changed his mind, crossed the Sound to Huntington Bay, and disembarked at Whitestone on the 31st July. In a letter to Lord Germaine (August 14, 1780) he attributes his change of plan to the information he had of the attention the enemy had given to fortify themselves, and intimates some disagreement between himself and the Admiral. The rapid movement of Washington was no doubt the controlling cause. In the same letter Clinton abandons all idea of making any attack upon the allied forces.

On Monday, the 21st August, a committee of the General Assembly of the State, which was then sitting in Newport, waited on de Rochambeau with an address, congratulating him upon his safe arrival, expressing their hope that the campaign would result to the peace and happiness of the contending forces and mankind in general, and pledging their efforts to supply the necessary refreshments for the troops, and to render the service happy and agreeable to all ranks. A similar address was presented to Admiral de Ternay. The reply of Rochambeau was a model of wisdom. His words, carrying with them the authority of the King, spread rapidly over the country. His distinct declaration that he and his troops were subordinate to General Washington allayed the fear which existed among the Americans, that the French commanders would endeavor to maintain a distinct and independent authority; a fear which the British had done all in their power to aggravate. It satisfied the



people also that they need have no dread of a forced occupation of their homes, or a repetition of the supercilious insolence which had been one of the chief causes of discontent with the British garrisons.

Rochambeau, as has been seen, had determined to remain on the defensive until reinforcements should arrive, the French fleet be augmented to superiority over the English, or the British forces at New York be decreased by detachments to the southward. In the beginning of September news was received that de Guichen's squadron had been seen on the southern coast, and de Ternay entertained hopes of relief. Concert of action was now necessary. Clinton's quiet relieving Washington of the embarrassment he had felt of leaving camp, he wrote to Rochambeau, proposing an interview at Hartford on the 20th of September. The conference was gladly accepted, and took place as appointed. Knox, Lafayette and M. de Gouvion, a French officer, Chief of Engineers, were present with Washington, while the Marquis de Chastellux appeared with the French commander; a plan of operations was discussed and agreed upon, but was frustrated in the very moment of its conception by confirmation of the news of the arrival at New York of Admiral Rodney, from the West Indies, with a fleet of twenty-one vessels. The commanders hastily returned to their posts. The French forces had been left under the command of the Baron de Vioménil, who, extremely uneasy, had sent express after express to urge the return of his superiors. At the Hartford interview Washington was attended by six of his Aids, among whom were MacHenry and Hamilton, and Rochambeau by his Aids, the Counts de Fersen, Dumas and de Damas. The interview, quotes Bancroft, "was a genuine festival for the French, who were impatient to see the hero of liberty." De Fersen describes him as "illustrious, if not unique in our age. His fine and majestic face, while mild and frank, reflects his moral qualities. He looks the hero; he is very cold, speaks but little, but is polite and frank. An air of sadness overshadows his countenance, which is not unbecoming, and renders him yet more interesting."

Towards the close of September Admiral Rodney arrived off Newport. During the inaction of Arbuthnot the allies had strained every nerve to strengthen their position. Several works were thrown up at Brenton's Point and on the Conanicut and Race Islands, and armed with thirty-six and twenty-four pounders. The fire from these batteries crossing with that from the vessels secured the principal passages. After reconnoitering the position, the British Admiral abandoned the idea of an attack, and returned to New York. In November

Admiral Rodney set sail again for the Antilles, leaving twelve vessels to Admiral Arbuthnot, who took station in Gardner's Bay to watch the motions of the French fleet.

The monotony of the camp was occasionally relieved. On the 2d August the French were interested by the arrival of nineteen Indian warriors. This deputation had been arranged by General Schuyler in the hope of detaching the savage tribes from the English, and strengthening their union with the allies. During the colonial wars the French and the Iroquois had maintained friendly relations. Thirteen were selected from the Oneidas and Tuscaroras; the other five were Caghnawagas from the Sault St. Louis, near Montreal. They were accompanied by Mr. Deane as interpreter. The Canada Indians asked to hear mass on their arrival. Rochambeau received them with attentive ceremony and entertained them at dinner, on which occasion Blanchard says "they behaved themselves well, and ate cleanly enough." General Heath also gave them what he styles a "sumptuous treat." After dinner they performed their war dances before the officers of the armies to the delight of the French, who had never witnessed a similar performance. On the afternoon of Thursday, the 24th August, they were invited to witness a grand review of the French army, preceded by alternate discharges of cannon from the batteries in and around the town, and a *feu de joie* from the troops. Nothing, wrote an eye witness, could exceed the fine appearance of the troops, or the universal satisfaction of the great concourse of spectators.

The next day, Friday the 25th, the birth of His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI., was celebrated with great pomp. The ships of war were ornamented by a display of the colors of the different maritime powers, and fired a salute on the occasion. The French transports were also decorated with colors, and fired a salute in honor of the day. Never before had the birthday of a Catholic king or French monarch been celebrated in a town of protestant Englishmen; no more remarkable illustration of the change which had taken place in American sentiments; perhaps the initial dawn of the religious toleration now the just pride of the American nation. And not at Newport only, over which the white flag of France, floating gaily in the summer breeze, waved its protecting folds, but in every city not occupied by the enemy, and in the American camp, then pitched at Orangetown, similar honors were paid, while at Philadelphia the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Ambassador, gave an elegant entertainment, at which, amid great enthusiasm, toasts were pledged to the King, the United States and the commanders of the combined armies.



After dining on board the *Duc de Bourgogne* with the Admiral the Indians took their leave on the 2d September. Before they left the camp they were duly harangued by Rochambeau. They went away laden with presents, among which some red French blankets which greatly pleased them. On the 2d October the Chevalier de la Luzerne paid a visit to the camp. On the 6th a mock battle was fought on the island between a detachment of the French army and Colonel Greene's Continental regiment, to the interest and amusement of the spectators. The Indians marvelled much at the discipline of the French, and to find even the apples in the orchards untouched; all accounts concur in their remarkable respect for private property.


At the Hartford conference it was decided to send a trusty messenger to the French Court to hasten the despatch of the reinforcements and money to pay the troops, and the Vicomte de Rochambeau, Colonel of the regiment d'Auvergne, who was serving on the staff of his father, was selected for this delicate mission. On the 28th October, a gale of wind having dispersed the blockading squadron, La Perouse took advantage of the occasion, went out with the *Amazone*, and although hotly pursued, and losing her mainmast, got safely through. This was the La Perouse later famous for his voyages and discoveries.

The approach of winter brought with it new duties. The wood on the island having all been cut down and consumed it was impossible to hut the troops. Arrangements were made with the State authorities by which the damaged houses should be repaired at French expense and occupied as winter quarters. Twenty thousand livres, says Rochambeau in his memoirs, were spent in these repairs.

The corps took possession of their quarters in November; the regiment Bourbonnais first, the others in succession. The cavalry of de Lauzun's legion, with the artillery horses, was sent into Connecticut, where forage was plenty, to the Lebanon barracks. The Duke de Lauzun, who was a universal favorite, gave a ball in Providence on his way through on the 9th; de Chastellux followed him on the 12th; he was on a visit to Washington's camp; soon after the Marquis de Laval, the Baron de Custine and the Count de Deux-Ponts went on a tour to the interior. The Vicomte de Noailles and the Count de Damas also visited Washington at his headquarters at New Windsor, and were charmed with their reception. Rochambeau occupied himself in looking for quarters for the second division when it should appear, and passed through the towns of New London, Norwich and Windham in Connecticut, paying a visit to Lauzun at Lebanon upon his journey.

On his return to camp he found his fellow-commander, de Ternay, ill of a fever, but no alarming symptoms showing themselves, he continued his tour as far as Boston. While he was absent de Ternay fell a victim to his disease. He was taken on shore on the 14th, and died in the Hunter house on the 15th of December. On the 16th, the day being remarkably fine, the Admiral was buried with great pomp. The cortège was the most imposing ever seen in the streets of Newport. The land forces were all under arms; the sailors bore the coffin on their shoulders; at the grave the priests, nine in number, chanted the funeral service as the corpse was slowly consigned to the earth in the cemetery of Trinity Church. In 1785 an elegant monument was erected over the remains by order of the King of France. It was composed of a large and beautiful slab of Egyptian marble, with an inscription in gold. Below the inscription and between the brackets is an escutcheon charged with the insignia of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem. The slab was designed for the interior of the church, but as no suitable place could be found for it within the building, it was set over the grave, where it gradually crumbled under the exposure. It was first erected on the west side of the gate, but its position was changed in 1794 at the expense of the officers of the frigate *Meduse*. In 1873 it was restored at the expense of the United States, an appropriation of eight hundred dollars being unanimously voted for the purpose. This act of national patriotism was the occasion of an agreeable correspondence between the governments of the two countries. The restoration was executed under the direction of the Marquis de Noailles, then the French Minister to the United States, and the slab transferred to the vestibule of the church, where it now is. A granite stone was placed upon the tomb, in which lie the bones of the Admiral, with a short inscription, which, like that on the monument, is in Latin. The Admiral died, honored and beloved by friend and foe. Rivington announces his death in the *Royal Gazette* as that "of an officer of distinguished reputation; a gentleman of most excellent heart and amiable disposition; \* \* \* a real ornament of the elegant nation from which he was derived." The command of the fleet now devolved on the Chevalier Destouches, the senior officer of the squadron, who carried out to the letter the instructions of his predecessor.

About Christmas a vessel from Nantes brought word of a change in the French Ministry, M. de Castries succeeding de Sartines as Minister of the Marine. This news was of the highest importance. To understand its full significance a short retrospect is necessary. De



Sartines, who had been the Minister of Marine from the 24th August, 1774, and a member of the King's Council since 1775, showed great capacity in building up the French navy, and but little skill in the use of it. He had neither the prestige nor the power to reform its innumerable administrative abuses. Accused by Neckar of irregularity in his accounts by an expenditure of an excess of twenty millions over the extraordinary credit granted the marine by the act of the 14th October, 1780, he had been dismissed from his post. His successor, the Marquis de Castries, had greatly distinguished himself as a military officer at the battle of Clostercamp, but had, as yet, shown no administrative powers. The importance of the change was the triumph of Neckar, whose fame as a successful financier was in its full meridian. Appointed Assistant Treasurer in 1776, and Director-General of the Finances in 1777, he was thoroughly familiar with the condition of France. He now undertook a thorough reform in the administration. In a *compte-rendu* of the expenses and receipts of the kingdom he showed an excess of revenue under the new regime, and convinced the capitalists of Europe of the solidity of France. The effect was instantaneous; his loans were freely taken, and the operations of the navy and army, which had languished, were at once resumed. The plans of the ministry were not yet made known, however, to the commanders in America. Indeed they were not even communicated with.


The weary hours of waiting for reinforcement were occasionally relieved by social gaieties. On the evening of the 3d January, 1781, the officers of the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts gave an elegant ball to the ladies of Newport. The Duke de Deux-Ponts was himself the Colonel of the regiment which bore his name. The command belonged in his family, that of the Dukes of Deux-Ponts-Bischweiller of Alsace, where his men were enlisted. His brothers William and Charles were Lieutenant-Colonel and Major of the regiment. Where this entertainment was given does not appear. The great hall, constructed by the orders of Rochambeau for the assemblages of the officers, was not completed till later in the month. When finished it was their place of nightly resort.

On the 14th Rochambeau feeling some coolness in Washington's tone, dispatched de Fersen to "inquire into the cause of the dissatisfaction, heal the breach if possible, and if grave, inform him of it." It could not have been material or of long duration. About the same time de Lauzun, hearing of the revolt of the Continental troops, who had not been paid, hurried to Rochambeau to arrange for

a loan to America, but as yet no letter had been received from the Ministry, and the French commanders themselves were embarrassed. Indeed they had been compelled to abandon making full payment for their purchases in coin; they now gave one-half in Continental paper. The expedition had been ten months absent when, late in January, the frigate *Astrée* arrived at Boston with official news of the change in the Ministry, and word from the Marquis de Castries that the idea of sending a second division was abandoned. De Lauzun was indignant, and wrote a peremptory letter, demanding the men of his regiment, of which he was the proprietor.

On the 21st January Generals Knox and Lincoln and Colonel Laurens, son of the Envoy to France, who fell into the hands of the British, and was still confined in the Tower of London, visited the camp. Colonel Laurens was an Aid-de-Camp of Washington, and on his way to France with a special mission to the Court. Knox was particularly interested in the artillery, with which the French were abundantly supplied. In February, the weather becoming cold, the officers took great enjoyment in sleighing, and were astonished at the speed with which they were carried over the smooth, hard snow. On Tuesday, the 6th, the anniversary of the ever-memorable day when the Treaty of Alliance was signed, the Baron and Count Vioménil, young men who are described as of resplendent beauty, gave an elegant ball to the ladies of the town. The lady of General Greene, whose operations at the South were the theme of absorbing interest, graced the occasion with her presence. A letter written on the occasion says, the "decent gaiety and hilarity which characterized the assembly, afforded a convincing proof of the general satisfaction the alliance caused to both nations."

While the French fleet rode gently and safely at anchor behind the sheltering rocks of the Narragansett coast, the blockading squadron fared badly. Caught at sea in a heavy January gale, Arbuthnot lost one of his best vessels, another was dismantled, and a third driven far from shore. Learning of this, Captain Destouches, who was an ambitious as well as able officer, determined to take advantage of the temporary superiority this incident afforded him, and an expedition was rapidly combined. Dumas was sent to New London on the Connecticut shore to watch the British fleet which lay in serene quiet off the point of Long Island. Towards the close of February the French camp rung loud with the "note of preparation." The grenadiers and chasséurs held themselves in readiness for a start, and the fleet prepared for their embarkation.



In March happened an event in the history of the French in Newport, the influence of which upon the French troops can hardly be estimated now. The fame of Washington had reached the ear of the humblest attendant in the allied force. In the traditions of the army the hero of the French war was not forgotten. Now they not only looked upon him as the "principal personage on the American Continent," but, as one of their officers happily expressed it, "the strongest support of Liberty." On the 6th, a day ever memorable in the history of the town, he arrived in Newport. About two o'clock in the afternoon he reached Conanicut, where he found in waiting the barge of the French Admiral, which conveyed him directly to the Duc de Bourgogne. Here he was met by Rochambeau and the general officers of the army and fleet. On leaving the ship a salute was fired. Landing at Barney's ferry, the corner of the Long Wharf and Washington street, he was again met by the French officers, and escorted to the headquarters of Rochambeau in Clarke street, receiving the same honors that would have been paid to a Marshal of France or a Prince of the blood royal. His route was lined with the French troops, three deep on either side, in close order the entire distance. In the evening the fleet in the harbor and the entire city was illuminated, the town council having voted candles to all who were unable to provide themselves; a procession marched through the streets. In front walked thirty boys, each bearing a candle fixed on a staff, then Generals Washington and Rochambeau, their aids and officers, followed by a large concourse of citizens. The night was clear and calm, and the scene imposing and brilliant. Passing through the principal streets, the commanders returned to Headquarters.


Washington's purpose in visiting Newport was to witness the departure of the French fleet and detachment, which was leaving for the Chesapeake to cooperate in the movement of Lafayette against Arnold, and to arrange a scheme of concert. The troops, twelve hundred in number, one thousand infantry and one hundred and fifty artillery, were embarked on the day of his arrival. M. de Vioménil, who commanded the land forces, was on board the Duc de Bourgogne with the officers of the grenadier company of Bourbonnais. This vessel continued to be, as under de Ternay, the flagship. On the 8th Captain Destouches led the squadron from the bay. Washington and Major-General Howe, who accompanied him, set off on their return to headquarters, and were taken leave of with the same form and ceremony that marked their reception. The French army was

paraded in Broad street, and lined the road for some distance beyond the town, the general officers in the center. As Washington passed down the lines, he received every honor known to military usage, and as he reached Tammany Hall a salute of thirteen guns from the French artillery.

The expedition of Destouches was not successful. Pursued by Arbuthnot, whose superiority of speed gave him the weather gauge, he was forced to an engagement, in which, though the honors of war were with the French, some of their vessels suffered so severely that he returned to Newport to repair damages, while Arbuthnot made all speed to the Chesapeake, which he effectually blocked. The superior sailing qualities of the English again on this critical occasion gave them the advantage. Destouches reached Newport on the afternoon of the 26th March.

The month of April passed without incident; its quiet was only broken by the rumors of war from the Carolinas. The officers in their diaries notice the delightful weather, mild as summer. Anxious looks were turned seaward for the long-expected second division. The French officers established a Masonic lodge, over which M. de Jansécourt presided, and initiations were frequent.

Early in May (8th) the *Concorde*, commanded by M. de Tanauran, arrived at Boston with the Count de Barras, Chef d'Escadre, appointed to succeed de Ternay. With him came the Vicomte de Rochambeau, returned from his mission. On the *Concorde* came also Baron Cromot Du Bourg, who joined the Staff of Rochambeau. The Vicomte de Rochambeau brought news of the sailing from Brest, on the 22d March, of the Count de Grasse with a strong squadron, escorting a convoy of fifteen transports, laden with supplies, and having on board two companies of artillery, and five hundred men to fill up the regiments. Though this was not what Rochambeau expected, or had been promised as a condition of his command, he made no complaints, but determined to use his force to the best advantage. All of the restrictions imposed upon him by de Sartines were now removed, de Barras bringing him *full power* from the new Ministry to act as he chose. He determined to act at once. Orders were given to get the army ready for movement; the light artillery and heavy equipments, the impediments of the army, were already in Providence, and the general officers began to complete their supplies. It was high time. The long inaction had relaxed the discipline of the troops; their mental tension also was overstrained. Quarrels among the officers were frequent. The higher officers were discontented with Rochambeau,



whose reticence they attributed to want of confidence in themselves, and only their respect, good breeding and desire for the general good restrained the expression of their grievances. They were extremely dissatisfied also at being compelled to recruit the fleet from their small command. Five hundred of the land force were put on board the armed vessels which were ordered to sea to meet the expected convoy. Even the amiable de Fersen confesses that he was weary of his commander, notwithstanding his attention to himself, and looked on everything with a jaundiced eye. Nobly later did he repair the injustice of his frank criticism, written, it must be remembered, for his father's eye. Rochambeau was now to show himself the complete soldier, rapid in action as he was prudent in council.

The despatches from France rendered a further conference of the commanders necessary, and Rochambeau requested an interview with Washington without delay. They met at Weathersfield, near Hartford, on the 21st May; Washington was accompanied by General Knox and Brigadier-General Du Portail; Rochambeau, by the Chevalier de Chastellux. Admiral de Barras was detained at Newport by the presence of the British fleet, which had again appeared off Block Island in force. On the 22d a plan of the summer campaign, which included a general offensive movement, was agreed upon, and the next day de Rochambeau set out on his return to Newport, where he arrived on the 26th. On the succeeding days he made arrangements for a movement of the troops.

June opened with its usual charm. The island is at its loveliest when sea and land are warmed with the first blush of summer; no need to sigh for the green fields of Normandy, or the clear skies of France at this charming season. At a council of war held on board the Admiral's ship on the 6th it was resolved that, on the departure of the troops, only a small guard should be left to hold the town, and that the fleet, which it had been proposed to take to Boston, should remain at their Newport anchorage. On the 7th of June Admiral de Barras gave a grand farewell dinner on board the Duc de Bourgogne. There were sixty people present, among whom many ladies from Newport and the vicinity. The quarter-deck was canopied with sails, and a handsome hall arranged. The Duke de Lauzun, gayest of the gay, was present. He had just returned from an interview with Washington, with whom he had agreed upon several points of detail.

On the 9th all was ready, and marching orders were issued. On the morning of the 10th the first division, composed of the regiments of







Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts, moved from Newport, under the command of Baron de Vioménil. They reached Providence in the evening, too late to mark out a camp, and were lodged by the town authorities in some empty houses, of which there seem to have been numbers in the patriot towns. The next day the regiment of Deux-Ponts went into camp on the heights which overlook the city, and the brigades of Soissonnais and Saintonge, which arrived the same day, took post on their left. All the heavy artillery was left in the batteries. The troops left in Newport consisted of four hundred recruits, which had arrived from France, a few pieces of artillery and a thousand local militia; all under the orders of M. de Choisy, Brigadier of the forces. De Choisy was an officer of brilliant reputation for courage. The Commissary-General of the French, M. Claude Blanchard, who had taken entire charge of this department of the service after the return of M. de Corny to France in February, was sent forward. On the 11th M. de Rochambeau and the entire staff passed through Providence to the camp.

The army remained in camp eight days while horses were collected for the artillery, wagons for the train and oxen to draw them, and a hospital and ambulance service organized. The arrival at Boston on the 11th of the ship-of-war *Sagittaire*, Captain Montluc, a convoy of fifteen ships with six hundred and ninety recruits, and money for the land and naval forces, enabled de Rochambeau to bring his preparations to a happy close.

On the 16th June the Baron de Vioménil held a general review, and the army moved in the following order: on the 18th, the regiment de Bourbonnais, under de Rochambeau and M. de Chastellux; the 19th, the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts, under the Baron de Vioménil; the 20th, the regiment of Soissonnais, under the Count de Vioménil; the 21st, the regiment de Saintonge, under the Count de Custine—successively left the camp, and moved by easy marches to the appointed rendezvous in Westchester county, preserving between them the distance of a day's march. By order of M. Bévillie, the Quartermaster-General, the Count de Dumas preceded the columns to point out the camps and positions the army was successively to occupy.

The Count de Grasse, secure in his strength on the Southern Station, left Admiral de Barras free to act at his own discretion. His own judgment leaned to an expedition toward Newfoundland, which was within the instructions of the French Ministry of Marine; but in view of the strenuous opposition of Washington and Rochambeau, with great

generosity he sacrificed his own opinions, and taking on board the heavy artillery and the remaining troops, sailed on the 25th August (1781), with eight ships-of-the-line, four frigates, ten transports and eight American vessels, for Chesapeake Bay, which he reached in safety.

There is an enchainment and interdependence in the order of successive human events which occasionally seems too marvellous to be other than the operation of a preconcerted providential scheme. The philosophy of history consists in the study of these and their proper arrangement in the order of cause and of effect. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in the fall of the year 1781, may be directly traced to the defection of Arnold in the fall of 1780. To reward the traitor, Clinton was led to organize a Southern expedition to raid and harrass Virginia, to the command of which, with his fresh rank of Brigadier-General in the British army, Arnold was assigned. His new-fledged zeal showed itself in deeds of destruction, so unnecessary and atrocious that Washington determined to check him. This was the occasion of the Southern expedition, which Lafayette led to the Chesapeake, and later, after its failure to accomplish its direct purpose, of his operations against Cornwallis. The original error of Clinton in placing an important force beyond his control, led to the despatch of further reinforcements. The scenic theatre of the war was shifted from the Northern to the Southern States, in changes dramatic in their rapidity, until Washington and de Rochambeau appear on the stage in an act of final grandeur, and the curtain falls upon the triumph of liberty and the independence of a continent.

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### III—RETURN OF THE FRENCH TO RHODE ISLAND—1782

When next the French saw Rhode Island, they came crowned with laurels. They were again the guests of the city of Providence in the winter of 1782. They arrived on the 10th November, and the main body remained until near the end of the month, when they marched to Boston, where they were embarked on the squadron under M. de Vaudreuil, which set sail on the 24th December. The Baron de Vioménil commanded the troops. The second division, says the historian, Arnold, remained after the first in their quarters, on the east side of the Pawtucket turnpike, just north of the city line. The troops were quartered in barracks erected for the purpose in North Prov-

idence; and the officers distributed through the town. A list of the houses occupied by the French officers in Newport has been mentioned. There fortunately remains also in the possession of Mr. Drowne, whose family are in possession of many delightful reminders of the French residence, a similar list of the houses occupied in Providence. It is not dated, but certainly belonged to the year 1782. The Count de Rochambeau was the guest of ex-Governor Bowen; the Intendent, M. de Tarlé, was quartered with Mr. John Brown; the Baron de Vioménil, with Mr. Joseph Brown; the Chevalier de Chastellux, with Mr. Joseph Russell; de Ronchamps, the Provost Marshal, with ex-Governor Cooke; the Count de Vioménil, with Colonel Nightingale. The streets, in which these residences were, are not otherwise indicated than as on "this side" and "beyond the bridge." Providence at this time was a town of small importance. Even in 1792 it was described as having only two streets and but few attractions, and gave no promise of the prosperity and elegance which it has now reached. But it was then, as now, inhabited by an orderly and refined population, and then, as now, was noted far and wide for its hospitality. To Rochambeau, who came with the troops, the Government of Rhode Island voted on the 27th an address of thanks, and the Count replied on the following day.

Notwithstanding their long march the troops were in admirable condition, the officers well mounted and elegantly equipped; their chapeaux ornamented with white cockades; their dress, white cloth faced with the colors of their regiment. The men presented a gay appearance in their brilliant uniforms; Deux-Ponts, in white; Saintonge, in white and green; Bourbonnais, in black and red; all in cocked hats with pompons, and the hair in cue; epaulets and cross-belts, from which their accoutrements hung. The artillery wore blue with red facings, white spatterdashes and red pompons, short Roman swords at their sides and firelocks in slings. Thus Mr. Drake, in his recent history of Roxbury, describes their attire when they passed through that town on their way to embark at Boston. To this description may be added that the Soissonnais wore pink facings and grenadier caps with white and pink plumes. During their stay at Providence the officers did not forget their friends at Newport; de Fersen particularly notes a visit to his old acquaintances.

To reach the French frigate, which was to convey him to his native country, de Rochambeau was compelled to return to Virginia with the Chevalier de Chastellux, M. de Béville, M. de Choisy, the whole of the

staff and the aids. The vessel, the *Emeraude*, lay at Annapolis, whence she set sail with her precious freight the 8th January. On their arrival in France, all of the general officers obtained high promotion and favor from the Court of Versailles. Rochambeau received the Cross of St. Louis, and was made Marshal of France. The Baron de Vioménil was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. M. M. de Lafayette, de Choisy, de Béville, the Count de Custine, the Duke de Lauzun, M. M. de Rostaing and d'Autichamp to that of *Maréchal-de-Camp*.


The sequel is a chequered story. In the terrible political earthquake that shook the continent, and of which the American revolution was but the premonitory upheaval, all lost their fortunes, many their lives. D'Estaing, after serving the republic with distinction, fell on the scaffold; the Duke de Lauzun met a similar fate; so did the Baron de Custine; the chivalrous de Fersen, worthy peer of Sidney or Bayard, after risking his life a thousand times in the service of the King and Queen, whose trusted friend and agent he was during their imprisonment, was torn to pieces by a Stockholm mob. The Vicomte de Rochambeau fell at the battle of Leipsic. The Marquis de Vioménil, badly injured in the defence of the persons of the royal family, died of his wounds. His brother, the Count, gave his sword to the royal cause; at the Restoration he was made Marshal of France and Marquis. Rochambeau himself was confined by Robespierre and released at his death. The Count de Damas, who was with the King in his flight to Varennes, narrowly escaped execution. Duportail was condemned, but fled to America, and died at sea on his return in 1794. One of the brothers Berthier became the celebrated Marshal of Napoleon; he was murdered at Bamberg. Dumas was President of the Assembly, General of Division and high in confidence with the Constitutional Monarchy of 1830. The figures of these men are familiar, preserved in the life-like portraits of the great historical picture of the surrender of Cornwallis. Trumbull visited Paris for the express purpose of obtaining correct likenesses. Rochambeau, in other pictures, has the air of a *gentilhomme campagnard*, not unusual to the French noble of the last century.

The services and character of Rochambeau have not had their due honor in the annals of our revolution. The United States owe to him an immeasurable debt of gratitude. He alone, as de Fersen frankly admits in his correspondence, could have brought the allied operations to a successful termination, and kept an unbroken harmony between the troops and population of races so opposite and hitherto so antagonistic.

Left for nearly a year without assistance or one word of counsel by the French Ministry, which was itself passing through vital changes; subjected in a foreign land to reproaches and importunities, to which he would not or could not reply; distrusted even by his own officers, with whom his credit was impaired by the negligence of his Government, his serenity was unbroken, and he maintained his authority without stooping to an explanation even to the highest of his general officers. Sufficient to himself in his large equipoise, he kept his own counsel even from his own military family, and held the honor of his country high, unimpeached and unimpeachable by friend or foe. In his character there was a reserved power, the unerring accompaniment of greatness. He had every quality of a commander, a leader of men; prudence in counsel, activity in preparation, precision and certainty in execution. Though not averse to argument, his judgment was thoroughly independent. He was moderate and courteous, as he was wise. To all these qualities, he added that of a bonhomie, which endeared him to his officers, and made him the idol of his troops. The gratitude of the United States for France, was early crystallized in an attachment for Lafayette, whose youthful and generous ardor touched the heart of the people; but not even his influence and service were more important to the cause of independence than the effective cooperation of Rochambeau in the very crisis of the nation's destiny. His fame grows as his character is studied, and his achievements are examined. The sober judgment of history will record that his services to America were of inestimable value.

Closing this sketch of the sojourn of the French in Rhode Island, the delightful spot which, even in the last century, before the finger of art had touched with its grace the work of nature, was already known as the "Garden of America," the sentiment which prompted the opening paragraph springs up with fresh vigor; a sentiment of affectionate attachment for France. Rapid communication has rendered her beautiful land familiar to thousands of our people. The distant dream of the last century has become an easy reality in this. The monthly packet communication, which Louis the Sixteenth established at the instance of Lafayette, has grown to a large and regular steam service. Thanks to these facilities of travel, America sees France no longer through the dim jealousy of English glasses, but with her own clear eyes.

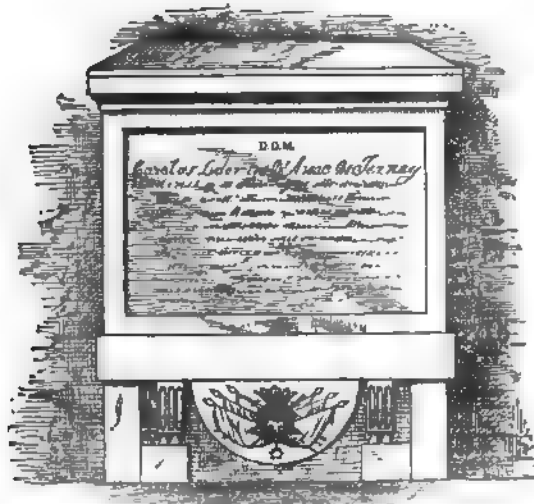
The matchless cultivation of the soil of France, the patient industry of her agriculture, the marvels of her intelligent manufacture, the triumphs of her taste and ornamental skill have long since placed her in



the front rank of western nations. But not until now has she shown herself to be first also in the higher plane of political economy and political government. In less than a decade, by a financial miracle, she has repaired the damage of destructive war, and resumed her position at the very pinnacle of European credit. This, an easy tale, runs trippingly in narration.

How describe her present triumph! how measure the majestic grandeur of her rise from anarchy to freedom! how mark the logical sequence of her political evolutions, the serenity of her leaders, the moderation of her people, the progress of liberal opinion, the final complete establishment of popular government! The dream of the patriots of 1789 who, on the Champ de Mars, pledged themselves and their generations, on the Altar of Liberty, to the cause of freedom, has, after nearly a century of struggle and blood, been fully realized. The Republic lives. The alliance of the last century is revived. The weak confederation of American States has grown into a colossal nation, the ancient monarchy of St. Louis is transformed into a popular government. Common institutions bring with them common sympathies, common aspirations. The two republics now march together, allied nations, under the colors of liberty in the ways of peace. So may they march forever!

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



MEMORIAL TABLET TO ADMIRAL DE TERNAY

## APPENDIX

### LIST OF THE FRENCH FLEET AT RHODE ISLAND UNDER ADMIRAL DE TERNAY AND M. DESTOUCHES

VESSELS	GUNS	COMMANDERS
<i>SHIPS</i>		
Le Duc de Bourgogne.....	80 .....	Chevalier de Ternay
Le Neptune .....	74 .....	Destouches
Le Conquérant.....	74 .....	La Grandière
La Provence.....	64 .....	Lombard
L'Eveill�.....	64 .....	De Tilly
Le Jason.....	64 .....	La Clocheterie
L'Ardent.....	64 .....	Chevalier de Marigny
<i>FRIGATES</i>		
La Bellone.....	— .....	—
La Surveillante .....	40 .....	Sillart
L'Amazone.....	— .....	La Perouse
L'Hermione*.....	36 .....	De la Touche
La Sibylle*.....	36 .....	—
<i>CUTTERS</i>		
La Gu�pe .....	— .....	Chevalier de Maulevrier
Le Serpent.....	— .....	—
The Pelican (American).....	20 .....	—
<i>HOSPITAL SHIP</i>		
Le Fantasque, (en flute).....	— .....	—
<i>ARMED SHIPS</i>		
Le Bruen *.....	— .....	Des Arros
Le Compl�se *.....	— .....	De Noulds

\* These from Almon's Remembrancer, X, 285.

### OFFICERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN AMERICA UNDER THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

<i>Commander-in-Chief</i>	<i>Intendant</i>
Count de Rochambeau, Lieutenant-General	De Tar�, Intendant
<i>Marchaux de Camp</i>	Blanchard, Commissary General
Baron de Viom�nil	<i>Artillery</i>
Count de Viom�nil	D'Aboville, Commander-in-Chief
Chevalier de Chastellux	<i>Aids-de-Camp to M. de Rochambeau</i>
<i>Quarter Master General</i>	MM. de Fersen
De B�ville, Brigadier	de Damas
De Choisy, Brigadier	Charles de Lameth
Louis Alexandre Berthier	De Closen
Caesar Berthier	De Dumas
	De Lauberdi�res
	De Vauban





*Aids-de-Camp to M. de Viomenil*

MM. de Chabannes  
De Pangé  
Charles d'Olonne

*Aids-de-Camp to M. de Chastellux*

MM. de Montesquiou  
Lynch

*COLONELS**Bourbonnais*

Marquis de Laval-Montmorenci  
Vicomte de Rochambeau (Second Colonel)

*Royal Deux-Ponts*

Count Christian de Deux-Ponts  
Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts (Second Colonel)

*Saintonge*

Count de Custine  
Vicomte de Chartres

*Soissonnais*

M. de Saint-Mesme  
Vicomte de Noailles

*Lausun's Legion*

Duke de Lauzun  
Count Arthur Dillon

*Artillery*

M. Nadal, Director of the Park  
Lazié, Major

*Engineers*

MM. Desandrouins, Commander  
Querenet  
Ch d'Ogré  
Carnvaque  
D'Opterre  
Turpin

*Medical Department*

MM. Coste, Physician in Chief  
Robillard, Surgeon in Chief  
Danre, Commissary  
Demars, Director of the Hospitals

*Paymaster*

M. Boulay

*Staff*

Chevalier de Tarlé,	}	Major-General's Aids
De Menonville,		
De Béville, junior,	}	Quarter Master General's
Collot,		

QUARTERS OCCUPIED WITHIN THE TOWN OF NEWPORT BY THE ARMY  
UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU  
IN WINTER QUARTERS, 1780 - 1781

NAMES OF OFFICERS	STREETS	AT THE HOUSE OF
<i>HEADQUARTERS</i>		

COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, General.....	New Lane,	302...	Wm. Vernon
De Tarlé, Intendant.....	Thames street,	245...	Quarter Master Genl's office
Baron de Viomenil, Marechal de Camp.....	ditto	274...	Joseph Wanton
Chevalier de Chatellux, ditto, Acting Major } General.. .....	Spring street,	91...	Capt Mandslly
Count de Viomenil, Marechal de Camp.....	Thames street,	274...	Joseph Wanton
De Choisy, Brigadier.....	Water street,	602...	Jac. Rod Reveria

*ARMY STAFF*

De Béville, Quarter Master Genl.....Congress street, 290...Moses Levi

*ADJUTANT QUARTER MASTERS*

Vicomte de Rochambeau.....	New Lane,	302...	Wm Vernon
Collot.....	Broad street,	340...	John Wanton
De Béville.....	Congress street,	290...	Moses Levi

1782. His Most Christiane Majesty To W. Verron Esq.

Dec<sup>r</sup>. To damages sustained in his House at Newport  
on Rhode Island, occupied by his Excellency  
Gen<sup>l</sup>. Packenham viz.

Floors, Mosaic, Hangings, Paint, Windows,  
Walls, ~~Windows~~, Marble Hearths, and in the  
Attic & Building throughout; To be made  
good, by the promise of Mr. Corne, by  
agreement: value \$50 doll<sup>s</sup>. - 20/2m. \$135<sup>00</sup> -

To one Year Rent of the same ----- 000<sup>00</sup> -

Money \$ 135<sup>00</sup> -

Corne Esq<sup>r</sup> Received Boston 12<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1782.

W<sup>m</sup> Verron.

*AIDS OF THE MAJOR GENERALS OF INFANTRY*

De Ménonville.....	Spring street,	90... Capt George
De Tarlé.....	Thames street,	245... Quarter Master Genl's office
Dubouchet.....	ditto	265... Capt Storey

*ENGINEERS*

Desandrouins, Col. & Commandant.....	Thames street,	28... Col John Malbone
De Quérénel, Lieut Col.....	ditto	83... Colonel Malbone
De Palys, Major.....	ditto	56... Mrs Gidley
De Doyré, Captain.....	Mill street,	201... Henry Ward
Crubliez d'Opterre, ditto.....	ditto	202... Pardon Tillinghast
De Gazarac, ditto.....	ditto	202... ditto
Baron de Turpin, ditto.....	Thames street,	135... Wm Coggeshall
De Plancher ditto.....	Thames street,	135... Wm Coggeshall

*ARTILLERY*

D'Aboville, Col Commandant.....	Thames street,	10... John Overing
De Lazier, Waggon Master.....	ditto	23... Wm Cyles
Mauduit, Adjutant.....	ditto	23... ditto

*ADMINISTRATION*

Blanchard, Commissary General.....	Thames street,	78... Mrs Cozen
De Corny, Commissary of War.....	Thames street,	124... Simon Puse
De Villemanzy, ditto.....	Thames street,	245... Quarter Master Genl's office
Gau, Commissary of War and Artillery.....	ditto	6... Rebecca Rider

*SECOND ARMY STAFF*

Mullins, Capt of the Guides.....	Congress street,	286... Mrs Mumford
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*PROVOST*

De Ronchamp, Provost.....	Plum street,	154... John Honimans
The town Prison.....		385... Mary Pinegas

*AIDS-DE-CAMP OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU*

Count de Fersen.....	New Lane,	299... Robert Stevens
Marquis de Damas.....	ditto	299... Robert Stevens
Chevalier de Lameth.....	Spring street,	339... Joseph Antony
Dumas.....	Spring street,	339... Joseph Antony
De Lauberdrière.....	New Lane,	301... Henry Potter
Baron de Closen.....	Idem	301... Henry Potter

*AIDS-DE-CAMP OF BARON DE VIOMESNIL*

M. d'Angely.....	Spring street,	234... Adam Ferguson
Chevalier de Viomesnil.....	Thames street,	277... Gold Marsh
De Chabannes.....	Thames street,	150... John Freebody
Brintoneau.....	Thames street,	150... John Freebody
Vicomte Armand.....	Thames street,	277... Gold Marsh
De Sauge.....	Idem	274... Joseph Wanton
Brisson.....	Idem	274... Joseph Wanton

*AIDS-DE-CAMP OF THE CHEVALIER DE CHATTELLUX*

De Lintz ..... Lewis street, 115... Madame MacKay  
 De Montesquieu..... Lewis street, 115... Idem

*AIDS-DE-CAMP OF COUNT DE VIOMESNIL*

D'Olonne, the elder.....[Lewis street] 271... Edward Hazard  
 D'Olonne, the younger.....[Lewis street] 271... Edward Hazard  
 Stack ..... Spring street, 337... Wm Almy

*AID-DE-CAMP OF M. DE CHOISY*

Saumann ..... Water street, 602... Jac Rod Reveria

*AID-DE-CAMP OF M. DE BEVILLE*

De Bévillé..... Congress street, 290... Moses Levi

*PAY MASTER*

De Baulny, Pay Master of the Army..... Ruppock street, 314... Seixas & Levy

*SUPPLIES*

Danre, Superintendent..... Mill street, 162... Wm Coggeshall  
 Morion, Cashier..... Thames street, 281... Dr Tillinghast  
 Bourguin, Director..... Spring street, 108... Wm Gibbs  
 Duval, Inspector..... Congress street, 237... Robert Lillibridge

*HOSPITALS*

De Mars, Superintendent..... Thames street, 123... James Taylor  
 De Coste, Physician in chief..... Back street, 456... Wm Lindon  
 Robillard, Surgeon in chief..... Thames street, 445... James Senter  
 Abbé de Glesnon, Chaplain..... Spring street, 348... Widow Brayton

*BUTCHER'S MEAT*

Buret de Blegier, Superintendent..... Spring street, 158... Johetas Gibbs

*FORAGE*

Louis, Superintendent..... Thames street, 238... Gideon Lisson

*CLOTHING*

Martin, Store Keeper..... Long wharf..... Constant Tabor

## REGIMENTS QUARTERED IN THE TOWN

## COLONELS AND SUPERIOR OFFICERS

*REGIMENT BOURBONNAIS*

Marquis de Laval, Colonel..... High street, 223... Robinson  
 Vicomte de Rochambeau, Second Colonel..... New Lane, 302... Wm Vernon  
 De Bressolles, Lieut Colonel..... Mill street, 195... Joseph Clark  
 De Gamba, Major..... High street, 223... Robinson

*REGIMENT ROYAL DEUX-PONTS*

Count de Deux-Ponts, Colonel.....	Broad street,	530...	George Scott
Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Second Col....	ditto	533...	Nathl Mumford
Baron d'Ezbeck, Lieut Col.....	Broad street,	401...	William Still
Desprez, Major.....	High street,	328...	Thomas Vernon

*REGIMENT SOISSONNAIS*

Marquis de St. Maime, Colonel.....	High street,	329...	Miss Coles
Vicomte de Noailles, Second Colonel. ....	Water street,	614...	Thomas Robinson
D'Anselme, Lieut Colonel.....	Back street,	468...	William Cozzens
D'Espeyron, Major.....	Griffin street,	342...	Robert Lawton

*REGIMENT SAINTONGE*

Marquis de Custine, Colonel.....	[Griffin street],	312...	Joseph Durfey
Count de Charlus, Second Colonel.....	Point bridge street,	644...	Major Martin
De la Vattel, Lieut. Colonel.....	Water street,	603...	John Oldfield
De Fleury, Major... ..	Water street,	595...	Jeremiah Clark

*CORPS OF ROYAL ARTILLERY, SECOND BATTALION, AUXONNE*

De la Tour, Lieut Colonel.....	Spring street,	15...	William Lee
De Buzet, Brigadier in chief.....	Spring street,	62...	Joseph Tevady

*SAPPERS AND MINERS*

De Chazelles, Brigadier in chief.....	Thames street,	58...	Major Fairchilds
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*WORKMEN*

De la Chaise, Second Captain.....	Thames street,	73...	Abraham Redwood
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*LAUZUN VOLUNTEERS*

Duc de Lauzun, Colonel proprietor.....	Thames street,	264...	Deborah Hunter
Gugean, Lieut Colonel.....	At Mrs Harrison	...	Mrs. Harrison
De Scheldon.....	Alley Place Thames street,	248...	Jos Halliburton

*THE NAVY*

CHEVALIER DE TERNAY .....	}	Water street,	608...	Col Walton
De Granchain, Major .....				
De Capellis, aid, Major .....				
Office of the Navy .....				
Destouches, Captain .....		Water street,	627...	William Redwood
De Lagrandière, Captain .....		ditto	212...	Francis Brinley
The Chevalier de Lombard, Captain .....		ditto	631...	Christopher Townsend
De la Vicquettes .....		ditto	630...	John Townsend
De Maulevrier .....		ditto	486...	Samuel Johnson
Naval Hospital .....		New Lane,	295...	Presbyterian Church
Naval Hospital .....		Mill street,	194...	Mrs Hopkins
Navy Artillery .....	{	Water street & Room- ers wharf, 611....	{	George Roomer

NAMES OF OFFICERS	STREETS	AT THE HOUSE OF
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**COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, General.**...The main street near the bridge.....Governor Bowen  
**de Tarlé, Intendant** " ..The main street, this side the bridge. John Brown  
**Baron de Viomesnil, Marechal de Camp.** The main street, this side the bridge. Jos Brown  
**Chevalier de Chatellux, Acting Major**  
**General**.....The main street, this side the bridge. Jos Russel  
**Count de Viomesnil, Marechal de Camp.** The main street, this side the bridge. Col Nightingale  
**De Choisy, Brigadier**.....Next to the Town Hall.....Col Bowen

de Béville, Quarter Master General...	Back street beyond the bridge..	Theodore Foster
Vicomte de Rochambeau.....	Absent.....	{ Aids to Quarter Master General
Collot.....	Back street beyond the bridge.....	
de Béville, Quarter Master General...	Near the City Hall.....	Mr. Ben Cushing

de Menonville .....	The main street this side of bridge.	Cyprian Sterry
de Tarlé .....	The main street, idem .....	Nath Angell
Dubouchet .....	The main street beyond the bridge.	Capt Creads

Desandrouins, Col Com. ....	The main street this side the bridge. John Clark
De Quéréné, Lieut Col. ....	The main street beyond the bridge. D Trusman
De Palys, Major ....	The main street this side the bridge. Capt Dan Buklin
De Doyré, Captain. ....	} The main street this side the bridge. Nath Angell
Crublier d'Opterre, Captain. ....	
De Gavarac, Captain. ....	The main street beyond the bridge. Hawkins
The Baron de Turpin, Captain. ....	} The main street this side the bridge. Will Tyler
Deplancher, Lieutenant. ....	

D'Aboville, Colonel Commandant.....	The main street beyond the bridge..	Will Tyler
De Lazier, Waggon Master.....	ditto	Doctor Nightingale
Manduit, 1st Aid.....	} The main street beyond the bridge..	Dan Jackson
Romanay, 1st Aid.....		

Blanchard, Commissary of War.....The main street beyond the bridge.. Will Wheaton  
De Villemanzy, ditto .....The main street near the bridge.... Montfort  
Gau, ditto & of the Artillery.....Back street beyond the bridge.... Widow Clark

Mullins, Captain of the Guides..... { The main street in front of the Town } John Smith.  
Hall..... }

## PROVOST

De Ronchamp, Provost.....The main street this side the bridge. Govr Cook  
 The Town Prison.....In front of the Town Hall.

## AIDS-DE-CAMP OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

Count de Fersen.....  
 Marquis de Vauban.....  
 Marquis de Damas.....  
 The Chevalier de Lameth.....  
 Dumas.....  
 De Laubardiére.....  
 Baron de Clozen.....

} The main street this side the bridge. Nic Brown  
 }  
 } The main street this side the bridge. Doer Bowen  
 }  
 } The main street this side the bridge. John Foster

## AIDS-DE-CAMP OF THE BARON DE VIOMESNIL

D'Angely.....  
 Le Chevalier de Viomesnil.....  
 De Chabannes.....  
 Brintaneau.....  
 St. Amand.....  
 De Lange.....  
 Desoteux.....  
 Brison.....

} The main street this side the bridge. Jos Brown  
 }  
 } The main street this side the bridge. Jenkins  
 }  
 } The main street this side the bridge. John Hopkins  
 }  
 } The main street this side the bridge. M Field  
 }  
 } The main street this side the bridge. Dr Chase  
 } ditto Jos Brown

## AIDS-DE-CAMP OF LE CHEVALIER DE CHATELLEUX

De Lintch.....  
 De Montesquiou.....

} Near the Town Hall.....Cushing

## AIDS-DE-CAMP OF THE COUNT OF VIOMESNIL

D'Olonne the elder.....  
 D'Olonne the younger.....  
 Stack.....

} Back street this side the bridge.....Edward Spaulding  
 }  
 } ditto Mrs Jenkins

## AIDS-DE-CAMP OF M. DE CHOISY

De Tressan.....The main street near the Town Hall. Richard Olney

## AIDS-DE-CAMP OF M. DE BEVILLE

De Béville.....Back street beyond the bridge.....Theodore Foster

## PAY MASTER

De Baulny, Paymaster.....The main street beyond the bridge..Colonel Barton

## SUPPLIES

Danré, Superintendent.....The main street beyond the bridge..Amos Attwell  
 Morion, Cashier.....The main street beyond the bridge..Nath Green  
 Bourgneuf, Director.....ditto Long Wharf..Isaac Aldrich

## HOSPITALS

De Mars, Superintendent..At the Hospital.....  
 De Coste, Physician in chief.....The main street this side the bridge. Tillinghast  
 Robillaid, Surgeon in chief.....The main street this side the bridge. Samuel Young  
 Abbé de Glemon, Chaplain.....The main street this side the bridge. Benj Allen

## BUTCHERS' MEAT

Durel de Bégier, Superintendent.....The main street beyond the bridge..Mrs Stevens

## FORAGE

Louis, Superintendent.....The main street this side the bridge. Jos Laurens

## CLOTHING

Martin, Storekeeper.....The main street beyond the bridge..Mr Clark, Treasurer



Newport, July. 29. 1780.

Lieutenant General Count de Rochambeau has received with the warmest gratitude. the address which many of the Inhabitants of Newport were pleased to present to him. He begs leave in the name of the King his master, their Ally, as much as in his own and that of the army under his command, most particularly to acknowledge this new mark of friendship from the Citizens of America. The Count has the honour to assure the Inhabitants of Newport that his reliance on their zeal and Gallantry adds a great degree of Security to his preparations of Defense, and that if the Enemy is so daring as to come and attack Newport. Such of them as may want arms will be immediately supplied.

C. De Rochambeau

RESOLUTIONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF  
NEWPORT IN TOWN MEETING

Tuesday, July 11, 1780.

WHEREAS, many of the Inhabitants of the Town of Newport, sincerely desirous of affording their utmost aid and assistance to the fleet and army of His Most Christian Majesty, the Illustrious Ally of the States, now within the Harbour and Town of Newport, have associated for the defence thereof against the Common Enemy; and whereas, the same Inhabitants have been heretofore deprived of their fire arms and accoutrements by the said Enemy, and are now in want of a sufficient number for arming & Equipping 200 men: Wherefore, Resolved, that Major Genl Heath be, and he is hereby requested to apply to Genl Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the Army of his said Christian Majesty, for the Loan of a sufficient number of the necessary arms and accoutrements for the arming and equipping sd men, & this Town will return the same when thereto required by Genl Count de Rochambeau, & that the Committee who waited on Genl Heath yesterday be appointed to wait on him with the vote.

Whereas, upon the arrival of the Fleet & Army appointed by His Most Christian Majesty to cooperate with the forces of these United States against the Common Enemy, the Inhabitants & Citizens of this town are called upon from the Duty & Regard they owe our country, & the Gratitude & Respect which is due from every Citizen to the Illustrious Ally of these States, as well as to afford them the utmost aid & assistance, also to manifest every mark of respect & esteem upon their arrival; Wherefore resolved, That all Houses in the Streets hereafter named be Illuminated to-morrow evening, to-wit: Thames Street, Congress (heretofore called Queen Street), Lewis Street (heretofore called King's Street), Broad Street, leading out of Town, the Street leading over the Point Bridge, and the Street leading from the long Wharfe to the point Battery, and such other Houses in this Town as the abilities of the Occupants thereof will admit, & that the Lights be Continued to 10 o'clock in Eveng; it is further resolved, that Benj Almy, Job Easton, George Champlain, Jabez Champlain, Geo Sears, Rob

Taylor, John Townsend, John Topham, Isaac Dayton, & William Taggart be a Committee to Patrole the Streets to prevent any damage arising from fire, & to preserve the Peace of the Town; Ordered that this resolution be published & made known to the Inhabitants of this Town by beat of Drum. It is further resolved, the Treasurer shall furnish a Box of Candles at the expence of the Town, & that the same be distributed to those of the Inhabitants who reside in the Streets heretofore ordered to be Illuminated, and who are not of abilities to furnish the same.

REPLY OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU TO THE  
ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS  
OF NEWPORT

Newport, July 29, 1780

Lieutenant Colonel Count de Rochambeau has received with the warmest Gratitude the address which many of the Inhabitants of Newport were pleased to present to him. He begs leave, in the name of the King, his master, their Ally, as much as in his own and that of the army under his command, most particularly to acknowledge this new mark of friendship from the citizens of America. The Count has the honor to assure the Inhabitants of Newport that his reliance on their zeal and gallantry add a great degree of Security to his preparations of defence, and that if the Enemy is so daring as to come and attack Newport, such of them as may want arms will be immediately supplied.

LE CTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF  
RHODE ISLAND TO THE HONORABLE  
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LE COMTE  
DE ROCHAMBEAU

The Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations in General Assembly convened, with the most pleasing satisfaction, take the earliest opportunity of congratulating the Comte de Rochambeau, Lieutenant General of the Army of his most Christian Majesty, upon his safe arrival within the United States. Upon this occasion we can-

not be too expressive of the grateful sense we entertain of the generous and magnanimous aid afforded to the United States by their illustrious friend and ally. Sufficient had been the proofs of his zeal and friendship; the present instance must constrain even envious, disappointed Britons to venerate the wisdom of his councils and the sincerity of his noble mind. We look forward with a most pleasing expectation to the end of a campaign in which the allied forces of France and the United States, under the smiles of Divine Providence, may be productive of peace and happiness to the contending powers and mankind in general. We assure you, Sir, our expectations are enlarged when we consider the wisdom of his Most Christian Majesty in your appointment as the Commander of his army destined to our assistance. Be assured, Sir, of every exertion in the power of this State to afford the necessary refreshments to the army under your command, and to render this service to all ranks as agreeable and happy as it is honorable.

We are, on behalf of the General Assembly the General's most obedient and most devoted humble servants.

WILLIAM GREENE  
WILLIAM BRADFORD

To Lieutenant-General

Comte de Rochambeau.

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REPLY OF GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU TO THE  
ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
OF RHODE ISLAND

Gentlemen. The King, my Master, hath sent me to the assistance of his good and faithful allies, the United States of America. At present I only bring over the van guard of a much greater force destined for their aid; and the King has ordered me to assure them that his whole power shall be exerted for their support.

The French troops are under the strictest discipline, and, acting under the orders of General Washington, will live with the Americans as their brethren; and nothing will afford me greater happiness than contributing to their success.

I am highly sensible of the marks of respect shown me by the General Assembly, and beg

leave to assure them that as brethren not only my life, but the lives of the troops under my command are entirely devoted to their service.

THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU  
To the Honorable the General  
Assembly of the State of Rhode  
Island and Providence Plantations.

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ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF  
RHODE ISLAND TO THE ADMIRAL  
CHEVALIER DE TERNAY

The Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in General Assembly convened with the most pleasing satisfaction take this, the earliest opportunity, of testifying the sentiments that are impressed upon them by the great attention which his most Christian Majesty has invariably manifested to the United States. The formidable armament heretofore sent to our aid has essentially promoted our happiness and independence. But at a time when Europe is involved in the calamities of war, by the ambitious views of the British Court, we cannot express the gratitude we feel upon your arrival with the fleet under your command, destined by our illustrious ally to the assistance of the United States. We entreat you, on this occasion, to accept the warmest congratulations of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; and be assured, Sir, of every exertion in their power to afford the necessary refreshments to the fleet, and to render the service as agreeable and happy as it is honorable.

We are in behalf the General Assembly

The Admiral's most obedient and  
most humble Servants,

WILLIAM GREENE  
WILLIAM BRADFORD

To le Chevalier de Ternay

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REPLY OF ADMIRAL DE TERNAY TO THE  
ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF RHODE ISLAND

The multiplicity of business in which I have for some days been involved, has hitherto pre-

vented my honoring, in due form, an address from the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, &c. I have already assured them how sensible I am of their politeness, in a visit to my ship, to give me an assurance of their granting every necessary supply for the squadron and fleet of the King of France during their continuance in this State.

I with pleasure embrace this opportunity of testifying to the Honorable Assembly my peculiar satisfaction in an appointment by the King, my Master, to conduct succours to his allies, who have several years been successfully contending to establish an independence, which will be the basis of their future felicity.

I have nothing further to aspire after than the hour when I shall participate with the United States in the glorious advantages resulting from war with enemies, who vainly attempt to subjugate them, and wrest from them that freedom, the blessings of which they already experience.

I beg the Honorable Assembly would be persuaded that I am penetrated with the warmest attachment to every member of which that body is composed.

THE CHEVALIER DE TERNAY,  
Commandant of the Naval Forces of his  
Most Christian Majesty at Newport.  
To the Honorable the General  
Assembly of the State of Rhode  
Island and Providence Plantations.

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ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR, COUNCIL AND  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF  
RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE  
PLANTATIONS

The Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in General Assembly convened, being excited by the sincerest attachment and respect, present their most affectionate and cordial acknowledgments to your Excellency and the officers and troops composing the Army under your command, for the great and eminent services rendered since your first arrival in this State. Nothing can equal our admiration at the manner in which you have participated with the Army of the United States, in the fatigues, the

toils, and the glory, that have attended the allied arms, but the magnanimity of the Father of his people and the Protector of the rights of mankind.

Our inquietude at the prospect of your removal would be irrepressible but from the fullest conviction of the wisdom that directs the councils of His Most Christian Majesty,

May Heaven reward your exertions in the cause of Humanity and the particular regard you have paid to the rights of the citizens; and may your laurels be crowned by the smiles of the best of kings, and the grateful feelings of the most generous people.

Done in General Assembly, at East Greenwich, this 27th day of November, A. D. 1782, and on the seventh year of independence.

I have the honor to be, in behalf the Council and Representatives, with great esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient  
and very humble servant,

WILLIAM GREENE, Governor

By order, Samuel Ward, Secretary.  
The Comte de Rochambeau

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ANSWER OF THE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU TO  
THE ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR,  
&c., OF RHODE ISLAND

Gentlemen: It is with inexpressible pleasure that I and the troops under my command have received the marks of esteem and of acknowledgment, which you are so good as to give to the services which we have been happy enough to render to the United States, jointly with the American Army, under the orders of General Washington.

This State is the first we have been acquainted with. The friendly behavior of its inhabitants now and at our arrival here will give them always a right to our gratitude.

The confidence you have in the wisdom of the views of our Sovereign as to the disposition and march of his troops, must likewise assure you that on no occasion whatever he will separate his interests from those of his faithful allies.

LE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

INSCRIPTION OVER THE MONUMENT TO ADMIRAL DE TERNAY  
ERECTED IN THE TRINITY CHURCH-YARD, NEWPORT,  
BY ORDER OF THE KING OF FRANCE

1783

D. O. M.

CAROLUS LUDOVICUS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY. Ordinis sancti Hierosolymitani eques, nondum vota professus, a vetere et nobili genere, apud armoricas, oriundus, unus e regiarum classium praefectis. CIVIS MILKS, imperator, de rege suae patriae, per 42 annos, bene meritis, hoc sub marmore jacet, Feliciter audax naves regias, post Croisicum cladem per invios Viconiae fluviit enfractus disiectas à caecis voraginibus, improbe labore, annis 1760, 1761 inter tela hostium detrusit avellit, et stationibus suis restitvit incolymes Anno 1762, terram novam in America invasit Anno 1772, reavnciatus praetor ad regendas Bourboniam et Franciae insulas, in Galliae commoda et colonorum felicitatem per annos Septem, totus incubvit. Foederatis ordinibus pro libertate dimicantibus a rege Christianissimo missus subsidio anno 1780, Rhodum insulam occupavit; dum ad nova se accingebat pericula, In hac vrbe, inter commilitonum planctus inter foederatorum ordinum lamenta et desideria, Mortem obiit gravem bonis omnibus, et luctuosam suis, die 15 Xbris MDCCCLXXX, natus annos 58. Rex Christianissimus, Severissimus virtutis iudex, ut clarissimi viri memoria posteritati consecratur MDCCCLXXXIII hoc monumentum ponendum jussit.

TRANSLATION

In the name of GOD CHARLES LEWIS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY, Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, though the Vows of the Order he had never acknowledged, descended from an Ancient and Noble Family of Bretagne, one of the Admirals of the King's Fleets, a Citizen, a Soldier, a Chief, served ably, faithful to his King and to his Country, for 42 years, now rests beneath this Marble, happily resolute. In the years 1760 and 1761, after the *Croisic* Battle, with painful difficulty, amidst the weapons of Enemies, he rescued and brought off from dangerous whirlpools the Royal Fleet, dispersed near the innavigable eddies of the River of Vicenza, and gave his Ships the Stations he wished without any damage. In the Year 1762 he invaded Newfoundland in America. In 1772, having resigned his command, he received the Regency of Bourbon and the French Islands adjacent, in which office for 7 Years, to the emolument of France, and the happiness of the Colonies, he was assiduously faithful. Being ordered by His Most Christian Majesty in the Year 1780 with Assistance to the United States, engaged in the Defence of Liberty, he arrived in Rhode Island, where, while he was prepared to encounter the Dangers of his Command, to the inconsolable Grief of his Fellow Soldiers, to the sincere sorrow of the United States, he expired in this City, regretted by all the Good; but particularly lamented by those to whom he was related, December 15th, MDCCCLXXX, Aged 58. His Most Christian Majesty, strictly just to Merit, in order that the Memory of this illustrious man might be consecrated to Posterity, hath ordered this Monument to be erected, MDCCCLXXXIII.

INSCRIPTION ON THE GRANITE TABLET PLACED OVER THE  
GRAVE OF ADMIRAL DE TERNAY BY ORDER  
OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

1873

HOC SUB LAPIDE  
ANNO M.DCCC.LXXIII. POSITO  
JACET  
CAROLUS LUDOVICUS D'ARSAC  
DE TERNAY  
ANNO M DCC LXXX  
DECESSUS  
SUB PROXIMI TEMPLI PORTICUM  
ANTIQUUM MONUMENTUM  
RESTAURATUM ET PROTECTUM  
TRANSLATUM EST

TRANSLATION

Beneath this Stone  
placed in the year 1873  
lies  
CHARLES LOUIS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY  
who died in the year 1780  
Beneath the porch of the church near by  
the ancient monument  
restored and sheltered  
lies removed

LETTERS OF DE FERSEN  
AID-DE-CAMP TO ROCHAMBEAU  
WRITTEN TO HIS FATHER IN SWEDEN  
1780-1782

*Translated for the Magazine from Baron de  
Klinckowström's Count de Fersen  
Paris—1878*

III

York, 23 October, 1781

As I have not time to give you the smallest details upon the siege, I add to this a little journal of our operations; they are ended for this year; we shall remain in winter quarters in the neighborhood, and headquarters will be at Williamsburg, a miserable little town, which is more like a village. There are some indications that we shall next year make a campaign towards Charleston, which we will finish by a siege of that place. The English will not fail to send troops from New York to this part of America, and I believe we shall have active operations there. It seems that there is nothing else for General Clinton to do. M. de Rochambeau has asked for a reinforcement of troops, and I think that M. de Grasse will return here from the Antilles with his 28 vessels. If the command be left to him, he will bring troops with him. With his forces joined to ours, we shall be in a situation to make a pretty campaign, and the capture of Savannah, where M. d'Estaing failed, and that of Charleston may well be the issue of the campaign, and crown the work we have so well begun.

I have no doubt that the troops which M. de Rochambeau has asked for will be sent to him; he knows too well the

use to make of them, and he has just rendered services too great to be refused, at a moment like this, so just a request. I am only afraid of peace, and pray that it be not made yet.

All our young Colonels who belong to the Court are leaving, so as to pass their winter in Paris. Some will come back; others will remain, and will be greatly surprised not to be made brigadiers, because of having been at the siege of York; they think they have done the finest thing in the world. As for myself, I shall remain. I should have no other reason for going to Paris but my amusement and pleasure; they must be sacrificed. My affairs will do without me; I should spend money there; I ought to husband it. I prefer to employ it in making some campaign here and finishing that I have begun. When I took up the resolution to come over here I foresaw all the ennui I should have to endure; it is just that the instruction I may acquire should cost me something.

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JOURNAL OF OPERATIONS

(Annexed to the preceding letter)

After eleven months passed at Newport in complete inaction, the army moved on the 12th June, 1781, leaving 600 men and 1000 militia men, under the orders of M. de Choisy, Brigadier, to defend the works we had raised there, protect our little squadron of 8 vessels which was to remain and cover our stores at Providence, where we had all our siege artillery. The army passed by water from Newport to Providence, and thence continued its march by land

as far as Phillippsbourg, 15 miles distant from Kingsbridge, where it arrived the 6th July, and encamped on the left of the Americans. The legion of Lauzun had always covered our left flank, marching 9 or 10 miles from us, between us and the sea. Our army was of 5000 men, the Americans about 3000 men. During our stay at Phillippsbourg we made several great foraging expeditions and reconnoissances towards Kings-Bridge. The 14th August we received news of the arrival of M. de Grasse. He left the Islands on the 24th July. I was sent to Newport to hasten the departure of our fleet, and the embarkation of the artillery at Providence. The 17th the army left Phillippsbourg, and arrived the 21st at Kings ferry on the bank of the North or Hudson's river. It was four days in crossing, and the 25th we ourselves began our march. 2000 Americans were with us; 3000 were left to guard the defiles near Phillippsbourg. Every thing seemed to announce a siege of New York. The establishment of a bakery and other store houses at Chatham, 4 miles distant, from Staten Island; our passage of the North River, and march towards Morristown seemed to indicate that we intended to attack Sandy Hook to facilitate the entrance of our vessels. We were not long in seeing that our views were not turned upon New York, but General Clinton was entirely deceived; that was precisely what we wished. We crossed *Jersey*, which is one of the finest and most highly cultivated provinces of America, and the army arrived the 3d September at Philadelphia. It passed through the city on parade, and aroused the admir-

ation of all the inhabitants, who had never seen such a number of men uniformed and armed alike, nor so well disciplined. The army, after a sojourn of two days, took up its march on the fifth to the Head-of-Elk River, which is the head of Chesapeake Bay. The 6th we learned that M. de Grasse arrived on the 3d with 28 vessels in Chesapeake Bay, and that 3000 soldiers, under the orders of M. de Saint-Simon, Maréchal de Camp, had been landed and joined the 1800 men under the Marquis de Lafayette at Williamsburg. The march of the troops was hurried, and on the 7th the entire army had arrived at the Head-of-Elk. It was resolved to embark the army; but the scarcity of vessels, all of which the English had captured or destroyed in the 5 months they had been masters of the bay, only allowed of the embarkation of our grenadiers and Chasseurs, 800 men, and 700 Americans. The remainder, with the waggons, marched to Annapolis, and were embarked in frigates. The whole arrived, and encamped the 26th — at Williamsburg. M. de Grasse, two days after his entrance into the bay, the 5th September, discovered the English fleet of 20 ships in the offing. Admiral Hood, with 12 vessels, had joined the 8 of Graves. M. de Grasse went out at once with 24 vessels; he left 4 to guard the York and James rivers. After a combat which was not very spirited, the English withdrew. M. de Barras, with his 8 vessels, joined M. de Grasse, and the 8th they were all in the bay.

From the moment of our arrival at Williamsburg the debarkation of the field artillery and waggons was pressed;

all was ready on the 28th, and the army marched to invest York, where Lord Cornwallis was. He occupied York, which is on the right bank of the river, and Gloucester, which is on the left bank. The river is a mile wide, that is, about a third of a French league. We began our investment the same day, but the Americans could not finish theirs until the next day; they had to cross a morass; the bridge had been broken, and another had to be constructed. The 29th the investment was complete, and we set to work to construct a quantity of fascines, saucissons, hurdles and gabions necessary for the siege. The 30th the enemy evacuated their advanced works, and withdrew into the body of the place. These works consisted in two great redoubts and a battery of two pieces of cannon, which were separated from the town by a great ravine, and were about 400 fathoms distant. We took possession of it, and our works were much advanced thereby, as it gave us the opportunity to establish our first parallels on the other side of the ravine. If Lord Cornwallis committed a fault in this, it may be excused, for he had express orders from General Clinton to shut himself up in the body of the place, and a promise that he (Clinton) would come to his succor.

The 6th October, at 8 o'clock in the evening, we opened a trench at 300 fathoms from the works. The left rested on the river, the right on a great ravine, which descends perpendicularly upon the town, at a point about a third to the right of the works, and thence leads to the river in the sight of the town. Our trench was 700 fathoms in extent, and

was defended by 4 palisaded redoubts and 5 batteries. The ground, which is very much cut up by little ravines, greatly facilitated our approach, and enabled us to reach our trenches under cover without being obliged to cut a tunnel. On our left we had opened another trench, the left of which rested on the river, and its right on a wood; we had there a battery of 4 mortars, 2 howitzers and 2 pieces of 24, which swept the river, endangered the communication from York to Gloucester, and greatly troubled the vessels in the river. The enemy fired very little at night. The following days were spent in completing the trench, palisading the redoubts, and putting the batteries in order. They all opened fire during the day of the 10th. We had 41 pieces cannon, mortars and howitzers, all included. Our artillery was admirably served; the character of the works, which were of sand, did not allow all the effect from our cannon which they would have had on ground of another kind; but we learned from deserters that our bombs did great execution, and that the number of killed and wounded increased considerably. The besieged fired but little; they had only small pieces, their largest being 18; they had only mortars of 6 to 8 inches; ours were 12 inches. During the day they fired numerous bombs and royal grenades, and at night they established flying batteries— During the day they ordinarily withdrew their cannon, and placed them behind the parapet. The night of the 11th to 12th a second parallel was opened at 120 fathoms, its left resting, like that of the first, on the same ravine, the right



on a redoubt. We could not push the parallel to the river, because of two redoubts of the English, which were at half gun shot in front of our right. It was determined to attack these, in order to complete the parallel. The 14th, at 8 o'clock in the evening, 400 grenadiers and chasseurs, supported by 1000 men, attacked the redoubt, and carried it, sword in hand. There were 160 men within, half English, half Germans; only 34 prisoners and 3 officers were taken. The Americans carried the other redoubts. The night was spent in continuing the trench, and on the morning of the 15th it was quite under cover. The English kept up a heavy fire of bombs during the night and the whole day.

The 16th our batteries were completed, and the pieces were mounted in battery. In the morning at 5 o'clock they made a sortie with 500 men, entered one of the batteries, and spiked 4 pieces of cannon. They were immediately repulsed, but we lost some twenty men, killed or wounded. Our troops, who had been extremely fatigued from the beginning of the siege, were surprised asleep.

The 17th a flag was sent in, and Lord Cornwallis asked to capitulate. The whole of the 18th was spent in arranging the articles; the 19th the capitulation was signed, and the troops laid down their arms. There were only 10 balls and a bomb left in the place. We had in our second parallel 6 batteries and 60 pieces of artillery, which would have opened fire on the 17th, and on the 18th or 19th we expected to be ready to assault.

The legion of Lauzun, 800 soldiers, some vessels and 1000 militia men were on the Gloucester side to prevent any thing from getting through on that side. In the night of the 14th to 15th Lord Cornwallis crossed 2000 men over to Gloucester to force a passage there, and traverse 200 leagues of the enemies country to reach York. The enterprise was bold, but foolish. He would perhaps have arrived with 100 men. The only fault that Lord Cornwallis committed was to remain at York; but it was not his, but that of General Clinton, who ordered it; he only obeyed.

We captured in York 7600 men, of whom 2000 sick and 400 wounded; 400 fine dragoon horses, and 174 pieces of artillery, of which 74 of bronze; the greater part of this artillery consists of small mortars of 4 to 6 inches. There were about forty vessels, the most of which are sunk or damaged. There was one vessel of 50 guns which the battery on our left had set on fire by red hot shot; it was burned.

Our army was composed of 8000 men, and the Americans had about the same number, in all 15 to 16,000 men. We had 274 killed or wounded and 10 officers.

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Williamsburg, 25th March, 1782.

The last letter I had the honor to write you, my dear father, was of the 4th March from Philadelphia. I left there the 9th with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and we arrived here the 17th. We had a charming journey, and the canteens he brought with him, well supplied with patés, hams, wine and bread, prevented our taking any notice of the

wretchedness of the taverns, where only salt food is to be found, and no bread. In Virginia only cakes made of the flour of Indian corn, which is slightly roasted before the fire; this cooks the outside a little, but the inside is only uncooked paste. Their only drink is *thum*, which is sugar brandy mixed with water; this is called *grogg*. The apples have failed this season, which has deprived them of cider. At 250 miles from here, in the section which is called *the Mountains*, it is quite different. The country is richer; it is there that the great tobacco crops are raised, and the soil yields grain and all kinds of fruit; but in the part which borders on the sea, and which is called the *Plain*, where we now are, only Tobacco is cultivated. The principal production of Virginia is tobacco; not that this province, which is the most extensive of the 13, is not capable of other culture, but the laziness and vanity of the inhabitants are a great drawback to industry— It seems indeed that the Virginians are another race of beings; instead of attending to their farms, and engaging in trade, each proprietor wishes to be a lord. A white never labors, but, as in the Islands, all the work is done by the negro slaves, who are overseen by whites, and there is an intendant at the head of them all. In Virginia there are at least 20 negroes to every white; this is why this province supports but few soldiers in the army. All those who engage in trade are looked upon as inferior to the others; they say that these are not gentlemen, and will not associate with them. They all have aristocratic ideas, and to see them it is hard to comprehend how they could have entered

into a general Confederation, and accepted a government founded on a perfect equality of condition; but the same spirit which has led them to throw off the English yoke may well lead them to other steps, and I shall not be surprised to see Virginia separate from the other States on the peace. I should not be surprised even to see the American government become a complete aristocracy.

We have no political news here. You already know of the capture of Saint-Christopher; a fine possession the English have just lost. There is much talk here of an evacuation of Charleston; 30 transport vessels have arrived there from New York to take troops on board. There were 40 or 50 there before arrived for the same service. Our politicians differ greatly on the object of this evacuation; some think that it is to concentrate all their forces at New York, which seems to be little probable; others that it is to be within reach to carry succor to Jamaica in case she stand in need of it. Since the capture and total dispersion of the convoy of M. de Guichen there should be no anxiety in that direction, and I am rather of the opinion of those who do not believe in the evacuation; what makes me doubt it at this particular moment is that General Clinton would not dare to take so pronounced a step without the orders of his Court; that such orders can only be the result of a general plan of campaign, and that this plan, if it be made, can not yet have reached here.

The capture of a part of the convoy of M. de Guichen is a terrible loss to us; besides the munitions of war and

provisions, with which he was laden, but which can be replaced, we are losing time which can never be regained, and the expedition against Jamaica must have failed. Admiral Rodney is arrived at the Islands with 10 Vessels and troops; that makes his force superior to M. de Grasse, and may well change the face of affairs in that quarter.

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Yorktown, 27th March, 1782.

We left Williamsburg this morning, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, M. de Rochambeau and I, for a journey of five or six days. We went to see Portsmouth, on the other side of the James River, beyond Cape Henry. Arrived here, I learned that a small vessel is about leaving here for Europe, and I will not let her go without writing to you.

To-day a vessel arrived here from Martinique; she informs us that no combat had taken place between our fleet and the English fleet, but, on the contrary, that the latter had passed through ours to throw assistance into Saint-Christopher, which assistance had been repulsed; the English fleet had set fire to all its transports, which, driven by the wind against our fleet, laying at anchor before them, had compelled it to raise anchor, and given the English time to escape. This is a fine manoeuvre on the part of Admiral Hood. I can not assure you of the authenticity of this news. I suppose you have more certain information. The same vessel assures us that Rodney had not yet arrived at the Islands.

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Williamsburg, 27th May, 1782

We are here in great consternation

about a combat which has taken place between the fleets at the Island. The first news that we had was that we had the advantage, but we yesterday received news from the English, that is to say, by a gazette from New York, which says that the *Ville de Paris*, a ship of 110 guns, on which the Count de Grasse himself was, was captured with six others, and that we have been entirely beaten. This news seems to be very correct from all the particulars which accompany it. The vessels taken are named, the number of killed and wounded on each is specified—in a word it seems impossible that this news is a forgery of a gazetteer. We do not stand up very well under this reverse, and I notice that we allow ourselves to be easily depressed.

It would seem, indeed, as though we were but little accustomed to success from the extreme joy that it causes us and the despondency into which we are plunged by the slightest reverse. This one is very considerable, and destroys this entire campaign; it gives the English a superiority in the Islands; if they conduct themselves with judgment they may do us much harm, and the arrival of a reinforcement of troops to them from Europe may well deprive us of all our conquests. This disaster will have great influence upon us, and compel us to pass this campaign in complete inaction. This is a miserable state of things, above all if we are unfortunate enough to remain here. The heat is already extreme; imagine what it will be in the months of July and August.

We have not had any news yet of M. de Lauzun; we have been expecting

him with great impatience, particularly myself ; we are beginning to feel quite uneasy about him.

—  
Philadelphia, 8th August, 1782

The last letter I had the honor to write you, my dear father, was of the 16th July, also from Philadelphia. I was there with M. de Rochambeau, who had appointed a rendezvous with General Washington to confer together on the operations of the campaign. As a result of this conference I was sent on the 19th to York, in Virginia, on a mission then secret but no longer so ; this was to embark, as soon as possible, our siege artillery, which we had left at West Point, 8 leagues above York on the same river, and move it up the Chesapeake Bay to Baltimore. This operation required great secrecy and promptitude, as we had only one vessel of forty guns to escort this convoy, and the English with two frigates would have prevented us from getting out of York River, or have taken some vessels from us. I left ill with a heavy cold, which was considerably increased by the fatigue and heat. As soon as I had begun the embarkation, and everything was moving in order, I came back to report to M. de Rochambeau, who is with the army at Baltimore, and after remaining with him a couple of days, I left with the Chevalier de Châtelux for Philadelphia, where the Chevalier de la Luzerne overwhelmed me with civilities, attentions, kindness, politeness and friendship. The army is to leave Baltimore the 15th to pass here and to march to the North River. I shall wait its arrival here ; I must have some rest,

and I could not be in a house more agreeable and comfortable than this.

Our campaign this year will not be as brilliant as the last. The defeat of Count de Grasse, the dispersion of the convoy of M. de Guichen, the capture of that destined for the Indies—all these misfortunes together have deranged all plans and brought all projects to an end. Nothing is left us to do in this country but the siege of New York, and we are too weak for such an enterprise, which depends wholly on a naval superiority ; this we have not. Admiral Rodney has looked to that, and when, perchance, we had it, we did not know how to take advantage of it. We are looking every moment for news from France. We are told that preparations are made for a siege of Gibraltar ; until now there has been only a fruitless blockade. If this difficult operation be obstinately pursued, I fear that our campaign must be quite inactive or confined to some long and painful marches. I doubt much the possibility of success at Gibraltar, and I greatly fear that the Spaniards will prove the truth of the bon mot of the man who said on being told that it was the second siege of Troy : *Yes, but the Spaniards are not Greeks.*

The heat is extreme here ; I support it perfectly. The drought has been unusual this year ; all the brooks are dried up, and our army is greatly troubled to find water ; a very necessary thing, nevertheless, in hot weather.

—  
Philadelphia, 17th August, 1782

The 8th of this month the army was at Baltimore, a small town at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and it was to

march the 15th of the same month to the North or Hudson's River, but the news and prospects of peace which we had from England by way of New York delayed our march, and we only begin our movement on the 20th towards our first destination ; this is the result of a correspondence our generals had together. It seems very probable that we shall have a hard and fatiguing campaign this year ; marches and encampment in the late season are terrible in this country ; the rains are continual, and the roads almost impracticable ; these, probably, are the only enemies we shall have occasion to combat this year.

From the news which we have from England, for we have none yet from France, it appears that peace is not distant. England seems to be quite disposed to it if France be only modest in its demands. This country asks nothing more, particularly since the King of England declares them independent ; and I believe that Holland does not find enough interest in the war to desire to continue it. The English appear to conduct themselves with less hostilities in this country ; they have forbidden all their partisans, *tories* and *refugees*, as they are called, to make incursions or expeditions into the country without a permit signed by the commandant of the place. They have sent all the prisoners to England without coming to any understanding as to their exchange. General Carlton, who commands at New York, has informed General Washington in a very polite note which he wrote him, that the King, his master, has granted independence to America ; that he has sent to Paris a man with full powers to

treat, and proposes to General Washington to agree upon an exchange of prisoners. All this seems to imply peace ; we all believe that if it be not already signed it surely will be in the course of the winter, and that we may embark in the spring. This thought causes universal joy ; it gives me a pleasure that I am unable to express ; the hope of seeing you, my dear father, is one that can only be felt.

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Crompond Camp, 3d October, 1782

The last letter I had the honor of writing you, my dear father, was of the month of August. Since then we have been constantly on the road, and I have not had an opportunity to send you any word. The army has crossed the Delaware and the North or Hudson's Rivers, and we are encamped 10 miles from this latter and 24 miles from the island of New York. It seems highly probable that we shall finish our campaign here, and leave for our winter quarters ; it is not known and I dare not say where they will be.

Charleston is evacuated, and consequently the English have nothing left to the south of the continent ; their possessions are at present confined to the islands of Long Island, Staten Island and New York. There is much talk of the evacuation of the last ; while Lord Rockingham was alive I believe it was resolved upon ; now all seems changed. Our generals believe it, however. I am not of their opinion. I believe that 2,000 English troops are being sent to the islands, and that the Germans with the remainder, to the number of 10,000, are left in New York. If the evacua-

tion take place we have nothing to do but to return to France.

Although we have seen no enemy the campaign has been very severe ; we have suffered a great deal from the heat, and now the cold begins to make itself felt quite sharply. I support all these changes perfectly, and only find myself the better for them. I have a tent this year and a mattress ; I am not very well off for coverings but my cloak takes their place.

—

Boston, 30th November, 1782

The last letter I had the honor to write you, my dear father, was of the 3d November from Hartford, where the army halted 8 days waiting until the fleet of M. de Vandreuil should be ready. We left on the 4th and on the 10th reached Providence, where our stay was protracted, waiting for the fleet to be ready to take us on board. I took advantage of this delay to visit Newport, which is only 10 leagues distant, to see my acquaintances and bid them adieu.

We left Providence the 4th and arrived here the 6th. We embarked at once. I am on board the *Brave* of 74 guns with the Count de Deux-Ponts and our first three companies ; the Chevalier d'Amblimont commands her ; he behaved very badly on the day of the 12th April ; he fled instead of obeying the signals, and replied to M. de Bougainville, who hailed him and demanded to know the reason of such extraordinary conduct, *that the fleet being lost he must at least save one ship for the King*. He is very amiable and polite ; he has a good ship ; I am well lodged ; he lives well. This is all I need. I forgive him his want of courage.

It seems certain that we are bound for the cape to take the orders of Don Galvez ; this is surely to attempt an expedition against Jamaica ; while that against Gibraltar, which has lasted five years, shall have failed or succeeded, the one we shall undertake against Jamaica will be decided before the month of July, and our return to France probably depends upon this expedition. A person worthy of confidence, and one who is in a position to know, has informed me that we shall not remain long at the Islands, and that we may very well be in France next summer.

We do not yet know whether the English have evacuated Charleston or not ; this must seem quite extraordinary ; it is, in fact, strange that having an army 10 leagues from there we should be in uncertainty concerning an event of this interest ; but communications in this country are so slow and uncertain that we are for the most part without other news than through the New York Gazette. An express bravely gets over 8 leagues a day when it should make 12 or 13. This, perhaps, is for want of arrangement. There is considerable talk of an evacuation of New York ; it is said that even the English talk of it ; I do not believe it at all. The surrender of this place will have its weight in the treaty of peace.

M. de Rochambeau left us at Providence ; the entire army regrets it and with good reason. He has gone to Philadelphia where he will embark on the frigate *La Gloire*. I handed to him a letter similar to this ; you will receive them, perhaps, at the same time. This goes by the frigate *L'Iris*. The Baron de

Viomesnil commands the army and leads us to the Islands. He leaves us and returns from there to France as soon as we arrive.

I informed you in my last that the Duc de Lauzun remains in America with his legion; I thought that the siege artillery would be taken, but that has been changed; it remains at Baltimore where it now is with 400 men detached from different regiments, and near 400 sick who will be perfectly well before spring. This makes in all 1,400 men who are under the orders of M. de Lauzun, and who will probably have nothing to do but remain here until the peace. The Duke and his legion will be quartered at Wilmington, 9 leagues south of Philadelphia.

I cannot repeat to you often enough, my dear father, how much I am attached to the Duke de Lauzun and how fond I am of him; he is the noblest soul and most straightforward character that I know. Among the equipments which he brought, and which have all been lost, there were several things for me of which he knew I was in need, and part of which I begged him to bring for me. He has never been willing to tell me what the value of these was, and has always answered me that it was a mere bagatelle—that it was not worth speaking of. I should never end if I were to tell you all the kind and delicate acts I know of him.

The whole army regrets going to the Islands; even I am not well satisfied. We saw the departure of M. de Rochambeau with regret; every one was satisfied to be under his command. This is far from the case with the Baron de Viomesnil. As for myself personally I

should be perfectly content. The Baron has always treated me with politeness and distinguished attentions. The Baron is very quick and high-tempered; he has not the precious sang-froid of M. de Rochambeau. He was the only man capable to command us here, and to maintain the perfect harmony which has existed between two nations so different in their manners and their language, and who, at bottom, have no love for each other. There were never any disputes between our two armies during the period we were together, but there were often just causes of complaint on our side. Our allies have not always conducted themselves well towards us, and the time we have passed with them has not taught us to love or esteem them. M. de Rochambeau himself has not always had reason to praise them; notwithstanding which his conduct was always the same. His example had its effect on the army, and the severe orders he gave restrained everybody and enforced that rare discipline which was the admiration of all America and of the English who witnessed it. The wise, prudent and simple conduct of M. de Rochambeau has done more to conciliate America to us than the gain of four battles would have done.

Our fleet at Boston consists of 13 vessels; here is the list of them. They will set sail as soon the wind permits. The English fleet of 23 sail left New York in two divisions; the first of 12 vessels under the orders of Admiral Pigot left the 23d October; the second of 11 vessels went out the 21st of this month, it is reported. Is it to wait for and capture us, or is it to carry the

Charleston garrison to the Islands? We know nothing about it. In a short time all will be made plain.

—  
Boston, 21st December, 1782

It is not yet known whether or not Charleston is evacuated; a Philadelphia gazette which has just arrived says that the English are constructing two new redoubts, and that the truce which had been asked for, and was supposed to be a sure sign of evacuation, had been broken, and the place would not be evacuated.

We are all going on board this evening; all the vessels are ready, and if the wind is fair we shall sail tomorrow morning. As soon as I arrive at the Islands you shall hear from me, my dear father, and I shall have the pleasure of assuring you of my respectful attachment.

—  
Porto Cabello in South America  
(southwest of Curaçoa),  
13th February, 1783

I am perfectly well, and the passage, which was long, dull and disagreeable, has not had as much effect upon my physical as my moral condition. The impossibility of any occupation on board, being always in the same room with 45 persons, was frightful. It is a horrible kind of life. The Navy is a wretched profession, particularly in France. On our passage we lost the *Bourgogne*, of 74 guns; 400 men perished.

The country we are in belongs to the Spaniards. It is only inhabited by Negroes, Indians, and Spaniards as black as the Indians. We arrived here

on the 10th in the evening but all scattered. We are now here, 5 vessels arrived at four different times, two or three days after each other. Three are at the Island of Curaçoa where they have been obliged to make port, not being able to go any further. That is 30 leagues from here. Three others are God only knows where; it is now ten days since we saw them. The first convoy of 32 sail, which we took at Boston, we lost sight of by bad manoeuvring in three very heavy gales which we encountered on the American coast. Of a second convoy of 10 sail, which we took at Porto Rico, 5 got in to Curaçoa; the rest are probably lost. They came with us as far as the point west of this island, but when it became necessary to beat up against the wind to reach Porto Cabello they could not hold up against the wind, and were compelled to run before it. The currents were also so strong that in one night we were carried 13 leagues back from where we were at sunset. We were 13 days between Curaçoa and the main land, making 35 leagues. It was opposite to Curaçoa that the *Bourgogne* was lost. But after all we are arrived here safe and sound; that is a great deal. I would never have believed it, and it is only by a miracle. I do not know why it is, but the English never lose as much as we do.

—  
Porto Cabello, 10th March, 1783

Porto Cabello is a wretched place and offers no resources of any kind. The port is superb; vessels of 80 guns go to the wharf; it can hold 50 vessels, and with some labor 100 might be at their ease in it. If Porto Cabello were



in other hands than of the Spaniards, it might be made one of the finest settlements on the coast of South America; but the government will not open its eyes to its own advantage; everywhere it seeks to force and to fetter commerce, whereas to flourish it needs the largest liberty. The government, in order to populate the interior of the country, as they say, established the capital at Caraccas, which is 35 leagues from here; they have succeeded in making a pretty town enough of 25,000 to 30,000 souls; but the country in the neighborhood is only inhabited by Negroes and Indians as it was before; and to prevent Porto Cabello from flourishing they forbid building houses there of more than one story, and have made another port at La Guiara, which is only 5 leagues from Caraccas; but this port is only a rude market, and ships are in danger of perdition. It is in these ports that all the cocoa trade is carried on; that which grows in this part of America is the best. A trade in cotton and leather is also done here, but it is so crippled by custom houses, duties, monopolies of every kind, that it does not amount to much. I propose, in a few days, to make a journey to Caraccas; all the colonels of the army and several other officers are now there; I shall wait their return before leaving.

We have not yet any news of the Spanish fleet; we do not know where it is, or what are the reasons which delay its arrival here. We are waiting for it with the greatest impatience.

By letters received from Madrid some eight days ago it seems that peace is very probable. I hope sincerely that

it may be made, or that we shall be sent to carry on the war somewhere else.

I am still in very good health; we have very few sick. The heat is extreme, but I support it perfectly, and I am still wearing a cloth suit lined with woollen while all the rest are clothed in linen. My eyes have troubled me a little, which I attribute to the reflection of the sun, which is very intense, on the houses, which are white. I have begun to use tobacco again, and it is now passing off a little.

#### NOTES

**FRENCH FREEMASONS.**—The following list of French officers who joined the Freemasons' Lodge of St. John, at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1790, is a copy of the original from the Records of the Lodge:

May—*Officers of Rochambeau*: Pierre Armand Aboyneaux.\*

October 19—Wm. Adancourt, Claude Barille, John Buitden, James Cullio, Allen Cavalier, Joseph Collones, Antoine de Chartres, John Louis de Sybille,† Mons. de Moulin, Jean Baptiste Fiory, Mons. Jennecourt, Henry La Neal, John Lagoud, J. Montelier, Joseph Moneta, S. C. Demoulins Rochefort, Peter St. Phillips, Benjamin Seelye.

\* Married a Malbone, and took her to France.

† Secretary to Rochambeau.

Newport, R. I. J. E. M.

**PORTRAITS OF FRENCH OFFICERS.**—Names of French officers whose portraits appear in the picture of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, by Trumbull,

in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.

These portraits were obtained in Paris, 1787, and painted by Trumbull from the living men, in the house of Mr. Jefferson, then Minister to France from the United States.

- 1 Count Deux-Ponts, Colonel of French Infantry.
- 2 Duke de Laval Montmorency, Colonel of French Infantry.
- 3 Count Custine, Colonel of French Infantry.
- 4 Duke de Lauzun, Colonel of French Cavalry.
- 5 General Choizy.
- 6 Viscount Vioménil.
- 7 Marquis de St. Simon.
- 8 Count Fersen, Aid-de-Camp of Count Rochambeau.
- 9 Count Charles Damas, Aid-de-Camp of Count Rochambeau.
- 10 Marquis Chastellux.
- 11 Baron Vioménil.
- 12 Count de Barras, Admiral.
- 13 Count de Grasse, Admiral.
- 14 Count Rochambeau, General en Chef des Français.

These names and their numbers are taken from the key to the picture.

EDITOR.

**GRAVEYARD INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLEGHANY COUNTY, PA.**—In the burying ground at West Elizabeth, Alleghany county, Pa., repose the mortal remains of two young patriots, whose memory deserves to be preserved in a more enduring material than the crumbling stones which mark their graves. They were volunteers to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection, and died from hardships and

exposure consequent to a campaign in a very inclement season. The following are the brief records on their tombstones :

LIEUT. ALEXANDER BEALL  
of Berkley Co., Va.  
Jan 11, 1795  
Aged 20.

THOS. WALKER  
of Albermarle Co.  
Virginia.  
Jan. 16, 1795  
Aged 20.

I. C.

**MEREDITH CLYMER**—Another young patriot, a son of George Clymer, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, is interred in the First Presbyterian Churchyard, Pittsburg. He was a member of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, commanded by Captain John Dunlap. He died November 18, 1794, in camp, at Parkinson's Ferry, on the Monongahela River, and was buried from the residence of his father's friend, General John Neville, in Pittsburg, on the 23d of November. The stone which once marked his grave has disappeared, and his last resting place cannot now be positively identified.

*Alleghany City, Pa.*

I. C.

**MACOMB'S DAM.**—This structure was thrown across the Harlem River many years ago by Robert Macomb, son of Gen. Alexander Macomb, for the benefit of his tide flour-mill at Kingsbridge. It was situated a little to the east of the present High Bridge, and at the terminus of the Eighth Avenue car line, where the

Central Bridge crosses. It has disappeared with the new time, as also the mill, which once did a large business, and was furnished with an elevator for loading and unloading vessels. The unique and invaluable historical illustrated work, Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution," gives a good picture of the old mill. Mr. Macomb occupied his father's ancient and elegant mansion, since and for thirty years past the residence of Joseph Godwin, Esq., of Kingsbridge. This gentleman has added important improvements to this fine historical house, but its immensely thick stone walls are unchanged. Mr. Macomb is remembered by old citizens as a man of great affability and courteous manners.

W. H.

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MR. LEE'S PLAN.—In a foot-note on page 330, Vol. IX, of his History of the United States Mr. Bancroft, alluding to this important document, says: "The merit of discovering the plan belongs to George H. Moore, the author of The Treason of Charles Lee."

In this statement there is a slight error. In the autumn of 1856 the late Abraham Tomlinson, a collector of and dealer in rare documents in manuscript, autographs, etc., came to my study in New York with a parcel of manuscripts, which he had for sale. He said that they belonged to a man from Nova Scotia, and that they were found among the papers of General Sir William Howe. Among these was a manuscript of nine foolscap pages, folded in form for filing, with the endorsement in the handwriting of Henry Stratchey (the Secretary of General Howe), "Mr. Lee's

Plan, 29th March, 1777." I asked Mr. Tomlinson to leave the manuscript with me, which he did for a few hours, with the injunction not to copy a word of it. I carefully perused it, and perceived its great importance if genuine. I then had the Schuyler papers in my possession, among which were two or three letters written by General Charles Lee to General Schuyler, one of them dated "Feb. 28, 1776." I compared the handwriting of these letters with that of "The Plan," and was satisfied that the latter was genuine.

The price asked for this manuscript I was unwilling to pay, and I recommended M. Tomlinson to call on Mr. Moore, then the Librarian of the New York Historical Society, and offer it to him for the archives of the Society. I am under the impression that I gave Mr. Tomlinson a note of introduction to Mr. Moore. The latter purchased the manuscript, and afterwards, with his usual industry, with patient research, he prepared and published the valuable monograph, entitled "The Treason of Charles Lee," with a *fac-simile* of the "Plan." This was the first announcement to the world of the long-suspected fact that General Charles Lee was undoubtedly a traitor to the cause he had espoused. Very recently a manuscript has been put into my hands, written by one of the most prominent actors in the scenes of the Revolution, which casts light upon the history of the production of "Mr. Lee's Plan." BENSON J. LOSSING.

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THE SPLIT BUSH—A SIGN FOR THE GODLY.—*Virginia, April 16, 1791.* For about eight hundred miles which I have

rode since I landed in South Carolina, we have had hardly any rain. But this day, the 16th, we were wetted to the skin. However, we at last happily found our way to the house of a Friend by the Preachers Mark—the *Split bush*.

This circumstance may appear to many immaterial; however, as it may convey some idea of the mode in which the Preachers are obliged to travel in this country, I will just enlarge upon it.—When a new Circuit is formed in these immense forests, the Preacher, whenever he comes in the first instance to a junction of several roads or paths, splits two or three of the bushes that lie on the side of the right path, that the Preachers who follow him may find out their way with ease. In one of the Circuits the wicked discovered the secret, and split bushes in wrong places on purpose to deceive the Preachers.—*Journal of the Rev. Thomas Coke.*

W. K.

JOHNNY CAKE.—It has been generally supposed that "Johnny Cake" was a corruption of "Journey Cake;" but Colonel Loudermilk, in his History of Cumberland, mentions a much more probable origin of the name. Speaking of the Shawanese he says: "A favorite article of diet amongst these Indians was a cake made of maize beaten as fine as the means at command would permit. This was mixed with water, and baked upon a flat stone which had been previously heated in the fire. The trappers followed the Indians' example in the baking of 'Shawnee cakes,' as they called them, and the lapse of a few years was sufficient to corrupt the term

into that of 'Johnny cake,' so familiar throughout the South, and in common use at this day."

*Alleghany, Pa.*

I. C.

THE ROCHAMBEAU PAPERS.—A proposition is now before Congress which deserves its early and favorable consideration. This is the purchase of the Rochambeau papers, which are offered for sale by the Marquis de Rochambeau, the representative of the family, and their present custodian. A carefully prepared inventory of this collection shows it to consist of fifteen hundred documents, including a large number of autograph letters of the American and French chiefs, diplomatic and military, of letters in cypher with their key, and of numerous maps and plans in drawing and engraving. The centennial anniversary of the landing of Rochambeau and the French contingent occurs in 1880, and it is greatly to be hoped, that in the preparation of the addresses which will doubtless make part of the ceremonies on this interesting occasion, and which should be under the *direction* and *patronage* of the Government of the United States, our historians may have access to this invaluable mine of original material.

EDITOR.

## QUERIES

MOURNING WOMEN.—The funeral of Lady Andros, who died in Boston, Feb. 10, 1687-8, is thus described by Sewall in his Diary: "Between 4 and 5 I went to the Funeral of the Lady Andros having been invited by the Clark of the South Company. Between 7 and 8

(Lychus [Lynchs? *i. e.*, links or torches,] illuminating the cloudy air). The Corps was carried into the Herse drawn by Six Horses, the Soldiers making a Guard from the Governour's House down the Prison Lane to the South Meeting house, there taken out and carried in at the western dore and set in the Alley before the pulpit, with six mourning women by it. House made light with Candles and Torches. Was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of the House that might not rush in too soon— I went home where about nine o'clock I heard the Bells toll again for the funeral—"

This is the first instance I have seen of *women as mourners* at a funeral. Is there any other? HISTORIAN.

MELLON AND MALONE.—What was the origin of the naming of Mellon's Bay in Jefferson county, N. Y.? Why was the name of the town of Ezrville in Franklin county, N. Y., changed to Malone? MELLON.

A CANTSLOPER.—In Colonel John May's Journal, p. 54, he says: "At 11 A. M. paid the visit to our Governor, wrapped in my cantsloper, and was received most graciously." What kind of a garment is a cantsloper?

*Alleghany, Pa.*

I. C.

GEN. SETH POMEROY.—This officer's death is said to have taken place at Peekskill, N. Y., February 19, 1777. Can any reader give me any particulars concerning his death or the place of his burial? C.

NEW YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY.—British Empire in America, by Herman Moll, London, A. D. 1708, Vol I., p.

128, says: "A Library was erected this year (1700) in the city of New York." Was not this the germ of the New York Society Library? JONES.

GENERAL FRAZER'S BURIAL PLACE.—Were the remains of General Simon Frazer removed from their resting place on the upper Hudson? Is there any positive information concerning the present resting place of that gallant officer?

*Rochester, N. Y.*

H. C. M.

THE FINE ARTS IN NEWPORT.—At Mr. Isaac Hart's a jew,\* living at the point in Newport, Rhode Island, there is a portrait of the Czar Peter 1st, done I believe by Sir Geodfrey Kneller, or some of his disciples, but finished by himself, it is a bust, in armor with an imperial mantle on his shoulders.

At Mr. John Bannister's farm, a mile and a half from Newport, there is a picture, 3 quarters, of Charles 1st, and his Queen. Of the Queen of Charles II. As I suppose of King William and Queen Mary, a beautiful picture. Cleopatra dying, is an oval frame, a picture bust of Oliver Cromwell, represented very ugly, and an oval picture bust of Vandyke, supposed to have been done by himself, very fine. With several more of lesser note, also a head of Spenser, very good.—*Du Simmitaire Mss.*, 1769.

\* Mr. Isaac Hart, of Newport, in Rhode Island, formerly an eminent merchant and ever a loyal subject, was inhumanly fired upon and bayoneted, wounded in fifteen different parts of his body, and beat with their muskets in the most shocking manner in the very act of imploring quarter, and died of his wounds a few hours after, universally regretted by every true lover of his King and country.—*Account of the attack on Fort St. George, Rivington's Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1780.

What has become of these pictures? *Newport.* A. H.

THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE?—Running through four successive numbers (March to June) of the first volume of the Magazine of American History, the late Mr. Thomas Balch contributed a very interesting narrative of a visit to this country in 1782, written by Claude Victor de Broglie, whom he is pleased to style "*the Prince de Broglie*." It is in regard to the title given to the author of the Narrative that this communication refers.

The preliminary note on page 180 gives some account of the writer and his family, in which it is said that Francois Marié (1), Maréchal de France, was created *Duc de Broglie* in 1742, whose son Victor Francois (2), the second *duke*, died at Munster in 1804, "and his son, Claude Victor (3), our author, born in 1757," was guillotined June 27, 1794. The note further states that the "*Prince de Broglie*" left one son, "Victor Charles (4), the late *Duc de Broglie*," who married the daughter of Madame de Stael, and whose son (5) is the present *Duke*. Now out of this genealogical record how is Claude Victor de Broglie, who died at the early age of thirty-seven, and before his father, created a *Prince*, when there is nothing elsewhere in the Narrative to show how he became entitled to the title?

This inquiry, which is not without interest, has been caused by the recent publication of a remarkable and important work, "The King's Secret," by the present Duc de Broglie, in fact a memoir of the diplomatic services of Charles Francois, Comte de Broglie, the uncle of Claude Victor. (See Review in Robinson's Epitome of Literature

for May 1st.) In the closing pages of the work the author refers to Claude Victor by name, but nowhere is anything said of his, or any other member of the family, having been created *Prince*. Do not these facts and circumstances show that the author of the interesting Narrative referred to did not claim and had no right to the title given him by Mr. Balch; that he did not even inherit his father's title of Duke?

Mr. Balch must also have been in error in his statement that the second Duc de Broglie "died at Munster in 1804." The present Duke says (Vol. II. p. 533): "*He was still living in 1804*, when the First Consul, reestablishing the dignity of Marshal of France, offered to reopen his country to him, and to restore his military honors. He refused, and died in a strange land."

CHARLES HENRY HART.

Philadelphia, May 1, 1879.

ANDRÉ — MONUMENT INSCRIPTION.—

The New York Sun has published the inscriptions Cyrus W. Field proposes to cut on the André monument. One is as follows: "*He was more unfortunate than criminal; an accomplished man and a gallant officer. George Washington.*"

I would like to know where Mr. Field finds the above quotation. The only thing resembling it I have been able to find is as follows: "André met his fate with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and a gallant officer." (Sparks, VII, 256.) I have sought in vain for the clause—"He was more unfortunate than criminal."

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

## REPLIES

DE BRY'S VOYAGES.—(III, 262.) The literature about DeBry is too extensive and formidable to be transferred to the pages of the Magazine. If "Bibliopole" will consult Dibdin, Brunet and Graesse, he will find the answer to his question.

*New York.*

B. R. B.

AN AUTHOR'S NAME.—(III, 263.) The author of *Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals and National Policy*, by a citizen of Virginia, was George Tucker. An account of him may be found in *Allibone's Dictionary*.

B. R. B.

ANDRÉ'S REMAINS.—(III, 203.) An account of the removal of the remains of Major André from Tappan to Westminster Abbey, written by James Buchanan, British Consul to New York, may be found in the "United Service Journal" for November, 1833. There are also accounts in Mrs. Child's "Letters from New York," and Dr. Thatcher's "Observations Relating to the Execution of Major André." The correspondence between Dr. Thatcher and Mr. Buchanan, in regard to certain statements made by the latter, is in the *New England Magazine* for May, 1834.

The querist should consult Sargent's "Life of André," and also "The Case of Major André" in Vol. VI. of the "Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania" for 1858. C. A. C.

—In reply to inquiry of "W. N.," concerning an account of the removal from Tappan to England of the remains of André, I will call his attention to

a communication from "a lady of Richfield Springs," embodying such account, in the *New York Evangelist* of January 30, 1879. Also to an important reply to it from James Demarest, Jr., in same paper, February 27th. H. W. K.

*Brooklyn, N. Y., April 1, 1879.*

COL. BROADHEAD'S EXPEDITION OF 1779.—(III, 315.) I know of no volume which contains the report to which A. E. refers. The expedition is related by De Hass in his volume on *Western Virginia*. The report in full is printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of October 19, 1779. W. K.

—The report desired will be found in *Craig's Olden Time, Vol. II*, 308.

*Alleghany, Pa.* ISAAC CRAIG.

—A. E. will find what he enquires for in "The Olden Times," Vol. II.; and also Broadhead's correspondence with others than Pickering, on the expedition, in "Pennsylvania Archives," Appendix 1790.

*Brownsville, Pa.* H. E. H

MRS. HORSMANDEN.—(I, 197.)entine's Manual for 1864, page 619, the Rev. Wm. Vesey was married 1698 to Mrs. Mary Reade, a widow

—GOTHAM.—(I, 633.) This querent may find an answer to his query consulting Wheeler's "Dictionary of Notorious Names."

—THE QUIDEM.—(III, 202.) In reply to the query on this subject,

said that in Father Rasle's Indian Dictionary (American Academy of Sciences, Vol. I. n. s.) the term is given as "Ag8iden," seeming to indicate canoes in general. In Rasle's alphabet "8i" has a guttural sound of "ou," very difficult to be pronounced.

ABENAKE.

LOST LOCALITIES.—(III. 203.) "The Forest-of-Dean" lies north of the Dundarberg, and a little west of the Hudson River. See Eager's "History of Orange County, N. Y."

C.

Hook, on Hudson River, the writer made inquiries about twenty-five years ago. All replies were to the same effect, that the name was given from an old occupant of the locality. Endeavoring to ascertain whether the said Tubby had been the occasional ferryman to the Jersey shore—for there was formerly a ferry thence—no information could be obtained. The change of name, a few years since, to that of Inwood, a designation so common to private places about New York, was far from agreeable to some at least of the old residents.

*Fieldston, April, 1879.* M. L. D.

THE FIRST GREAT QUARTO BIBLE IN AMERICA.—(III. 312.) It may be possible that the quarto Bible printed by Isaac Collins, mentioned in your last issue, was the first produced in this country, but the statement made in Caleb Cresson's Diary that his hands were at work upon it on the 25th of August, 1791, is not conclusive evidence of priority.

I have before me a large quarto Bible, containing 1399 pages, illustrated with fifty full-page engravings, printed at Worcester, Mass., in 1791, by Isaiah Thomas. Until it appears that Isaac Collins completed his Bible in 1791, I shall persistently claim that Isaiah Thomas printed the first great quarto Bible in America.

*Worcester, Mass.* CLARK JILLSON.

—In one of the recent queries in the Magazine of American History some one asks the meaning or derivation of Tubby Hook.

There is no Hollandish or Dutch word which exactly corresponds to this. It may be derived from *Tobbe*, a washing place, because the point forms a cove, and affords excellent bathing; or from *Tobben*, because the tide runs strongly and dangerously around the hook or point; or, thirdly, from *Tobbes*, the name of the stickle-back, a peculiar fish, which may have resorted in numbers to this locality. The spelling even of proper names was often variable and inaccurate a century or two since, even in elevated society. *Vide* correspondence and journals of early settlers.

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

*New York.*

INWOOD - ON - HUDSON vs. TUBBY HOOK.—(III. 261.) In reply to the query in the April number of the Magazine as to the origin of the name Tubby

LAFAYETTE AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.—(III. 202.) On page 81, New England Historical-Genealogical Register, Vol.



XXIV, 1870, a correspondent says: "Lafayette was made a citizen of Maryland by statute in 1784. He was also made a citizen of Virginia about the same time in the same manner. See 12 Henings' Statutes, p. 30.

As a citizen of Maryland and of Virginia he was of course a citizen of the United States before the Constitution—and if he had not been, he was expressly made such with the rest of their citizens by the terms of that instrument. Washington, in his correspondence respecting Lafayette's imprisonment in 1796, expressly says: "Lafayette is an adopted citizen of this country," though he had not renounced his French allegiance. J. F. W. can verify the above, I suppose, by reference to the Maryland and Virginia Statutes.

H. E. H.

*Brownsville, Pa., April 10, 1879.*

—(III. 202.) In the *Mémoires historiques et pièces authentiques sur M. de La Fayette*, published at Paris, 1793-4 (chapter upon the visit of Lafayette to New York, 30th June, 1784), M. de Crèvecoeur quotes a letter, announcing that the General Assembly of Connecticut had just passed a law naturalizing both the Marquis and his son citizens of the State, and congratulating himself that it was "Connecticut which had given on this continent the *second* example of a sovereign State offering unsolicited all of its privileges to a stranger."

Maryland, I believe, was the first State to accord to him this grateful testimony of their gratitude, no doubt in

memory of his campaign of 1781, when he made Annapolis his headquarters.

EDITOR.

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REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONS. — (III. 263.) An account of John Gray of Mount Vernon, the *last* soldier of the Revolution, by J. M. Dalzell, a pamphlet, was published in Washington in 1868.

*Harvard College Library.* J. W.

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DE LA NEUVILLE.—(III. 316.) Among the autograph letters sold some years since in Baltimore, for a charitable object, was one from Alexander Hamilton to James McHenry, Secretary of War, dated January 19, 1797, introducing "Mrs. de Neuville, widow of Mr. De Neuville of Holland, a gentleman who had embarked very zealously and very early in the cause of this country—was instrumental in promoting it, and, as I understand, an object of persecution in consequence of it, which was a link in the chain of his pecuniary ruin. I think his widow has a strong claim upon the kindness of our country, as far as a general consideration will admit relief."

This may aid in the discrimination of the persons of this name. EDITOR.

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PARENTAGE OF JACOB LEISLER.—(II. 494 and III. 57.) Having observed in the register of the Academy of Geneva the name of a student, the son of Jacobus Victorianus Leisler of Frankfort, I suggested in the *Magazine of American History* (II. 494) the possibility that Jacobus may have been the father of Jacob Leisler of New York, a theory

which seemed to me the more plausible because of two or three considerations, among which I mentioned, first, the *identity of the surnames*.

Your correspondent, E. C. B. (III. 58) takes exceptions to this remark. "The author," he says, "in the hurry of translation makes a slip. There is no such identity. Jacobi Victoriani filius is the son of *James* Victorian, not *Jacob*."

Permit me to remind E. C. B. that the surnames Jacob and Jacobus or James have in German but one equivalent, *Jacob*. When, therefore, it behooved John Henry of Frankfort to sign his name in the University register at Geneva, it was optional with him to render his German father's surname Jacob into Latin, either as Jacob or as Jacobus. Perhaps he did not know—quite as likely he did not care—whether his father had been named for the Patriarch or for the Apostle. At all events the name Jacobus Leisler could have been in its original German form nothing else than *Jacob Leisler*.

I am aware that in the German Bible the Hebrew name and its Greek derivative are distinguished, as in the Vulgate and the Septuagint (but not in Josephus), the form "Jacob" occurring in the book of Genesis, and the form "Jacobus" in the New Testament. There is, however, no such distinction in common use in German. K. E. Georges' *Deutsch-Lateinisches Handwörterbuch*: "JACOB, Vorname, JACOBUS."

"In Russia and in Germany and the countries more immediately related thereto, the name has retained its orig-

inal form, and accordingly there alone there would seem to be *no distinction between Jacob and James*." (Dictionary of the Bible, by William Smith, LL.D., vol. i., p. 918, *note*.)

Even in countries where such a discrimination is usual, "its modern dress," adds the authority quoted last, "sits very lightly on the name, and we see in 'Jacobite' and 'Jacobin' how ready it is to throw it off, and, like a true Oriental, reveal its original form." (Ibid.) "The French themselves were not always particular as to the mode of rendering into Latin a name in which they are supposed to have a special interest. In the lists of French Protestants naturalized in England, Jacobus '*seems to stand for Jacob and James*,'" says Agnew. (Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV., vol. i., p. 37. Elsewhere, it is true, he expresses himself less confidently—p. 72, *note*.) Castalio, or Châteillon, the French theologian, at one time professor of classical literature in Geneva, gives in his Latin translation of the Bible (Basle, 1573) the form Jacobus, throughout both Testaments, where the French version discriminates between Jacob and Jacques.

Other authorities might be cited, as that of Cole's English-Latin and Latin-English Dictionary (1717), which gives "Jacobus" as the rendering of Jacob and of James &c. The German usage, however, is conclusive as to the case before us. The Frankfort Leisler's name was certainly identical with that of the American patriot—or usurper.

C. W. B.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY  
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.** Ses-  
sions of 1877-8-9. 8vo, pp. 160. Quebec, 1879.

In a valuable paper read before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec on the 19th December, 1877, by Mr. Louis P. Turcotte, printed in the French original in this volume, will be found an account of the origin and purposes of this Society, which in the absence of any Record Office has done good service in the preservation of historical documents. It was organized at the instigation of Governor Lord Dalhousie in January, 1824. Its first volume of transactions was issued in 1829, a second in 1830, and a third in 1837. In 1832, the Legislature coming to its aid with a sum of three hundred pounds, the managers of the Society judiciously resolved to begin the purchase in Europe of original documents relating to the history of Canada.

While waiting the realization of this effort the Society published in 1838 a volume, containing a document supposed to be written by M. de Vauclain, a naval officer, entitled "Mémoire sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'en 1760." A second volume, issued in 1840, contained three documents copied at Venelles for Lord Durham, and five of those supplied by the Abbé John Holmes. In 1843 a third, containing the three Voyages de Jacques Cartier en Canada, the Routier de Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge, the Voyage du Sieur de Roberval, and the Lettres de Jacques Noël. Their publication used up the three hundred pounds voted, but the Legislature, in view of the importance of the work, voted a second sum of three hundred pounds and an annual donation of fifty pounds. The Society then began a manuscript collection on a more extended scale. Of these the first series of seventeen volumes contains copies of the official correspondence of the Governors of Canada, 1632-17, from the Paris Archives. The second series of six volumes is entitled Documents and Colonial History, and composed of papers selected from the London Archives. The third and last series of five volumes is made up of—I. Rétions du Canada depuis 1682; II. Autre Rétion du Canada, 1695-6; III. Voyages fait à Mississipi par d'Iberville et de Surpères IV. Histoire du Montréal attribuée à M. d'Allier Casson; V. Several relations on the siege of Quebec in 1759 and the war of Independence. The member of the Society, to whose lightened zeal the Society owes much of its success, is M. G. B. Fairbairn, who has been six times honored with its Presidency.

The active work of the Society was interrupted by the transfer of the seat of Government, first to Kingston, later to Montreal. In 1847 its numbers were reduced to fourteen paying members. The transactions from 1832 to 1853 are included in a single volume, the fourth of the series. In 1852 the return of the Government service to Quebec gave new vigor and alimant to the institution, but the destruction of the Parliament buildings in 1854, where it had its rooms, was a terrible blow. It lost its museum of natural history, its collections of pictures and a part of its library, but fortunately saved its manuscripts. In 1862 its museum and a part of the library were again destroyed by the fire which consumed the Savings Bank, in which it had quarters, but again fortunately its manuscripts were preserved. In 1863 it began the publication of a new series of its transactions, which has been since continued nearly every year. In 1877 the publications had reached eight volumes of *Memoires* and ten of *Transactions*. A catalogue of this series is appended to M. Turcotte's sketch.

In the present report we find a paper "On the Aborigines of Canada under the British Crown," by William Clint, with an enumeration of the Indians in the provinces, and an appreciative paper on Emerson the Thinker, read in January of the present year by George Stewart, Jr., author of the recent history of Canada under the administration of the Earl of Dufferin.

Our cordial sympathies and good wishes are with this excellent and industrious institution.

**RECORDS OF THE PRESIDENT AND  
COUNCIL OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, FROM JANU-  
ARY 1, 1679 TO DECEMBER 22, 1688.** Edited,  
with notes and an introduction, by CHARLES  
DEANE, F. S. A. Fifty copies from the  
Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical  
Society. 8vo, pp. 26. Press of JOHN WIL-  
SON & SON. Boston, 1878.

This is the first publication from old manuscripts in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, entitled the Journal of the President and Council of New Hampshire. It consists of twenty-three folio pages, and is in the handwriting of Elias Stileman, the Secretary of the Province. It is supposed to contain details on provincial history of New Hampshire nowhere else to be found. It begins with the entry, dated January 1, 1679, of the receipt by the hands of Edward Randolph of the King's

Commission for the Government of New Hampshire, which, on the decision rendered in England that neither Massachusetts nor Robert Mason had a right to rule the four towns which constituted the territory, the King in Council created a Royal Province. It closes with a minute of the 22d December on a matter of Customs business. Its interest is local.

**POEMS OF PLACES.** Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA—SOUTHERN STATES, 32mo, pp. 268. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

This is still another of the charming little series, which the name of Longfellow commends to every heart. The antiquary will delight in Michael Drayton's ode, quaint and rare, to the Virginian voyage to the land where "plenty grows of laurel everywhere" for warrior, poet and for sage; here too is perpetuated the spirited stanzas of My Maryland, which stirred many a marching regiment in the field and many an anxious heart at home during the late war. So will the anonymous verses, describing Stonewall Jackson's way. Not so well known is the exquisite little poem entitled Forest Pictures, Georgia, by Paul Hamilton Hayne. And who that heard "Fanny Kemble" read Whittier's feeling stanzas to Barbara Freitchie, the loyal heroine of Frederick town, will not delight to have the melodious tones of her wonderful voice recalled by a perpetual reminder in this beautiful table companion.

**THE SILVER QUESTION.** By GEORGE M. WESTON. 8vo, pp. 293. Published by I. S. HOMANS. New York, 1878.

The dedication of this volume to the Hon. John P. Jones, whose influence forced the Silver bill through the last Congress, is sufficient indication of its general purpose. Mr. Weston is an unhesitating advocate of the entire restoration of silver as an unlimited legal tender, and the imperative necessity of its free coinage. In his argument he invokes the great authority of Albert Gallatin, confessedly the ablest financier this country has seen since the days of Hamilton, and indeed as excellent an authority as he. Mr. Gallatin certainly favored the double standard, but nowhere, we venture to say, can Mr. Gallatin be found in favor of the admission of a double standard, in which the precise ratio of value between the two metals is not preserved. It is the great fluctuation in the value of silver, consequent on the discovery of immense deposits of silver, and its increased production, that have disturbed its relative value, as compared with gold, and led to a general belief that its use as a measure of value is too unstable to be maintained. This is the reason why the

economists of the world are now arrayed in two camps; those in favor of a single and of a double standard. At the great monetary conference held in France in 1867 the weight of the United States was thrown in favor of a single, and that a gold standard, by Mr. Ruggles, its distinguished representative. In 1878 this position was reversed, the commission adopting the views of Congress, as expressed in the law of February, 1878. Between these dates the great increase in the production of silver has intervened.

Of all the treatises on this question on the silver side, this of Mr. Weston is the best. His argument is clear, and he does not permit his feelings to get the better of his reasoning faculties, an unpardonable error in such disquisitions. In the last number of the Contemporary Review (April, 1879) Mr. Stephen Williamson distinctly asserts that the protracted commercial and manufacturing distress of Great Britain, and of the world at large, is to be directly ascribed to the "suicidal act of discarding, discrediting and cutting off from performing its wonted functions one of the two agents or solvents for the liquidation of balances of international indebtedness," and urges the "rehabilitation of silver to the rank of money both sides of the Atlantic." While as at present advised we should regret to see silver made an unlimited legal tender, we are free to say that we should be glad to see the silver currency of the United States raised to its gold value, and a place made for it in the circulating medium, by the withdrawal of every note of the United States and of the National Banks below the sum of five dollars. In this manner as much silver as we are likely to coin in the next two or three years could be easily absorbed, and to general benefit.

**FATHER TOM AND THE POPE; OR A NIGHT AT THE VATICAN.** By the late JOHN FISHER MURRAY. With illustrative engravings. 16mo, pp. 96. T. B. PETERSON & BROS. Philadelphia [1878].

This famous squib is *sui generis*. In it satire is mingled with fine critical learning, and although now that the religious controversy, the occasion of which called it out, is what we may term one of the dead issues, and quite out of fashion, it is as readable and amusing as when it first appeared in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in 1838. Its authorship has been attributed to various persons, particularly to Dr. Maguire, Rev. Francis Mahony and Samuel Ferguson of Dublin. In a preface "Father Tom" is now affiliated upon its actual author, the late John Fisher Murray. This little edition is pleasantly illustrated and well printed, and we know of scores of libraries where it will be a welcome guest.

**ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION, CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS, OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF UTICA.** With the Annual Reports of the Officers for 1878, and some account of the collections of the Society and its needs and purposes. Founded 1876, incorporated 1878. 8vo, pp. 38. ELLIS K. ROBERTS & Co., printers. Utica, 1879.

We have already noticed the good work which this Society has done for the exposition of the history of the Mohawk Valley in publishing the Memorial of the Centennial of Oriskany and other papers. Utica is a place of excellent culture and abundant wealth, and her patronage of a Society is assurance of its success. Five papers were read before it last year, a satisfactory sign of its vigorous beginning. And its treasures begin with the Vanderkemp collection of manuscripts and works of art, several thousand in number. We note also a nearly complete set of the pamphlets printed in the Welsh language in Oneida county, beginning with Pigion o Hymnan, by Ira Merrill, at Utica in 1808.

What county in New York State will next follow in this excellent track?

**BRYANT MEMORIAL MEETING OF THE CENTURY, TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 12, 1878.** 8vo, pp. 74. Press of G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. Century Rooms, New York.

In this elegantly printed pamphlet is found a complete account of the memorial meeting of the Century Club in honor of its late President. The programme was of an artistic character, including music, poems by Bayard Taylor, R. H. Stoddard and E. C. Stedman, and an oration by John Bigelow. Mr. Bigelow was for many years the associate of Mr. Bryant in the editorship of the Evening Post, and qualified beyond all others to speak with authority concerning his habits of thought and manner of mental labor, a subject which always interests the literary man.

Few men could say as Bryant of himself that he always wrote his best; that not only was he never satisfied with second-rate work, but that he was willing to publish nothing with which he was not satisfied. This is a severe strain, and none but a thorough mental and physical training could have sustained it. The critical reader will be gratified by Mr. Bigelow's truthful and judicious analysis of journalism as a profession. He divides it into two well-defined schools, one of which aims in daguerotyping the events and humors of the day, the other to direct and shape these events and humors to special standards. One the school of the real, the other of the

ideal. The reader need not be told that the serious philosophic mind of Bryant could not have contented itself except in the latter school.

This oration, differing widely as it does from those of Curtis and Osgood, is to the full as interesting as either. It is clothed in language of pellucid clearness, in every line of which we discern the ripe scholarship and contemplative philosophy which Mr. Bryant sought in his companions and associates, and in the exercise of which the Evening Post may be said to have formed a class of its own in the school of journalism which it followed.

**KANSAS CITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY FIRST BIENNIAL REPORT.** Submitted at the Annual Meeting, January 21, 1879. 8vo, pp. 63. GEORGE W. MARTIN, publisher. Topeka, Kansas.

The work of this youthful Society appears from this report to be progressing at a satisfactory rate; the collections of books and pamphlets are increasing, and notably the bound newspaper files which, kept up, will prove invaluable to the later historian. A manuscript collection is being formed of letters and documents concerning the earlier history of the State, and to this is added the extensive scrap-books of newspaper clippings, collected by Dr. Webb, the Secretary of the N. E. Emigrant Aid Company. We wish the young Society success.

**BERARD'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.** Revised by C. E. BUSH. 16mo, pp. 352. COWPERTHWAIT & Co. Philadelphia, 1878.

The author bases the claims of this work, at a time when so many histories of the United States are already before the public, upon its special and practical adaptation to the actual work of teaching. Its plan was wrought out in the class-room, and carefully tested by practical application. Its peculiarity consists in arrangement; each division of the book being preceded by a careful analysis of the subject treated; the text following in the precise order thereby indicated. This purpose is well carried out. A chronological table of principal events since the Columbian discovery, an analysis of the Constitution of the United States, an index and pronouncing vocabulary of Indian and foreign names, increase its value to the teacher. It is remarkably well edited, with clear divisions, and is excellently printed. Some colored maps and well-executed text illustrations add to its attractiveness and value.

**SOME EARLY NOTICES OF THE INDIANS OF OHIO. TO WHAT RACE DID THE MOUNDBUILDERS BELONG?** By M. F. FORCE.

8vo, pp. 73. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1879.

The first of these papers, read before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, groups together in chronological order the various notices of the Western tribes of Indians, from the discovery by Champlain in 1609 of the Quatoghies on the eastern shore of Lake Huron. In 1650 these Hurons, or Ouendats, as they called themselves, were nearly destroyed by the Five Nations, and sought refuge among the tribes of the western extremity of Lake Superior. Threatened by the Sioux, they next placed themselves under the protection of the French post of Mackinac, and gradually pushed down to Detroit; and thence extended their settlements and permanently established themselves in the northwestern part of Ohio, where they became known as the Wendots or Wyandots, a corruption of their name of Ouendats. The Miamis settled the western portion of Ohio, the Shawnees the Scioto Valley, the Delawares the valley of the Muskingum and the Senecas the northern and eastern borders.

This paper only treats of the history of two tribes, the Eries and the Shawnees, from authentic sources. The Eries, or the Nation du Chat, appear in a list of the sedentary nations that speak the Huron tongue in a relation of 1635. In their contest with the Onondagas, who took to the warpath to avenge the death of one of their chiefs, the Eries were entirely destroyed; and their country on the southern shore of Lake Erie is laid down on a map of 1720 as the "Nation du Chat, détruite." The Chaouanons, Shawanoes, or Shawnees, as they are now termed, emigrated to Ohio after 1750. Parkman says that "their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances perplex the antiquary and defy research." Nor has recent investigation been able to trace this nomadic tribe to its original home. The French accounts, however, to which in all disputed cases we incline to give most credit, assign to them the southern shore of Lake Erie as their first seat. They appear to have been pushed towards Carolina by the Iroquois, who settled on Lake Ontario when they were driven from Montreal by the Algonquins. A tribe with a similar name was on the Delaware River in 1614. In 1694 a portion of the Shawnees emigrated from the South, and settled among the Minnisinks above the forks of the Delaware. When La Salle established his post on the Illinois, they were drawn thither. Some of them lived on the borders of Virginia. In the last half of the

seventeenth century their home was on the upper waters of the Cumberland. Here they first appear in actual history.

The second paper—To what Race did the Moundbuilders belong?—was written for the Congrès International des Américanistes, which met at Luxembourg in September, 1877. It ascribes these curious structures, scattered over the United States, to a people materially different from the Indians of to-day. The works are of various character, and erected for different purposes. Some are fortifications, signal stations, others substructures for temples or dwellings, some cemeteries and others single graves. Some of the larger conical mounds show evident stratifications as though tiers of bodies had been interred at one time, and covered with earth. Some represent effigies prone on the earth, others are in mathematical figures, simple or in sections. They are to be found scattered from Texas to Carolina, on the Mississippi, in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and on the Upper Missouri and its affluents. These latter are massive defensive works. The three belts of Ohio, the valley of the Miamis to the west, the Scioto Valley in the center, and Muskingum Valley to the east, appear to have been the homes of three different, though kindred, tribes. The mounds differ in magnitude. Many of them are sixty, some ninety feet high. That at Cahokia has a base of eight acres, and is ninety feet high, with a summit level of five acres, and contains about twenty million cubic feet of earth. The defensive work on the Little Miami, called Fort Ancient, has an embankment four miles in circuit, part of it twenty feet high, and, extending out to the front from the main entrance, two parallel lines of embankment, making a covered way more than a thousand feet long. The works above Newark, O., comprise twelve miles of embankments; those at Portsmouth, twenty miles. Equally striking is the relation of the works to each other, indicating a system of national defence, surrounded by signal mounds, which could transmit an alarm for a distance of a hundred miles. Such a system of works imply a people governed by a central directing power, and also a sedentary laboring population. This population was not only an agricultural, but a mining people. The copper mines on Lake Superior were extensively worked. The Moundbuilders and the Pueblo Indians have so many points of resemblance that the one might be taken for the other. Nor yet in the opinion of Mr. Force is there anything in the condition of the Moundbuilders inconsistent with the idea of their having been tribes of North American Indians. The growth of trees in the mounds gives some idea of the age in which the builders lived, and show that the works must have been abandoned at least

six or eight hundred years ago, perhaps much earlier. As to the Lake Superior mines, there are widely different opinions; Mr. Gilman concluding that they were abandoned eight hundred years ago, while Dr. Lapham believes them to have been worked as recently as the early French settlement of the Northwest. As for the argument to be deduced from the study of the skulls, Mr. Force draws the conclusion that there is no peculiarity or characteristic differing from those common to the crania of living tribes.

Mr. Force calls attention to the game of "chungke," played with a stick and stone discs by the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees and Chicasaws, the ancient game of the Southern Indians, and the constant finding of just such stone discs in the mounds. The stone implements of the ancient and modern people do not materially differ, nor yet their pottery. The mound-builders the author considers to have been driven from their fortresses and their territory, and forced into the tract bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, where, mingled with the conquering tribes, they lost some of their industries, but preserved some of their traits. He concludes that they were of the same race as tribes now living; that they were as civilized as the Pueblo Indians; that they flourished a thousand years ago, and earlier and later, and that in the tribes near the Gulf of Mexico were preserved some of their customs and some of their lineage till after the discovery of America by Columbus.

**THE COLORED CADET AT WEST POINT.** Autobiography of Lieutenant HENRY OSSIAN FLIPPER, U. S. A., First Graduate of Color from the U. S. Military Academy. 12mo, pp. 322. HOMER LEE & CO. New York, 1878.

We begin a notice of this volume, which is likely to hold its place among American biographies, by mentioning the honest praise bestowed upon the authorities at West Point during the period of Lieutenant Flipper's cadetship. In his own words, "All he could say of the professors and officers at the Academy would be unqualifiedly in their favor." Flipper was born a slave in Georgia in 1856. His early education was received at the school of the American Missionary Association at Atlanta, the Storrs' School and the Atlantic University. He was a freshman in the collegiate department when he received his appointment as a cadet, on the recommendation of the Hon. J. C. Freeman, member of Congress from the Fifth District of Tennessee. He was graduated in 1877, and now holds a commission of Second Lieutenant of Cavalry in the United States Army. As to his personal experiences at the Point, he is reticent in this autobiography. The majority of the corps, he says,

were gentlemen, who treated him on all occasions with proper politeness; but there were exceptions. But is this not the case in all classes of all colleges. His graduation was the occasion of comments from the press, as varied no doubt as his treatment from his fellows. Those who expect to find in this volume that Flipper was a persecuted martyr, or yet his graduation the signal for a social millennium in the army, will be equally disappointed. He received all that law entitled to him to receive, the courtesy and unprejudiced care of his superiors. Social distinctions are beyond the reach of legislation. Equality before the law the colored race are entitled to, and will ultimately receive. All other equality they must conquer of and by themselves. Outside interference will retard, but can never hasten it.

**NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS MADE DURING FOUR YEARS OF SERVICE WITH THE NINETY-EIGHTH NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS IN THE WAR OF 1861.** By WILLIAM KREUTZER, Colonel. 8vo, pp. 368. Philadelphia, 1878.

This work is compiled essentially from notes and observations made at the time of the occurrences the author describes. We almost wish that he had given us his impressions unchanged from his original minutes. These are the true "blood and smoke stained" pages, which are invaluable to the historian. The author leaves us in no doubt as to his politics. "It is thirteen years," he reminds us, "since the army was disbanded and Congress assumed command; and still that fair domain of ten States is literally a howling wilderness and an insurrectionary chaos;" and equally frank is his opinion of the cause for this state of things. "The large estates of the South should have been confiscated or purchased, and resurveyed and broken up; they should have been given to our soldiers and landless millions. So the nations assimilate and hold their conquests; so Rome subdued the world."

The Ninety-eighth was raised in the counties of Franklin, Wayne and Ontario. The primary organizations were made in the fall of 1861, and the regiment constituted in February, 1862, and was at once sent forward to Washington, where it was attached to Casey's division, and thoroughly drilled by that admirable and efficient officer. In April it made part of the celebrated peninsula campaign; and here we note an observation of Colonel Kreutzer on this movement. No expedition on record, he says, ever moved with such rapidity; in twelve days the Government transported 121,500 men, 14,591 animals, 1,150 wagons, 44 batteries, and 74 ambulances, besides an enormous amount of equipment, provisions and other impedimenta of war; a fact which history may safely be challenged

to rival. The battle of Williamsburg is condemned as a military blunder. Competent critics we believe bear him out in this judgment. In May Casey was assigned to command at the White House, and General Peck replaced him in his division.

After the failure of the peninsula campaign, in all the battles of which it took part, the Ninety-eighth was attached to the expedition against North Carolina, and participated in the capture of Port Royal Harbor, from which they were sent to the attack on Charleston which Gillmore led. Later the Ninety-eighth was returned to Beaufort, and did good service in guarding the Atlantic and North Carolina railroad; later, when General Grant made the final movement, it took part with the Army of the James.

The book is written in a simple, pleasing style, and is full of personal incident and anecdote. It is a desirable contribution to the history of the war.

#### PRE-HISTORIC COPPER IMPLEMENTS.

An open letter to the Historical Society of Wisconsin. By the Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER. 8vo, pp. 15. Privately Printed. Boston, 1879.

In this letter the remarkable progress made by the Wisconsin Society in the collection of the pre-historic remains of the Western valleys—a collection which in 1876 reached—*stone* implements alone—nine thousand pieces, representing most, if not all, of the occupations of a race, all record of whom is lost, but whose daily life and domestic economy may be almost reconstituted from these silent witnesses. Important as this collection is, it is overmatched and dwarfed by the collection of pre-historic *copper* implements, now numbering one hundred and ninety different articles, some evidently cast in moulds, and nearly all of which have been discovered in this decade. There appear, therefore, to be different data upon which to predicate a satisfactory solution to the problem, whether the makers or users of these implements were the same people who occupied the country when first discovered by Europeans, or an earlier race, antedating the American Indian. Further discoveries of new implements may have a decisive bearing on the final disposition of this question, but as it now stands the balance of evidence supplied by these implements, and the fact that all those of copper are of the same class as the stone, and similar to those known to have been made and used by the American Indians, leads to the logical inference that they were made and used by the same people. Such is the view of Mr. Slafter; but we do not see why the north-western race, which is supposed to have conquered the Moundbuilders, and to have occupied

their country, might not have learned the arts of the conquered, precisely as the hordes of northern barbarians that overrun the south of Europe, or the Goths, who conquered Arabian Spain, learned from them their arts and industries.

There is abundant evidence, however, that the Indians discovered by the French explorers were acquainted with the use of copper, while it is equally clear that the English explorers of the higher latitudes found no such implements among the Esquimaux, whose boats and huts, like their garments, were made of the skins of wild beasts. Mr. Slafter gives the original and translation of such parts of the journals of Jacques Cartier, Jean Alfonse and Champlain as refer to the use of red copper, or, as the Indians called it, *caignetzaze*. Champlain gives a description of the mode of manufacture as he heard it from an Algonquin chief, fresh from the copper region, in 1610.

Such papers as this are invaluable in their succinct treatment of single branches of the subject. The modern monograph is the most satisfactory method of historic or philosophic presentation.

#### THE CELEBRATION OF THE QUARTER-MILLENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE REFORMED PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1623-1878, NOVEMBER 21, 1878.

Not many such commemorations as this have occurred in the New World, with which the very name of Quarter-Millennial seems at discord. The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church was the mother of the Dutch churches in the city of New York. The anniversary was commemorated with solemn dignity. Dr. Thomas E. Vermilye, the senior pastor of the church, delivered an historical discourse, in which he traced its ecclesiastical origin from the established church of Holland. For forty years the Collegiate was the only church in New Amsterdam, its first meeting place being in 1626 in a large upper room over a horse-mill; in 1633, in a wooden building, near what is now Old Slip; in 1642, a new stone edifice was erected, in which it worshipped until 1693, when the Garden street church was built. It was not till 1696 that it obtained from William of Orange a first regular charter, preceding a year or two that of Trinity. In 1729 the old Middle, on Cedar and Liberty streets, long called the New Dutch Church, and since used for the Post Office, was dedicated, and in 1769 the North, corner of William and Fulton, then in the Fields. The old church in the Fort was named St. Nicholas. The antiquary and the student of evangelical history will find abundant matter for study in these pages.



**EVERT AUGUSTUS DUYCKINCK; HIS LIFE, WRITINGS AND INFLUENCE. A Memoir.** By SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., LL.D. Reprinted from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1879, 8vo, pp. 16. DAVID CLAPP & SON, printers. Boston, 1879.

In the April number of the Magazine [III. 268] attention was called to the Memorial Sketch of Mr. Duyckinck read before the New York Historical Society by Mr. William Allen Butler. In the present memoir many details and incidents of the lamented scholar, by another intimate associate, happily supplement that which preceded it. We here find a careful account of Mr. Duyckinck's progenitors and parentage and a picture of the circle in which he was a leading spirit a quarter of a century ago, when Irving, Cooper, Halleck, Bryant, Charles King, William Kent, and the genial divine, Dr. Bethune, made a galaxy in the literary firmament, which attracted and riveted every eye.

Dr. Osgood examines the career of his subject from a New England point of view, and recognises in him the influence of the English type of literature, which Irving, while original in matter, closely followed and rivalled in his admirable manner. New England thought was diverted into another direction, which Dr. Osgood terms the Transcendental or German school, by Ralph Waldo Emerson. New York easily led the way in what is called belles-lettres; history, romance and essays.

The various contributions of Mr. Duyckinck in these several branches are carefully recorded in these lines. In addition, there is a section devoted to the mental and moral characteristics of Mr. Duyckinck, in which justice is done to his liberal instincts, while the tenacity with which he clung to the old faith and culture is pointed out. This is a correct appreciation of his nature. While in nothing a bigot, Mr. Duyckinck loved the old. With all the gentleness and amenity of his race, he had also all of its unswerving persistency. As a literary man, he may well be termed the last of the Knickerbockers. There are none to tread in his shoes.

**MINUTES OF THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK, 1806-1878.** A. E. M. PURDY, M. D., editor. Part I. 8vo, pp. 64. Published by the Society. New York, 1879.

In this well-edited and beautifully printed pamphlet are given the "Proceedings of the Physicians and Surgeons of the County of New York convened on the 1st day of July, 1806,"

in the front court-room of the City Hall, according to an Act of the Legislature of the State of the 4th April, 1806, "to incorporate Medical Societies for the purpose of regulating the practice of Physic and Surgery in this State." Among the names of those who attended this first meeting the old New Yorker will especially note those of Romaine, who heads the list, Anthon, Proudfit, Barrow, Moore, Post, Miller, Kissam, Hosack, Mac Neven, and Van Beuren, all famous in their day. Dr. Nicholas Romaine was elected President of "The Medical Society of the County of New York" then and there formed. The original resolution declared all members of the profession, authorized to practice by law in New York and Kings county at the period of the organization, to be *ipso facto et de jure* members of the corporation.

This first block brings the minutes of the Society to the 8th October, 1808. On this day, it is interesting to note, that one Mrs. Louisa Kastner was recommended as a practitioner of midwifery.

#### A TRIBUTE TO THE OLDEN TIME—

NEW YORK, 1609-1878. Pp. 10.

The 250th anniversary of the oldest church in New York City, of which Dr. Vermilye is senior pastor, suggested these stanzas to Mr. A. V. W. Van Vechten on occasion of the Annual Festival of the St. Nicholas Society, 6th December, 1878, a society of which Dr. Vermilye is Chaplain. The bright color of the tinted paper on which the lines are printed is appropriate to the Orange leaflet.

**POEMS OF PLACES.** Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA—WESTERN STATES. 16mo, pp. 254. Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1879.

This is the fifth in the series of these attractive volumes under the heading of America. We naturally seek in it the names of those who have made us acquainted with the glories of Western scenery. Here in stately measure Bryant describes "the Prairies, Gardens of the Desert, the unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful, for which the speech of England has no name," and Whittier follows close in lines majestic and serene. The wonders of the Mammoth Cave inspire the muse of George D. Prentice. Bret Harte delights with his descriptions of the golden land of California, and amuses with his striking drawings of character. In this volume also may be found Prentice's inspiring ode on Lookout Mountain, the scene of the battle in the clouds, which turned the scale of the Western campaign.





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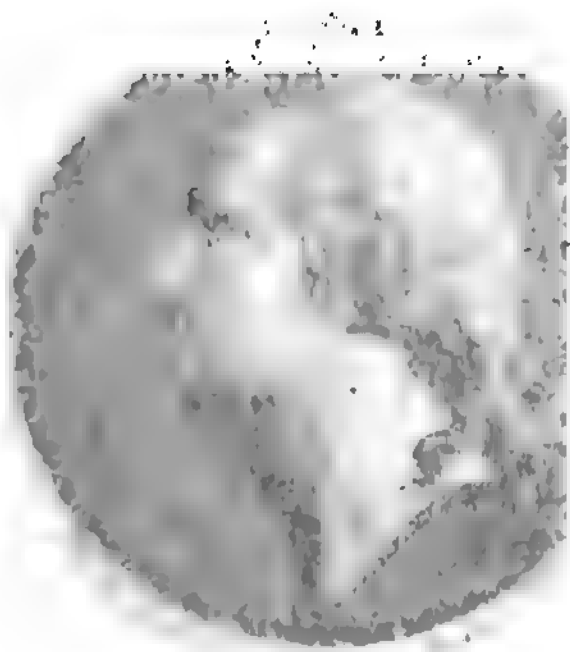
VOL. IV. AUGUST 1879. No. 8.

## AND THE REAL WASHINGTON

General Washington has been almost forgotten since the death of George Washington. His name has been almost hidden from us in some degree by a general and unfeeling oblivion. He has been so uniformly extolled that our friends tell us, with a yawn, that they are tired of hearing his name. He has been edited into obscurity, and has disappeared. When the genial and friendly soldier wrote "Old Times," and, devoid of the sense of humor, has substituted "Old Times," until at length, a lover of the man has to defend him from his own contradiction. "What have I done, sir, that I should be forgotten?" It seems as if the persons who have written the eulogies on the fame of this admirable citizen have written in the eulogy of the nation who, at the age of twenty, expressed the opinion that it was necessary the General should be supported." He has been so much such a point that now he is chiefly known to the public mind as the hero of a comedy, entitled "The

[illegible]

The last of the cars of the last century was the horse-drawn wagon. Wagon companies used to ride about in the south, and the wagon was the only way to get around. The wagon is in the little wagon, and the horse is in the little wagon.



# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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AUGUST 1879

No. 8

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## THE TRADITIONAL AND THE REAL WASHINGTON

**E**IGHTY years have not passed since the death of George Washington, and already he is hidden from us in some degree by a haze of eulogy and tradition. He has been so uniformly extolled that some of our young men tell us, with a yawn, that they are tired of hearing Aristides called The Just. He has been edited into obscurity, like a Greek play. Where the genial and friendly soldier wrote "Old Put," a respectable editor, devoid of the sense of humor, has substituted General Putnam; until, at length, a lover of the man has to defend him against the charge of perfection. "What have I done, sir, that I should be accused of being perfect?" It seems as if the persons who have taken in charge the fame of this admirable citizen have written in the spirit of Alexander Hamilton who, at the age of twenty, expressed the opinion that "it was necessary the General should be supported." He has been supported to such a point, that now he is chiefly known to the lighter spirits of his country as the hero of a comic song entitled, "The Little Hatchet."

We can trace part of the process by which a modest and interesting character has been clouded into a tedious demi-god. For some years before his death he was claimed as the property of a political party, and eulogized accordingly. But the opposition, not allowing the claim, eulogized also, and would not be outdone in eulogy. He came to his biographers, therefore, enveloped in incense, and they, with one accord, from ponderous Marshall to fanciful Weems, from genial Irving to stately Everett, place him on a pedestal, and insist on making him a colossal statue. The least known of these authors has been the most read; he created the Washington of the Sunday-School library and barber-shop art.

Toward the close of the last century an eccentric book-seller, Weems by name, used to ride about in the southern States with an assortment of literature in his little wagon, and a fiddle under the seat. He sold

his books in the day-time from house to house, and from county to county, and in the evening, when he put up for the night at some plantation house, he was ready with his fiddle, either to amuse the family, or to go into the negro quarter and strike up a tune for the servants to dance to. He seem to have been a good-natured, easy-going man, with a talent for telling stories ; a talent which makes almost any man welcome almost any where. It is related of him by the late Bishop Meade that, at an old Virginia tavern called the White Chimneys, this peddler and some strolling players met by chance one night. A performance had been announced ; the people of the neighborhood had assembled ; but the players had brought no music with them, though music was necessary for the proper presentation of the show. Weems volunteered to supply the deficiency, and performed on his fiddle to the general satisfaction.

I have called this man a book peddler ; but that was by no means the title which he usually gave himself. If he had had such a thing as a card about him, it would have borne the words, REV. MASON LOCKE WEEMS. He had figured in the pulpit in his time, and it has been recently ascertained that he was ordained in Maryland a clergyman of the Episcopal Church. In early manhood, we find him a hanger-on, or curate unattached, in Pohick parish, near Mount Vernon, the church which was for many years attended by General Washington and his family. He used to speak of himself sometimes as the rector of that parish, but he never could have been rector of any parish. Bishop Meade of Virginia, who knew him in his own boyhood, intimates that the idea of M. L. Weems being the incumbent of a parish was preposterous. "I acknowledge," wrote the Bishop, "that he was in the habit of having the servants assemble in private houses where he would spend the night, and would recite a portion of Scripture (for he never read it out of a book), and perhaps say something to them, or in the prayer about them ; but then it was in such a way as only to produce merriment." The Bishop adds that he had been an eye-witness of Weems' ludicrous exhibitions, both at his mother's house and his own, and he does not think that Weems could have long made any serious pretense to be a settled rector. It is possible he may have officiated in Pohick church in the presence of Washington, and doubtless he had often gazed upon the General with sincere veneration.

People of the present day can hardly form an idea of such a character ; but in the slatternly and profuse magnificence of old Virginia there was room and sustenance for various odds and ends of human

nature; men without standing or dignity, and yet possessing qualities which made them welcome in all companies, and gave them a foot-hold in the social system of the period. Mason Locke Weems, with his fun and his fiddle, his imagination and his fluency, had points in common with that most gifted of all such Virginians, Patrick Henry. Without the opportunity which called into exercise Patrick Henry's sublime talent, that great-natured orator might have lived to the end of his days a fiddling stroller and story-teller, like his contemporary, Weems.

Bishop Meade makes jocular allusion to Weems' "very enlarged charity in all respects." He knew no sect; but in his preaching days delighted to preach in any church that would receive him, and in any parish where he could get a chance to recommend his books. Wherever there was to be an election or a court, Weems was very likely to be found with his stand for books on the piazza of the tavern. On one occasion, when the Bishop found him thus established at Fairfax Court-House, he noticed that he had among his books a copy of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*. Taking it up the clergyman asked: "Is it possible you can sell such a book?" Weems instantly took from a shelf the Bishop of Llandaff's answer to Paine, and said: "Behold the antidote. The bane and the antidote are both before you." He even went further than this. He preached one day for Meade, while the rector was absent in another parish; and in the course of his sermon he pronounced a fine eulogium upon Thomas Paine and one or two other conspicuous persons of similar belief. He said, among other things, that if their spirits could return to the earth, they would be shocked to hear the falsehoods that were told of them. This is highly probable, and we can hardly agree with the Bishop in pronouncing the remark "a spurious kind of charity." On Monday, when the young rector had returned home, his mother took Weems to task for this remarkable passage of his sermon; "and I well remember," says the Bishop, "that even he was confused and speechless."

Among the polite readers of this periodical, I presume there are many who have never so much as heard the name of this singular genius. I continually meet well-informed people who know nothing of him, and who gaze with incredulity when they are told that he was not only a voluminous author, but one of the most influential that ever lived in the United States. Take one remarkable instance: It was Weems' *Life of Washington* that assisted to call forth the latent mind of Abraham Lincoln, when he was a ragged, ignorant, bare-footed boy of the frontier, fourteen years of age. He borrowed the fascinating little



book from a neighbor, and as often as he could snatch a few minutes he read it with avidity, as hundred of thousands of boys had done before him, and as thousands are now doing. It proved a costly book to the poor lad, for when it was not in use he was accustomed to place it on a shelf in his father's miserable log hut; and one night, while the future President was asleep, the rain poured through a crevice between the logs and spoiled the precious volume. Books were books on the frontier then. The owner refused to take back the damaged volume, and Abraham was obliged to pay for it by working three days at twenty-five cents a day. The book is still one of the staple commodities of the trade, although the polite world never sees it and rarely hears of it.


The best known story in this biography affords us a most curious and striking illustration of the homely old saying, that Lies never prosper. I mean the anecdote of George Washington and his hatchet, which has gone round and round the world, and been told to children in every language. We should naturally suppose that, of all the falsehoods man could invent, there could be none more harmless than a tale invented to bring home to childish minds the charms of truth and the virtues of a favorite hero. But it is this very story which invests the name of Washington with a kind of ridicule. I have mentioned the popular comic song upon the little hatchet. On the annual recurrence of Washington's birthday, there are still a few old-fashioned editors who favor the public with serious reflections upon the character and career of the first President. But it is the comic men of the press who most frequently utilize the occasion. In hundreds of newspapers they endeavor to amuse their readers with jests upon the little boy who cut down the cherry tree. I have seen three thousand people convulsed with laughter at Mark Twain's joke in one of his lectures, where he proved himself to be a better man than the father of his country; for, whereas Washington could not lie, he, Mark Twain, could, but did not. Thus, in a way which the inventive Weems was far from intending, the story does actually point the moral which he endeavored to enforce. Weems' falshood, not George Washington's truth, conveys the lesson to us.

It was doubtless his experience as a peddler that taught him the secret of making just the books which the largest public of his day could relish. At the death of Washington he had been for some time travelling as the agent of Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, who was himself an excellent judge of the popular qualities of a book. Matthew Carey was a kind of lineal descendent of Benjamin Franklin in the Phila-

delphia book-trade. He was an Irishman who, at the early age of nine teen, brought upon himself the wrath of the Irish Parliament by the publication of a pamphlet on the iniquities of the Penal Code. The youthful author fled to Paris, where Dr. Franklin gave him employment in his private printing office for a few months, until the storm blew over. Again, a few years later, being threatened with prosecution, he escaped finally from his native land, and disguised as a woman, embarked for Philadelphia. The notoriety of his prosecution secured him a universal welcome in America. Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, Robert Morris, gave him their countenance, and before he had been in the country seven years, he had made considerable progress in establishing a publishing house which was for a whole generation the leading one in America, and under various names and sub-divisions, may be said to have flourished ever since. Besides publishing the books of others, Carey was himself a voluminous and successful writer, and lived to a good old age, esteemed for his energy and benevolence. We find upon his list of publications, about the close of the last century, all the most taking books of the day, which were offered to the public at odd-looking prices, such as "five-sixths of a dollar," "four-fifths of a dollar," "one-eighth of a dollar," and others which compelled the purchaser to do a sum in fractions.

With such a publisher behind him, with such knowledge of human nature as he possessed, and a subject with whose person and abode he was familiar, Weems produced a work calculated to delight a peddler's heart. It was written a few months after the death of Washington, and proved a most profitable piece of merchandise. Mr. Allibone, in his wonderful Dictionary of Authors, speaks of "forty editions;" but, in truth, the word *edition* does not apply to a book of that nature which is manufactured, like clothes-pegs or spelling-books, as required. Sets of stereotyped plates have been worn out in reproducing it, and it still keeps its place as a staple commodity of the book-stall and the wagon. It is a fact well worthy of consideration, that a number of the books which have acquired this *staple* character are rarely seen on the shelves of an ordinary bookseller. I once had occasion to examine a copy of Paine's *Age of Reason*, and inquired for it in vain at all the noted book stores in Broadway. But when, at length, I found a copy in Nassau street, I was assured that the work had a steady annual sale in the United States of several thousand copies.

Conspicuous in Matthew Carey's lists from 1795 to 1800 were the works of Dr. James Beattie, the author of the *Minstrel*, then in the



zenith of his popularity, not only as a poet, but as a moral philosopher and defender of the faith. He was one of the many writers to whom the reaction against the French Revolution gave a prominence beyond their merits. He went all lengths against Hume and his followers, and fell into an error, far more common then than now, of treating his opponents with personal disrespect. "Our sceptics," wrote he once, "either believe the doctrines they publish, or they do not believe them; if they believe them, they are fools—if not, they are a thousand times worse." That was a short and easy way of disposing of David Hume and Adam Smith; but it gave fortune to men inferior to Beattie, and to him brought the favor of George III. and a liberal pension. Probably it was a sketch, published in 1794 by Dr. Beattie of his eldest son, which suggested to the ingenious Weems the plan of his *Life of Washington*.

"In a corner of a little garden," wrote Dr. Beattie, "without informing any person of the circumstance, I wrote in the mould, with my finger, the three initial letters of my son's name; and sowing garden cresses in the furrows, covered up the seed and smoothed the ground. Ten days after he came running to me, and with astonishment in his countenance, told me that his name was growing in the garden. I smiled at the report, and seemed inclined to disregard it; but he insisted on my going to see what had happened. 'Yes,' said I, carelessly, on coming to the place, 'I see it is so; but there is nothing in this worth notice; it is mere chance;' and I went away. He followed me, and taking hold of my coat, said, with some earnestness: 'It could not be mere chance, for that somebody must have contrived matters so as to produce it.'" The father then called the attention of his son to the various parts of his body, and their evident adaptedness to the purposes for which they were ordinarily used; until he reached the point which he desired to enforce: "What begins to be must have a cause, and what is formed with regularity must have an intelligent cause."

The boy was greatly affected, the father adds, and never forgot the lesson, nor the manner in which it was brought to his attention. Rousseau had made this mode of dealing with the youthful mind exceedingly popular, and the story was well calculated to attract the notice of the story-telling Weems. When he began his *Life of Washington*, he evidently resolved to give his readers an abundant supply of such anecdotes. He said the people had heard enough of Washington, "the hero, the demigod, the sunbeam in council, and the storm in war;" he meant to present to his countrymen Washington, the dutiful son, the affectionate brother, the cheerful school-boy, the neat draughtsman, the


widow's husband, the poor man's friend. For this he had two qualifications: a style of considerable force, and an absolute insensibility to the claims of truth; to which we may add, the artifices of the practiced story-teller.

The very opening sentence of the book shows the story-teller's tact. The name that filled the world in 1800, when he wrote the work, was Napoleon Bonaparte. Weems availed himself of the circumstance in the following manner:

"'Ah! gentlemen,' exclaimed Bonaparte—twas just as he was about to embark for Egypt—some young Americans, happening at Toulon, and anxious to see the mighty Corsican, had obtained the honor of an introduction to him. Scarcely were past the customary salutations when he eagerly asked, 'How fares your countryman, the great Washington?' 'He was very well,' replied the youth, brightening at the thought that they were the countrymen of Washington; 'he was very well, General, when we left America.' 'Ah! gentlemen,' rejoined he, 'Washington can never be otherwise than well. The measure of his fame is full. Posterity will talk of him with reverence as the founder of a great empire when my name shall be lost in the vortex of revolutions.'"

This is a very good specimen of his art. He soon entered upon his series of anecdotes respecting Washington's boyhood, which now appear so ridiculous. When his own invention failed, he did not hesitate to avail himself of the books in his wagon. He laid Dr. Beattie under contribution among others, and turned his garden story into most preposterous caricature. The father of the boy, he tells us, desiring to "startle George into a lively sense of his Maker, fell upon the following very curious, but impressive expedient:"

"One day he went into the garden, and prepared a little bed of finely pulverized earth, on which he wrote George's name at full in large letters; then strewing in plenty of cabbage seed, he covered them up, and smoothed all over nicely with a roller. This bed he purposely prepared close alongside of a gooseberry walk, which, happening at this time to be well hung with ripe fruit, he knew would be honored with George's visits pretty regularly every day. Not many mornings had passed away before in came George, with eyes wild rolling, and his little cheeks ready to burst with great news. 'Oh, pa! come here! come here!' 'What's the matter, my son? What's the matter?' 'O come here, I tell you pa; come here! and I'll shew you such a sight as you never saw in all your life time.'"




The old gentleman of course proceeds to the garden, where he discovers in large letters the full name of GEORGE WASHINGTON, upon which father and son proceed to converse in a manner which would have made Dr. Beattie abhor himself for having recorded the incident. Mr. Washington also pretended to pooh-pooh the startling phenomenon, but the boy would not accept this mode of treating it, and insisted upon knowing who made his name grow in the garden. "It grew there by chance, I suppose, my son," said the father. This explanation being vehemently rejected, a long conversation ensues, ending with the boy's rapturous acknowledgement of a First Great Cause. George at length falls into a profound silence, and "his pensive looks" showed that his youthful soul was laboring with the great idea. "Perhaps it was at that moment," adds the imaginative Weems, "that the germ of piety was engrafted on his heart, which filled his after life with such precious fruits."

The fiction of the hatchet and the cherry tree is decorated with details equally absurd; but they were such as gave pleasure to the simple childhood of past generations. The comic paragraphist has now appeared in the world, and this story, once so edifying, has fallen before him an easy prey. It was the peddler Weems nevertheless who created the traditional Washington, "the sunbeam in council, and the storm in war;" Washington, the greatest of the great, in whose overpowering presence no mortal could stand unabashed; Washington whose sublime serenity nothing was ever known to disturb, one of those majestic commanders who in no stress of circumstances could ever use "a big, big D!" The lying little book had the more weight with rustic readers of the earlier time from a fiction which the author boldly placed upon his title-page, where he styles himself, "M. L. Weems, formerly rector of Mount Vernon parish." It may be that the term rector was not very accurately defined in old Virginia, but at a later day, as remarked above, the Bishop of Virginia regarded this claim to the rectorship as something ridiculous. "His name," adds Bishop Meade, "never appears on the journals of any of our conventions." If Weems ever officiated at Mount Vernon, it must have been because there was no other clergyman to perform the duty.

On one point Weems is wisely reticent; he does not claim for his hero illustrious descent. It was reserved for later writers to construct pedigrees for George Washington, which go back far into the Middle Ages, and connect his name with persons of various distinction in English history. Some of these pedigrees, as readers are aware, have been

badly damaged by recent investigators, and there are now several awkward gaps in the line of descent which are only filled by the imagination. Dr. Jared Sparks made minute personal inquiries in England on this subject, and later writers, such as Mr. Irving and Mr. Everett, have accepted his conclusions without question. The pedigree being now in course of reconstruction, we need only observe that the *idea* given of the standing and influence of the family in Virginia by Dr. Sparks, Mr. Irving, Mr. Everett, and others, does not harmonize with some indubitable facts. Let us notice, for example, the story related by all the biographers of young Washington's declining a midshipman's berth at the last moment to please his mother. Mr. Irving has worked up this amiable tale with all his graphic power. He pictures the boy of fifteen grave and earnest, with an expanding intellect, and a deep-seated passion for martial enterprise, burning to avenge the insults to his country's flag by entering the royal navy. The great difficulty, Mr. Irving remarks, was to procure the assent of his mother! There was no difficulty at all about getting a midshipman's warrant for the scion of so distinguished a race. Only the feelings of a tender mother were in the way. She was brought at length to yield to the lad's ambitious desire; the warrant was obtained, and "it is even *said*," adds Geoffrey Crayon, "that the luggage of the youth was actually on board of a man-of-war anchored in the river, just below Mount Vernon." But at the last moment, he tells us, the mother's heart faltered. The thought of his being completely severed from her, of his being exposed to the dangers of war and the perils of the deep overcame her resolution, and the lad dutifully gave up the scheme.

How different is the plain, interesting truth from this romantic fiction! His mother, left a widow with five children, and possessing an estate which only a vigorous and able master, like her late husband, could have made of much value, was anxious to lessen the charge upon her household by procuring for this stout, energetic, hungry boy an opportunity to earn his own livelihood. She was advised to send him to sea in a tobacco ship, as an apprentice before the mast, in the hope that perhaps by good conduct he might rise to be the captain of such a ship! Those vessels were impressive and captivating objects to boys living near the Potomac or the James—mighty craft of two or three hundred tons burthen, which brought from the old country every article of luxury, and many of utility, which the planters' families desired; and returning, bore across the sea the produce of their lands.



The captain of a favorite ship was trusted with commissions of the most delicate and important nature. To this day we can discern in the demeanor of the steamboat captains on the James something of the courtesy and fatherly care that marked their progenitors, who took charge of boys going to Eton, or young ladies sent across the sea to join their parents living in England. It was the captain of the tobacco ship who bought the wedding-ring and the brocade, the fowling piece and the doll, the hogshead of Madeira and the improved plough. His arrival in the river, and the slow passage up the stream, anchoring opposite each important house, wore a kind of triumphal character, which might well have given both to George and his mother the impression that the captain of such a vessel was among the powerful and enviable men of the world.


Mrs. Washington was not living then (and never did live) in one of the Virginia mansions of the day, which, ugly and slatternly as they were, presented an imposing appearance from the river, as Mount Vernon and Arlington do at the present time. Her house was of four rooms and an attic, with a kitchen behind, and a huge chimney on the outside of it; a rude, rough, small, cheap house. Her deceased husband, as far as we can gather, was an energetic, industrious planter, who gained a considerable amount of that illusory kind of wealth which so many Virginians possessed in colonial days—ten times more land than they could make a profitable use of. The widow, anxious for the future of her boy, and finding it not the easiest thing in the world to support her family, took this sea-going project into serious consideration, and wrote to her brother, Joseph Ball, a London lawyer, for advice on the subject. He replied, May 19th, 1747, George being then about fifteen, the age assigned to the midshipman story. The following is the material part of Joseph Ball's reply:

"I understand that you are advised and have some thoughts of putting your son George to sea. I think he had better be put apprentice to a tinker, for a common sailor before the mast has by no means the common liberty of the subject; for they will press him from a ship where he has fifty shillings a month and make him take twenty-three, and cut and slash and use him like a negro, or, rather, like a dog. And as to any considerable preferment in the navy, it is not to be expected, as there are always so many gaping for it here who have interest, and he has none. And if he should get to be master of a Virginia ship (which it is very difficult to do), a planter that has three or four hundred acres of land and three or four slaves, if he be industrious, may live

more comfortably, and leave his family in better bread, than such a master of a ship can. \* \* \* \* He must not be too hasty to be rich, but go on gently and with patience, as things will naturally go. This method, without aiming to be a fine gentleman before his time, will carry a man more comfortably and surely through the world than going to sea, unless it be a great chance indeed. I pray God keep you and yours. Your loving brother, JOSEPH BALL." (Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, by Bishop Meade, Vol. 2, p. 128.)

The honest lawyer said truly that preferment in the navy fell to those who had interest; "*and he has none.*" He also indicates the kind of career which lay most obviously before the lad at the time, "a planter with three or four slaves." George inherited from his father a few hundred acres of land; upon which, but for events which no one could have foreseen, such as the death of his elder brother, and the French war, he might have lived and died, having *first* earned the means of buying a few slaves by his business as a surveyor. Land was held and sold then in Virginia in such large tracts—there was so much land for the population—that there was considerable employment for surveyors, and we find that it gave the first lift in life to two men of great note, the father of Jefferson and the Father of his Country.

There was nothing in Washington of the feudal aristocrat. As a young man, there was little in his position, in his prospects, or in the traditions of his family, to nourish that cast of character, or the pretensions to which it gives rise. Men who have a pedigree which confers distinction are generally, at least, aware of the fact; but Washington, until his celebrity as the head of a forming republic excited the curiosity of mankind as to his origin, seems scarcely to have bestowed a thought upon it. When he was written to concerning his family during his presidency, he replied that he had paid very little attention to the subject, his time having been so much occupied in the active scenes of life. He intimates, too, that he had taken no interest in the matter. The status of the family is further shown by his failure to procure a commission in the King's army after he had won personal distinction of the most signal kind during the Braddock campaign. He had previously rendered services to the empire; he possessed the confidence of the Governor of Virginia; his name was mentioned in every gazette of Europe which chronicled public events; he made repeated and earnest applications for a commission; but his efforts were not successful. As Mr. Everett remarks, commissions were monopolized by the younger sons of influential families, and favorites of men in power.






Still less was he a man of rich and striking mental endowments. To attribute great intellectual qualities to George Washington is to rob him of his true glory, and to rob us of his inspiring example. It was part of his glory that he was *not* greatly endowed. The Frenchman who defined genius to be a "form of idiocy," might have illustrated his paradox by the example of this strong, slow, prudent, honorable, conscientious citizen, citing him as the man of all others the farthest removed from the idiocy of exceptional mental gifts. The endearing charm of his character arises from the fact that, without possessing mental qualities of extraordinary force or brilliancy, he habitually used the whole of what mind he had in discovering the right course. Only in one particular was he exceptionally gifted. He had a genius for rectitude. There, indeed, he was extraordinary; perhaps unique among public men. As Mr. Jefferson remarked, he never acted until he had exhausted every means within his reach of ascertaining the true course; and when that had been decided, he was able to hold to his purpose with a firmness impossible to a man of more varied gifts and warmer sympathies. "His justice," said Mr. Jefferson, "was the most inflexible I have ever known. No motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision." It is *this* trait which makes his example at once consoling and animating to beings so limited as ourselves. To make such a man a demi-god is to degrade him. It is as if we should paint a solid and kindly squire of a parish, the benignant and just father of his neighborhood, as a Jupiter Tonans, and send him down to posterity disguised in the tinsel trappings of the stage.

Upon reading the sentences which conclude Mr. Everett's article upon Washington in the Encyclopedia Britannica, in which he places his hero at the summit of human nature, we are tempted to ask: If the highest perfection of a modern character is attainable without the aid of our so much vaunted means of culture, why send our elect youth to the universities? What right have institutions of learning to exist? Why gather libraries, why investigate, why write, why cultivate the arts, if the Consummate Man can be formed with so little assistance from them? A strenuous conflict with outward things develops strength and practical ability; but in these modern days, recorded knowledge, and that alone, gives the wide sweep of observation which statesmanship demands. The ideal education, the university of our dreams, combines work and study, thought and things, head and hand; places the student at his desk in the morning, on the farm in the afternoon, and at the ball in the evening; makes him a laborer, a man of

business, a thinker, and a gentleman, all at once. But this is only the ideal university, for which we must be content to wait long. Washington, like most of the sons of men, had full access, in his early days, to only one of the means of development—a close contact with rude things and average men. He was aware that this is not the whole of education, and there were times when he lamented that he possessed but the most indispensable part of it. "As far as he saw, no judgment was ever sounder," remarks Mr. Jefferson. It is the right use of books, man's recorded experience, which widens, lengthens, deepens the range of our vision; and in modern times, nothing can keep the truly superior intelligence from the knowledge which is its natural nutriment. Franklin found it in his father's soap-house; Jefferson found it at dissolute Williamsburgh.

In common with most men of native force, George Washington inherited the instinct of thriving, which book-culture is apt to lessen injuriously. He came of a thriving race, and was himself of the stuff that prosperous gentlemen are made of. As a youth of sixteen on his surveying tours he endured every sort of hardship and privation, sleeping in log-huts of one room, "with man, wife and children, like dogs and cats, and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire." But he had a consolation, which enabled him to bear this mode of existence, "a doubloon every day, and sometimes six pistoles." At nineteen he had the opportunity of spending a few weeks at Barbadoes. His comments upon what he saw there are full of sound, worldly sense. He descants upon the richness of the soil, records the price of sugar, and the quantity that can be produced from an acre. He wonders that a people, living in such favorable circumstances, should be ruinously in debt, and unable to indulge in the luxuries of life. In his diary at this time there is one short entry, which does not savor of land and business. He mentions that he was treated to a ticket to see the play of *George Barnwell*; but he does not presume to express an opinion upon the performance, the drama being wholly out of his previous range of observation. "The character of *Barnwell*," he records, "and several others were said to be well performed." He also observes that there was music on the occasion, which was "adapted and regularly conducted." It was characteristic of the man that he should have used the expression, "*said* to be well performed;" for the same trait is frequently observable on occasions of the greatest importance. There were times in his public life when he painfully distrusted his own judgment, and gave his decision according to the judgment of another man,



because he had reason to believe it be the best judgment attainable. We notice too at this early day how heartily he accepted the state of feeling into which he had been born. He mentions the governmental abuses to which the people of Barbadoes were subject, but ventures no remonstrance; and we can scarcely help smiling at the amiable illusion he is under, in common with his fellow colonists, respecting George II., whom he styles "the best of kings," and by other affectionate names.

It is to be noted also that he was by no means one of the young gentlemen who are romantically squeamish about seeking posts to which they are fairly entitled. At twenty-two we find him asking the Governor of Virginia to procure for him the post of lieutenant-colonel of the Virginia forces, and when a distinction was made between the troops from England and the army of Virginia, he remonstrated in the most vigorous manner against the indignity. He would have for himself and his brother officers the same compensation, both in honor and in money, as the officers of the royal army, or else he would accept no pay at all. "We have the same spirit to serve our gracious king as they have," said he, "and are as ready and willing to sacrifice our lives for our country's good." He declared that he would prefer to dig for a maintenance than serve upon ignoble terms. Finally, when in spite of his brilliant and valuable services, he was denied the recognition he craved, a commission in the royal army, he retired from the service.


Twice, it appears, he sought to improve his fortune by marriage; once, with success. Virginia tradition in the olden time was clear and constant that he first paid suit to a great New York heiress, who in his long absence on military service gave her hand to another. Three years later he married Mrs. Custis, a widow with two children and a large estate; and this union it was that placed him among the social chiefs of the colony.

Nor is it very probable that in Virginia, as then constituted, he would have been able without such a marriage to have reached a high position. Old Virginia was already upon the decline. The rich river lands were in course of exhaustion; the price of tobacco, long very low, was still going down; the charges upon the article in London frequently consumed the planter's profit; and every manufactured article was brought across the sea. Add to these circumstances the slack and costly system of agriculture by slaves, who were then far more dilatory and indolent than in our day. It does not appear that George Washington, even with his double inheritance, his own estate, his brother's,

and the large increase which came to him upon his marriage, was able to make head against the abuses of the system. It is not probable that by his own exertions he could have acquired a liberal estate during an ordinary lifetime. The circumstances which had favored his father were passing away, and Virginia was reaping the consequences of a long persistence in erroneous methods.

Readers are familiar with the diary of George Washington as a Virginia planter, and they are aware that the old system frequently baffled his utmost exertions. With a hundred and two cows, as he records, he was sometimes obliged to buy butter for his table, and his mill was fifty-five minutes in grinding one bushel of corn. It is amusing to see him observe the proceedings of his shiftless negroes, when he sat, as it were, watch in hand, timing Tom and Mike while they hewed a poplar log in thirty minutes, the master patiently noting that they spent "twenty-five minutes more in getting the cross-cut saw, standing to consider what to do, sawing the stock off in two places, and preparing for further hewing." He took all this inefficiency in good part, and spent many years of his life in tranquil, but ineffectual endeavors to impart to negroes something of the spirit and sense of free laborers. He could not boast of much success. With such negroes, and such overseers, it was of little avail to procure from London the best book upon farming; and we can infer from his diary that, in common with his brother planters, he learned to put up with exceedingly slack performance. Upon his Virginia farms he developed that wonderful patience with the incapacity of others which he displayed during the revolutionary war. He built at length one of the best barns in the province; but on coming home one day, after an absence on public service, he found his negroes treading out his grain with horses out-of-doors, all in the good old-fashioned way, to which they, and their fathers, and their fathers' fathers had been accustomed. Nothing but his large capital saved him from embarrassment, and probably that would have scarcely sufficed if he had lived fifteen years longer in the liberal manner expected of him. There are several indications in his later letters that he was far from having the feeling of ease and safety which a rich man should have, and which constitutes one of his 'chief advantages over other men.

As a country gentleman living upon his estates during the fifteen years' interval of peace, he presents himself in an attractive, but not impressive light. He accepted and enjoyed his good fortune in the manner of the period, being particularly noted for his ardent love of




fox hunting. In the hunting season he would be out with such hounds as he had two or three times a week. He gave the unhappy foxes of Mount Vernon no peace. He maintained also the prescribed chariot of colonial Virginia, and enjoyed the public balls given occasionally at Alexandria. Nor was he the grave and austere personage we are frequently asked to think him. The direst editing has not succeeded in removing from his published writings all traces either of the kindly humor or the hot temper of the man. He was evidently fond of his jest, and could roar with laughter on occasion. His wit was not brilliant, but it sufficed to amuse guests well disposed to merriment after dinner. Upon reading his diary we can fancy him telling them of the ball he attended at Alexandria, when there was such a plentiful lack of the dainties usually provided at such entertainments: "However, in a convenient room, detached for the purpose, abounded great plenty of bread and butter, some biscuits, with tea and coffee, which the drinkers of could not distinguish from hot water sweetened. Be it remembered that pocket-handkerchiefs served the purposes of table-cloths and napkins, and that no apologies were made for either. I shall therefore distinguish this ball by the style and title of the bread and butter ball." This is kind, homely, country humor, pleasant to read and remember. It was not a killing joke to call this ball by the style and title of the bread and butter ball, but in those simple days such a jest would pervade a county, and be remembered for many months.

Nor has decorous editing quite concealed from us that Colonel Washington could lose his temper. Mr. Jefferson speaks of his temper as "naturally irritable and high-toned," though he learned to keep it well under control. Occasionally it blazed out, even in his later years. We ought, perhaps, to be grateful to a decorous editor for not withholding the letter of 1771 to an officer who had complained of not receiving his allotment of land. This individual had shown less alacrity in meeting the enemy in the field than he did in claiming the rewards of service, and after a narrow escape from cashiering, complained of being defrauded of his land. It is a relief, after gazing upon the imbecile portraits of Washington, from which every trace of blood and fire has been ruthlessly obliterated, to read the letter which he wrote in reply to this individual. He acknowledges the receipt of the impertinent letter. "As I am not accustomed," he adds, "to receive such from any man, nor would have taken the same language from you personally without letting you feel some marks of my resentment, I would advise you to be cautious in writing a second of the same tenor." He informs him

that his full quantity of land had been allotted him; a fact which he would have known but for his "stupidity and sottishness." No doubt other peppery epistles would have appeared in his works, but for the supposed necessity of presenting the public with an imperturbable character.

During the eleven years' war of words between the colonies and the mother country, which preceded the seven years' conflict of arms, Colonel Washington was not active or conspicuous in the dispute; but his judgment of it at every moment was sound. He had, happily, *not* the martial spirit; he loved his country, the British Empire; it had been the longing of his life to visit the metropolis of that empire. But when it became a question between liberty and loyalty, the only doubt with him was concerning the most effectual mode of preserving liberty. As early as 1769 he expressed the opinion to George Mason that, in defence of liberty, no man should scruple to use arms. But arms should be the last resource. Addresses and remonstrances had proved ineffectual, and he then favored the scheme of starving their trade and manufactures. When blood had been shed at Lexington, it excited within him, not resentment, not the martial spirit, but only the profoundest sorrow. "Unhappy it is," he wrote, "to reflect that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are to be either drenched with blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?" No utterance of the period is more noble or more affecting than this. A martial hero would not have felt so. A man overcome by new wealth and lost in his estates would not. It was the "virtuous man," it was the good citizen, who spoke those simple and touching words.

At the same time, let us not shrink from the undeniable fact that, during this long period, he was not a leader of the movement. He shared its best spirit and sided with its best men, but he did not contribute to it, so far as we can discern, either ideas or impulse. He attended faithfully in his seat in the House of Burgesses, though taking scarcely any part in the debates; and when members gathered in the evening round the great fire-place in the Raleigh Tavern at Williamsburg, though his voice gave no uncertain sound, he had little to say on the great question. He saw the point clearly enough; he gave his opinion frankly enough; but he could not discuss it with any fluency or force. He possessed, in full measure, that ancient British terror of public speaking, which makes a man quake before an audience who could cheerfully head a forlorn hope.




It is impossible to overstate his merits in the Revolutionary war, because, during that conflict, the very defects of his constitution were of the greatest assistance. It may be true, as has been frequently alleged, that a more daring and masterful spirit would have driven the British out of Boston some months before their actual departure; but could a spirit of that temper and quality have endured to serve for seven weary years such a shifting, changing, intangible master as the Continental Congress? There were times when he seemed too deferential to a council of war. He felt so himself; but just that habitual deference was necessary to the success of a revolution which had nothing behind it that could be called a government, and which had to be carried on from campaign to campaign by shifts and compromises. A leader of military genius would never have let the British army get away from Long Island in 1776; but such a man must of necessity have absorbed the revolution into himself, and obtained a personal importance which would have been fatal to its best aspirations. Occasionally, during the war, the soldier flashed out with memorable brilliancy; for Washington, if not a military genius, was a thoroughly good soldier. Doubtless, if he had entered the royal army in his early manhood, he would have gradually won his way to respectable rank, and perhaps to the highest rank. There does not appear to have been anything in the European career of Wellington of which George Washington would have been incapable.

Issuing from the Revolutionary war with a reputation splendid and universal, he gave proof of admirable virtue in accepting the duties which that reputation imposed. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, his position as Chairman excluded him from debate, and so far as the records disclose, he contributed nothing to the Constitution in the way of original suggestion. We can see, however, that he was aware of the necessity of exempting the head of a nation from some of the conditions and temptations of ordinary human life. He wished the President to be elected for a fixed term of seven years, and then to be ineligible for seven years more. He was opposed to Hamilton's scheme of a senate elected for life, and he thought that on some subjects of vital importance a vote of two-thirds of the whole legislature ought to be required.

The present Constitution, in some of its leading features, was a compromise, a part of the chronic, still unended compromise, between the North and the South. He held himself free from the intrigues of the closing weeks. He told Mr. Jefferson, in 1792, that the Constitution, as

agreed to a fortnight before the Convention arose, was one to which he would have set both his hands and his heart. Probably there was not a man in the convention who knew less either of science or the history of government than the President of the body. It was simply his knowledge of average men, which led him to the conclusion that the chief of a nation must be personally disinterested in the conduct of affairs; as much so as the foreman of a jury in the cases which he decides. It is to be lamented that the President of the Convention, wielding such an unequalled influence, should have been unable to contribute anything to the Constitution from the past experience of mankind. When Hamilton asserted, in season and out of season, that monarchy was the only government that had, or could have, any sort of stability, a very slight knowledge, even of the history of that century, would have shown that monarchy is, of all conceivable governments, the one most dependent upon accidents. The whole history of Europe refutes Hamilton. A competent statesman must possess more knowledge than his own experience furnishes, or his own mind evolves. If General Washington, during the fifteen years when he had lived peacefully at home, a Virginia country gentleman, had spent a few hours a week in the study of men and events, as they are conveniently massed and grouped in books, he would have been better able to meet the arguments of the reactionary party in the Convention.

The presidency of General Washington would be a highly interesting study, if only we could approach it without passion and without prejudice. But who has been able to do this? No one. Who will ever be able? Some of the questions which divided the cabinet, and tasked the judgment of the first President, can never be discussed by mortal men without a degree of warmth that may at any moment blaze up into fiery passion; our interests are involved in them, as well as our feelings; they belong to that system of readjustment which goes on forever between the interests of the few and the interest of the whole. For the first time in his life, General Washington had to deal with subjects for the due consideration of which his past experience had given him no preparation. Never was a public trust more conscientiously fulfilled; never was an administration conducted with an eye more single to the public good: the most trivial appointment and the most important measure were equally subjected to the test of intrinsic fitness. On the moral side, the conduct of the President was absolutely without flaw. But partial history (there being no such thing as impartial history) will lament that the weight and influence of General






Washington should have been given finally to a party not in harmony with the genius of the country, and strangely incapable of wise conduct. Partial history, I say, will lament this. What view impartial history would take of it, if there were such a thing, it would be a waste of time to inquire.

Surely it was not wise, in a cabinet of four members, to place two men who could contribute so little to its sum of intelligence as General Knox and Edmund Randolph. Events proved the incompetency of both, as well in private affairs as in public. Both had served with the General in the field, and we know that for Knox he had a feeling warmer than friendship; he "loved" him; and we may fairly infer that this comradeship had much to do with both appointments. Edmund Randolph, moreover, had lost his inheritance by espousing the cause of his country when his father had adhered to that of the King. Hamilton and Jefferson, the other members, were men of honor, ability and force, equally concerned for the welfare of the country; but they differed totally and hopelessly as to the means of securing that welfare. With what patience the President, bewildered sometimes by their vehement debates, strove to hold the balance between those two positive and irreconcilable spirits! For his own part, he had confidence only in the teachings of experience. Theories were of little weight with him; he could scarcely conceive how men so able and intelligent as he esteemed them both to be, could maintain theories of government with so much ardor. In one particular, he greatly surpassed both of his chief advisers: he did justice to their motives. As Jefferson remarked in later years, the President was "unversed in financial projects, calculations and budgets," and, so far as he approved of Hamilton's financial system, his approval was founded on his confidence in the man. He had as little sympathy with the enthusiasm which Jefferson brought home from France for equal liberty and equal rights, but he thought those opinions were salutary as "a check" upon Hamilton's conservative convictions. He was conscious that neither of those men possessed the whole truth of politics, but supposed that each of them had a valuable part of it. If Jefferson held the right sentiment, Hamilton, perhaps, had the right methods, or was capable of furnishing them; and from the conflict of two minds so fiercely diverse, he hoped the truth would issue.

Jefferson, trained from youth in republican ideas, believed that men could govern themselves, as well on the great scale as on the small. Hamilton, as we know, not merely did not hold this opinion, but had little patience with it; he held it in contempt, as an evidence of provin-

cial narrowness or fanaticism. Jefferson, a native of Virginia, descended from a Jefferson who was a member of the first legislative body that ever sat on the Western Continent, a Virginian of the Virginians, was opposed by patriotic instinct to every measure which made Virginia seem anything less than sovereign. Hamilton, not a native of the country, was devoid of sympathy with the pride of New Yorkers in New York, and with the pride of Virginians in Virginia. He would have willingly seen State government abolished, and State lines obliterated. No man unassisted by feeling would have been equal to the invention of the federal system. But Jefferson *was* assisted by his feelings, and he took naturally to the doctrine of strict construction. The American system, as he conceived it, and as Madison expounded it, was then and is now the one chance of the United States: a central government very simple, inexpensive, unimposing, and strictly confined to the duties assigned it by the letter of the constitution; leaving to the States every other governmental function. Never was there anything devised so excellent, so safe, so practicable. I see in it the solution, not merely of our own political problems, but of those which perplex and alarm Europe and parts of Asia. No man can foresee how long the struggle will last in the Old World between dynasties and peoples, between authority and freedom, between equality and privilege; but if the inhabitants of Christendom really have it in them to advance in political knowledge and self-control, nothing is more certain than that the American federal system—*e pluribus unum*—as it existed in the minds of Jefferson and Madison, modified by time, place and events, is the system in which they will find peace and safety at last.

To Hamilton, half Scotch, half French, and thirty-three years of age, the maturely considered political ideas of Jefferson and Madison, both long trained in public life, seemed but the fond dreams of enthusiasts. The difference between Jefferson and Hamilton being radical, one that affected every subject and every measure, the President had occasion for all his tact, as well as all his forbearance. We have a good example of his mode of dealing with them in the cabinet discussions of the project of founding a Military Academy. Every soldier knows that a soldier is *made* as well as born; and, hence, General Washington had the scheme of the Academy very much at heart. It was proposed in the cabinet to recommend Congress in the President's message to establish such an institution. Mr. Jefferson objected that none of the specified powers given by the constitution to Congress would authorize this. The President remarked that he thought a military academy would be a



good thing, but was unwilling to propose any measure which might generate heat or ill humor. After some discussion he said he would not choose to recommend anything against the constitution, but if it was *doubtful*, he was so impressed with the necessity of having an academy that he would refer it to Congress, and let them decide for themselves whether the constitution authorized it or not. This discussion indicates the whole difference between the two parties. Jefferson would have had the States train young men for the army and navy, if special training was necessary, leaving to the general government only the task of selecting them when trained.


From the first day, Knox and Hamilton were the members who had the more familiar confidence of the President, and they improved their advantage. They were under a political necessity to make the most of his glory; while the Republicans were subject to a similar necessity of keeping it within rational limits. Mere trifles show this also. When the President was to take the oath for the second time, the question arose in the cabinet as to the ceremonial which ought to be observed. General Knox desired the ceremonial to be elaborate and imposing. The conversation grew warm, as usual, Knox swearing that the government must be entirely remodeled or it would be knocked to pieces in ten years. He said he would not give a copper for it, and maintained that the country was held together, not by the written Constitution, but *by the President's character*. A sentiment of this kind was frequently repeated in the newspapers, in Congress, in the Cabinet, and even in the President's drawing-room. General Washington would not have been mortal if he had not insensibly inclined toward the party which accepted this doctrine, and gradually lost relish for men who were obliged to give it emphatic and very frequent denial. The events of the time, too, could not but have weight with a man who brought every doctrine to the test of experience. The news of the capture of Louis XVI. and his family, and their ignominious return to Paris, was whispered to the President one evening at his public assembly. He loved France; he was grateful to her people and her king; he had none of Hamilton's insensibility to the defects of the British model; he was wholly and forever weaned from "the mother country." But this news struck him to the heart. "I never saw him so much dejected by any event in my life," says Mr. Jefferson. After the execution of the King, he probably had little faith in government by town meeting.

The well-known passage in which Mr. Jefferson gives his explanation of Washington's final surrender to the Federalists, is accepted only by those of his inclining.

"His memory," wrote Mr. Jefferson in 1818, "was already sensibly impaired by age, the firm tone of mind for which he had been remarkable was beginning to relax, its energy was abated, a listlessness of labor, a desire for tranquility, had crept upon him, and a willingness to let others act, and even think for him. Like the rest of mankind he was disgusted with the atrocities of the French revolution, and was not sufficiently aware of the difference between the rabble who were used as instruments of their perpetration, and the steady and rational character of the American people, in which he had not sufficient confidence."

Happily for his own peace, and not less happily, perhaps, for the country, he was released from his uncongenial position before the later complications of the revolutionary period. The term of seven years, which he had preferred in the Convention of 1787, is probably as long as any man can advantageously hold the Presidency. The strain upon the faculties of a good man is too severe to be longer borne, and a young country must needs grow faster than an elderly mind. After 1793, the politics of the United States were of necessity involved with those of Europe, and questions arose which General Washington was unfitted to cope with. He knew no history, much as he valued the teachings of experience. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776; it had not instructed him. He was exact and honorable in his private expenditures, but he had all a country gentleman's aversion to national finance. The machinery of liberty was to be created; but when he left the Presidency it was not clear to him that men were fit to be entrusted with liberty. If he had been himself an educated man, the ignorance and incapacity of some of his advisers would have been known to him; he would have given his heart and confidence to the men who represented and possessed the modern spirit.

His Presidency affords us consoling proof of the power there is in absolute integrity. On almost every important question, even of remote and foreign politics, it led him to a safe decision, or enabled him to leave the problem to the solution of time. Both his judgment and his temper were severely tried, and both were occasionally tried beyond their strength. His explosions of honest anger only endear him to us the more. What wonder that he should burst into rage on reading in the party papers that he was scheming to make himself King, at a time when his soul and body were sickening for retirement! There is no scene in romance more powerful or more affecting than Tobias Lear's recollection of the President receiving the awful news, in the midst of a dinner party, of the surprise and massacre of St. Clair's troops by the



Ohio Indians; how he returned to the table with unchanged countenance; after dinner calmly going through all the ceremonious proceedings of Mrs. Washington's reception; preserving his usual serenity and urbanity of demeanor, until he found himself alone with his secretary. Then, and not till then, he uttered a cry of mingled grief and indignation: "It's all over! St. Clair's defeated—routed! The officers nearly all killed; the men by wholesale—the rout complete! Too shocking to think of—and a surprise into the bargain!" His anger grew as he recalled the parting scene: "Here on this very spot I took leave of him. I wished him success and honor. 'You have your instructions,' I said, 'from the Secretary of War; I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word: Beware of a surprise! I repeat it, Beware of a surprise! You know how the Indians fight.'" He heaped imprecations upon the unfortunate General: "Oh God, oh God, he's worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country?" But the storm subsided ere long. The man had spoken, and the Commander-in-Chief resumed: "General St. Clair shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches, saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars; I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice."

The whole scene is characteristic; it shows how acutely he could feel, how firmly he could control his feelings, and how quickly he could resume control, if for a moment he had lost it.

Perhaps, of all the utterances of George Washington, the one that best reveals to us his *habit* of fidelity, was a question which he asked upon his death-bed. It was late in the afternoon of his last day. He felt that he could not long retain his consciousness, and that he must do speedily whatever remained to be done by him. He had sent for the two wills; he had seen Mrs. Washington burn the one which had been superseded, and put the other in a closet; he had given Tobias Lear his last directions concerning his accounts, his letters and his papers. He then thought his work was done; but he was not quite sure of it. There might be something that he had forgotten, the omission of which would cause inconvenience. "He then asked me," says Lear, "if I recollected anything which it was essential for him to do, as he had but a very short time to continue with us." It was the ruling principle strong in death. It was the habit of a life-time asserting itself when soul and body were parting. It was George Washington dying. Five hours after, his breathing became suddenly easier. He felt his own pulse, as if to ascertain the cause of the change. As he exhaled his last breath, the hand fell from the wrist.

In this deliberate manner, with his fingers upon his own pulse, he yielded up his life, retaining to the last a mind composed enough to take an interest in the physical facts of death. As he had sat, forty years before, watching and timing his negroes sawing timber, he was, probably, not more collected than he was at the last moment of his life. That he retained, also, the esteem and confidence of the great body of his countrymen, was indicated by a letter from the ruling spirit of the Federalists, which reached Mount Vernon when he was no more. The letter urged him to stand again for the Presidency as the surest means of keeping out the dreadful democrats.

In quieter times, in an established order of things, he had been as nearly perfect a head of a republic as can ever be hoped for. Men of eminent gifts and acquirements are generally out of place at the head of a government. Such men are needed to suggest, to advise and to aid. Such belong properly to the cabinet, to the legislature, and to the courts of justice. But the head of the State should represent the great body of its well-disposed and self-sustaining people. In him a gifted cabinet and a brilliant debater should see a good specimen of the people they are working for. By the impression a measure makes upon his mind, they should be able to learn how it will strike the average good citizen, on his farm, in his shop, on his vessel. Rarely brilliant, always prudent, with moderate power to open his mouth, but mighty to keep it shut, reasonably benevolent, but greatly just, he should be a large sound, well-chosen specimen of the solvent and steadfast men who hold up the world.

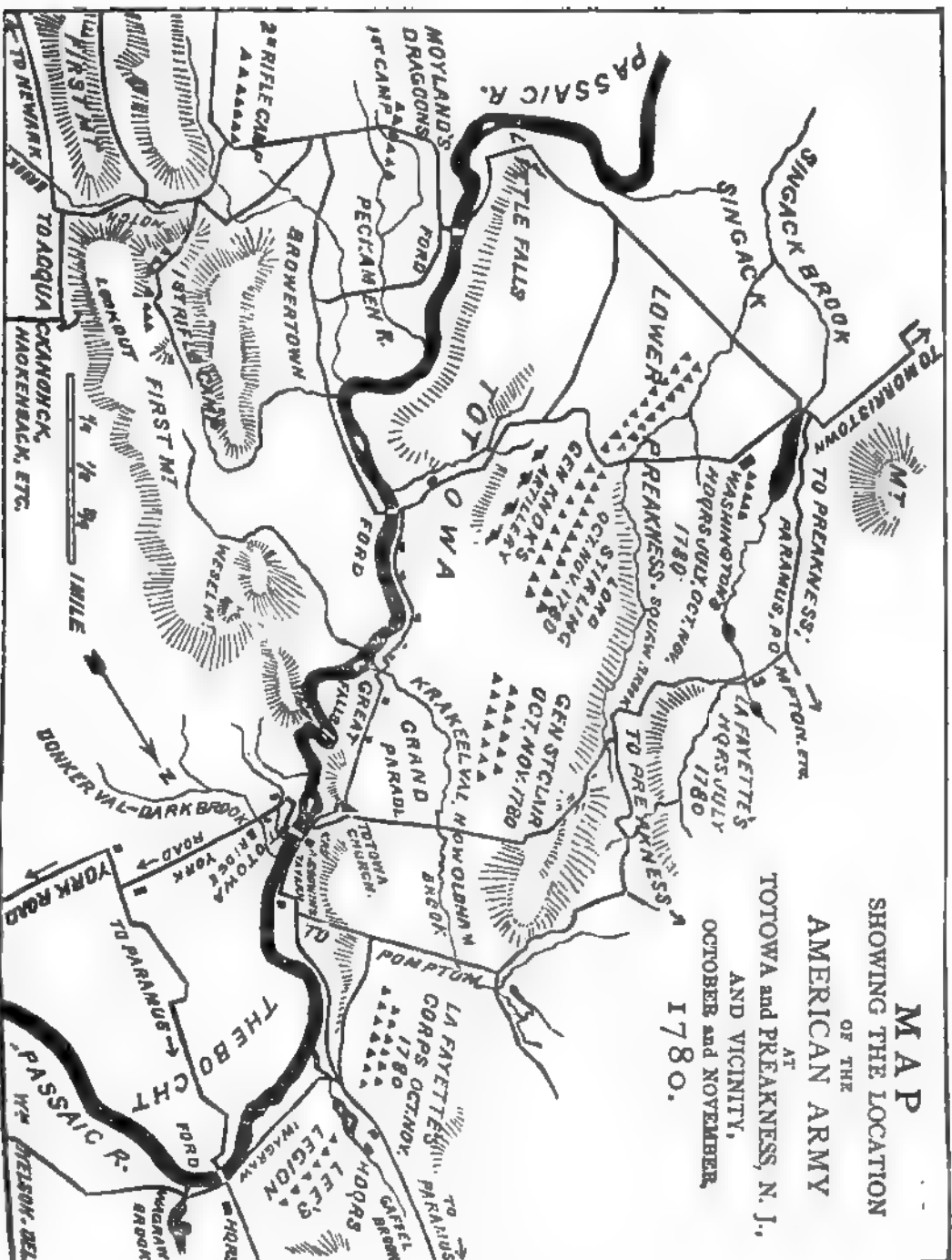
JAMES PARTON

## WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT PREAKNESS

During the first three weeks of July, 1780, Washington had his headquarters at Preakness, New Jersey, lodging at the house of Colonel Theunis Dey. The main body of the army was encamped along the Totowa Heights, near the Great Falls of the Passaic river, Colonel Moyland's Pennsylvania Dragoons occupying an advanced position at the Little Falls, on the opposite side of the river,' while the Marquis de la Fayette had his headquarters at the residence of Samuel Van Saun, near Sandford's race track, and about a mile from the Dey house.'

From October 9 until November 27, 1780, the army was again encamped at Totowa,' evidently on the same site as during the preceding July; but as there was a greater array of troops at this time, they covered a more extended area. Lafayette now held the left,' his Light Infantry corps, formed in August,' with Major Lee's Virginia troop of Light Horse, occupying a small elevation on the extreme east, along the eastern bank of the Goffle stream, where it flows into the Passaic river,' not far from the present suburb of Paterson, known as Hawthorne. He had his headquarters near the Ryerson homestead, Mr. Richard Degray's barn now occupying almost the precise site. On his left stretched a fine plain, for a mile, to the Wagraw neighborhood. When he revisited the United States in 1824-5, he passed through this locality and was amused to see that some of his former soldiers had remembered the old camp, and had put up a rough board sign to designate it, on the Goffle brook.'

The main army was encamped on a broad plateau stretching from the Passaic river perhaps half a mile, to the base of the Preakness mountain, and at an elevation of from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet above the river, so that it was admirably situated for defence. Several ample fields afforded fine opportunities for exercising the troops in military evolutions. The Grand Parade ground was near the Falls,' the spot being now built over by the second ward of the city of Paterson, then undreamed of. The army was stretched along the base of the Preakness hills for a distance of six or seven miles, from Wagraw on the left wing to Lower Preakness, or Singack,' as it is generally called, on the right. The advanced guard, consisting of Moyland's Dragoons and Major Parr's Rifle Corps, were stationed south of the Passaic river, the former near the Little Falls, to protect the approach from Newark and Elizabeth-





town from the west side of the First Mountain, as well as the road through the Great Notch, while the Rifle Corps occupied a broad ravine northeast of the Notch, in a position to command it, and also to patrol the roads leading into it from Acquackanonk and Newark." Although Major Parr's corps held this post less than two weeks, being then removed a mile or two further west, where he could protect the Cranetown Gap and the Notch at the same time," his former position is to this day known by the people in the neighborhood as "the Rifle Camp." Thirty or forty years ago, the remains were still plainly visible of the ovens built by the riflemen for their meagre baking. It is said that Washington caused a lookout to be erected on the summit of the peak on the east side of the Notch, whence he could obtain a clear view of the whole country for twenty miles or more, including New York, Newark, Elizabethtown, Haverstraw, Hackensack, etc. Tradition also asserts that he caused great masses of stones to be piled up on this hill, to be rolled down upon any troops that might undertake to force a passage through the gap.

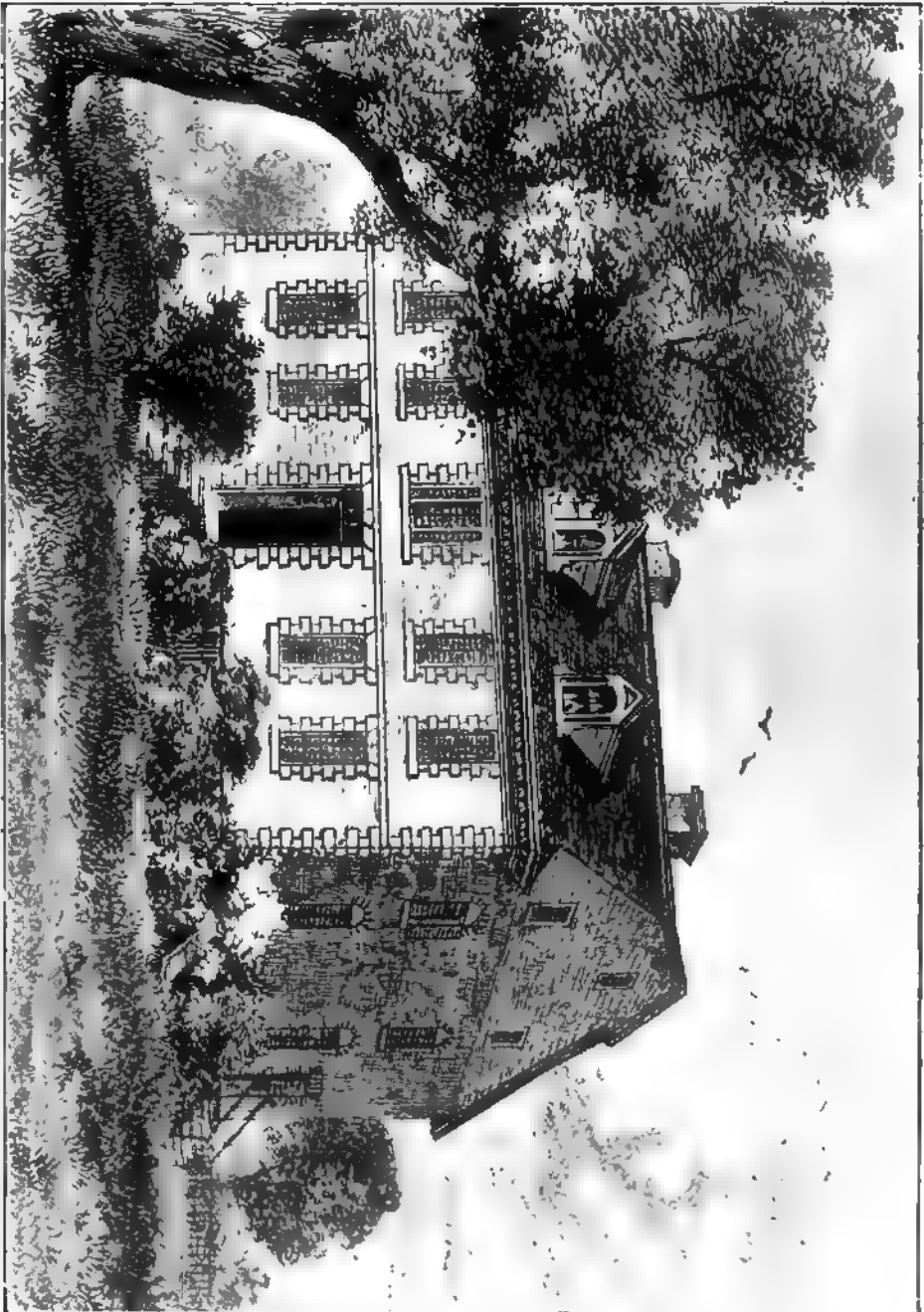
The General doubtless had pleasant recollections of his first stay at the Dey mansion, and therefore occupied it in October and November, when the army was again in the vicinity. It certainly was not at all convenient to the army; so remote, indeed, that he felt constrained to relieve the officers of the day from attending at headquarters "when there was nothing more than common to report." General Knox, with his artillery, may have been within a mile or two of headquarters;" the main body of the army was at least three or four miles distant, while Lafayette was seven or eight miles from Washington; Moyland's Dragoons and Parr's Riflemen were from two to four miles to the southwest. It is a common tradition in the neighborhood, and one borne out by contemporaneous records, that Washington had reason at this time to anticipate attempts to effect his capture; consequently, there was excellent cause for his keeping himself out of the reach of possible raids by Simcoe's daring cavalry, or any other party that might seek to secure his person. His selection of camp ground and headquarters was well calculated to prevent surprise. The First Mountain formed a natural defence for his army; the Passaic river another; back of that arose a steep bluff, surmounted by the plateau already mentioned; then came the Preakness hill; over this range, in one of the most beautiful valleys, stood the dwelling of Colonel Dey. Charming vistas extended for many miles through the openings in the mountains in almost every direction, and the plain was traversed by roads leading to New-

ark, Elizabethtown, Springfield, Middletown and Southern New Jersey; to Totowa, Acquackanonk and Hackensack on the southeast, and Paramus, Pompton and Ringwood toward the northeast.

A century ago, the building must have been one of the finest in New Jersey, for it is yet remarkable for its architectural symmetry and the artistic finish of the masonry. It is about one hundred yards from the main road, facing south; it is two stories in height, with a double pitch roof, through which a recent owner has pierced some windows, giving it the appearance of a mansard. The building is about fifty-two feet long, and about thirty feet deep. The front is of brick, the doorway and windows trimmed with polished brown sandstone, squared and set in the most accurate manner; the sides and rear are of rubble work, the windows and doors trimmed with brick, the sides above the eaves being carried up in brick. All the masonry is laid up in yellow clay, pointed on the outside with mortar, yet the walls are perfectly firm, and are apparently good for another hundred years. The timbers, where exposed, in the cellar and attic, are of hewn oak, of the most massive description, and all morticed and pinned with wooden pins. Through the centre, from south to north, runs a hall, twelve feet wide, on either side of which are two rooms, a fireplace faced with rubbed brown sandstone in each. The ceilings on the first floor are about nine feet, and on the second floor eight feet high. Nearly all the rooms are decorated with quaint old wooden cornices, grooved in a peculiar manner. According to the Marquis de Chastellux, Washington occupied four of the rooms"—probably two on each floor. Tradition has mainly preserved reminiscences of one room—in the southeast corner of the first floor; this is pointed out as "Washington's room." It was his audience chamber and dining room; the family dined in the great hall. The space above the fireplace in the General's office is ornamented with elaborate paneling and grooved woodwork, to correspond with the cornices. The walls, Washington is said to have had papered at his own expense, and the paper was not removed until about ten years ago. The account given by de Chastellux of his stay at this house in November, 1780, is one of the most entertaining passages in his exceedingly interesting "Travels," and the glimpse it gives of Washington at the table is charming.

So far as is known, the British never attempted to molest the American troops at Totowa but once. Then a party of the Continentals who had been on a foray toward Acquackanonk, were chased by Hessians. They retreated successfully across the Totowa bridge, which they





THE DEY HOUSE, PREAKNESS, N. J. WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.



acct of the enemy's movements on the 7th & 23d of last month from Elizabeth-town-point, & of their having taken Post there from the one date to the other; there can be no occasion therefore to detail the acct in this place; but I may lament in the bitterness of my soul, that the fatal policy which has pervaded all our measures from the beginning of the war, & which no experience however dear bought can change, should have reduced our army to so low an ebb, as not to have given a more effectual opposition to those movements than we did; or that we should be obliged to be removing our stores from place to place to keep them out of the way of the enemy instead of driving that enemy from our Country—but our weakness invited these insults, & why they did not *attempt at least* to do more than they did, I cannot conceive. Nor will it be easy to make any one at the distance of 400 miles believe that our army, weakened as it is by the expiration of Men's enlistments, should at times be five or six days together without meat—then as many without bread—and once or twice, two or three days together without either—and that, in the same army, there should be numbers of men with scarcely as much cloathing as would cover their nakedness and at least a fourth of the whole with not even the shadow of a blanket severe as the winter has been.— Under these circumstances it is no difficult matter to conceive what a time I must have had to keep up appearances & prevent the most disastrous consequences.—

It may be asked how these things have come to pass? the answer is plain

—& may be ascribed to the want of system, not to say foresight—originally (if it is not still the case with some) to a fatal jealousy (under our circumstances) of a standing army—by which means we neglected to obtain Soldiers for the war when zeal & patriotism run high, & men were eager to engage for a trifle or for nothing; the consequence of which has been that we have protracted the war—expended millions & tens of millions of pounds which might have been saved, & have a new army to raise & discipline once or twice a year & with which we can undertake nothing because we have nothing to build upon, as the men are slipping from us every day by means of their expiring enlistments— To these fundamental errors, may be added another which I expect will prove our ruin, & that is the relinquishment of Congressional powers, to the states individually—all the business is now *attempted*, for it is not done, by a timid kind of recommendation from Congress to the States; the consequence of which is, that instead of pursuing one uniform system which in the execution shall correspond in time & manner, each state undertakes to determine—

1st Whether they will comply or not

2nd In what manner they will do it &

3d in what time—by which means scarcely any one measure is, or can be executed, while great expences are incurred & the willing & zealous states ruined. In a word our measures are not under the influence and direction of one Council, but thirteen, each of which is actuated by local views and politics, without considering the fatal conse-

quences of not complying with plans which the united wisdom of America in its representative capacity have digested, or the unhappy tendency of delay, mutilation or alteration— I do not scruple to add & I give it decisively as my opinion—that unless the states will content themselves with a full & well chosen representation in Congress & vest that body with absolute powers in all matters relative to the great purposes of War, and of general concern (by which the States unitedly are affected, reserving to themselves all matters of local & internal polity for the regulation of order & good government) we are attempting an impossibility, & very soon shall become (if it is not already the case) a many headed monster—a heterogenous mass—that never will or can steer to the same point— The contest among the different states *now* is not which shall do most for the common cause—but which shall do least, hence arise disappointments & delay, one state waiting to see what another will or will not do through fear,—of doing too much & by their deliberations, alterations, & sometimes refusals to comply with the requisitions of Congress, after that Congress spent months in reconciling (as far as it is possible) jarring interests in order to frame their resolutions as far as the nature of the case will admit, upon principles of equality—

There is another source from whence much of our present distress, & past difficulties have flowed; and that is the hope & expectation which seizes the States, & Congress toward the close of every year, that Peace must take place in the winter— This never fails to pro-

duce an apathy which lulls them into ease and security, & involves the most distressing consequences at the opening of every Campaign.— We may rely upon it, that we shall never have Peace till the enemy are convinced that we are in a condition to carry on the war.— It is no new maxim in politics that for a nation to obtain Peace, or insure it, It must be prepared for war.—

But it is time for me to recollect myself, & quit a subject which would require a folio volume to illucidate, & expose the folly of our measures— To rectify past blunders is impossible, but we might profit by the experience of them, tho' even here I doubt, as I am furnished with many instances to the contrary.

After the enemy had manœuvered in the Jerseys—not much I think to their advantage or credit, they as you may have seen by the acct published, suddenly left the State and by their movements, seemed to threaten our Posts on the North river— this, as we were apprehensive of them before, induced us to make such advances that way as gave us a moral certainty of covering and securing them— whether the enemy's plans were changed hereby, or whether their only views were to occupy certain grounds which they conceived would hereafter be of use to us, in order to drain it of its forage, I shall not undertake to say, but the fact is that after being on board their Vessels two or three days in the No River they disembarked about four miles above Kingsbridge & Incamped across from thence over to the East river or Sound where they have lain ever since foraging. finding

this to be the case, & knowing it was not in my power to dislodge them, I came to this place to refresh my Troops—wait the expected reinforcements by Drafts—& the arrival of the french fleet,—thus the matter stands at present, what events may cast up hereafter the womb of time must discover.

Letters of this length will be the best apology I can make for the infrequency of them, for were they not rare, they would be insufferable—My best affections attend my Sister and the Family—With sentiments of the most perfect regard, I am most

Sincerely Yrs

GO. WASHINGTON

Field-g Lewis Esq

Fredericksburg—

P. S. You will be so good as to let the Inclosed Letters be properly forwarded

G. W.

LXXIII

Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort

Head Qrs Morris Town

June 3 1780

Dr Sir

Under our present expectations of the daily arrival of the Fleet and Army from France at Rhode Island—and of operations that may be consequent—it is of great importance that the means of conveying intelligence between Providence & Head Qrs should be placed on the most certain & expeditious footing— I therefore request that you will, without the least delay, have a proper number of trusty diligent Expresses established on the communication between those two places at suitable stations You will from what was done in a like manner on

a former occasion readily know the [best] route and the stages— The same [circumstances] make it necessary that we should be [ready at] the best & earliest state we can to move the Army as circumstances may require; I therefore wish you to have all the Horses belonging to it, which are or will be probably fit for service in a short time, collected in pastures within the vicinity of Camp as soon as it can be done. We may have immediate occasion for them, and if by any means this should not be the case, they may be recruiting here from the state of the Grass as well as at any other place.

I am Dr Sir Yr most Obedt &c

G. WASHINGTON

Major Genl Greene Q. M. Genl.

LXXIV

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

June 7, [17]80

My Lord—

The enemy landed at DeHarts Point last night in considerable force—and are advancing rapidly this way.

They may aim at our Camp or they may only intend to proceed as far as the mountains and file off to the left making a sweep of all the forage Cattle &c. in their way.

In any case we ought to collect the Militia to give them all the opposition in our power. I request your Lordship to give the alarm as extensively as you can in your quarter and to remain to form them as they collect and march them towards the enemy with direction to skirmish on their left flank— We shall as quick as possible move forward with the Army.



I wish your Lordship's particular attention to the Militia—

I am yr Lordships

Most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Major Genl Lord Stirling

The enemy were on the road from E Town to Springfield— We shall move towards Chatham.

LXXV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters, 20th July 1780

An idea has occurred to me my dear Madam, which if *perfectly* consistent with the views of the female patriots may perhaps extend the utility of their subscriptions.— It is to deposit the amount in the Bank & receive Bank notes in lieu of it to purchase the articles intended.

This while serviceable to the Bank and advancing its operations seems to have no inconvenience to the intentions of the Ladies.— By uniting the efforts of patriotism they will reciprocally promote each other—and I should imagine the Ladies will have no objection to a union with the Gentlemen.

But I beg Madam the suggestion I have taken the liberty to make may not have the least attention paid to it, if the sentiments of all the fair associates do not perfectly coincide.

I have the honor to be with

perfect respect & esteem Madam

Yr Most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Mrs Presidt Reed

LXXVI

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet

Peeks Kill August 1st 1780

Sir

I beg leave to inform your Excellency,

that the exigency of the service makes it necessary for me to call the German Battalion from Sunbury to join this army, & that I must embrace the earlist opportunity to transmit an order for the purpose. I have thought it proper to communicate this to your Excellency, that you may if you deem it essential, supply its place by incorporating & ordering a number of your militia to act in that quarter. Had the requisition of the Honorable the Committee of Congress to the State for men to fill her battalions, been even nearly complied with, and which I thought as they did, the Public interest required, I should have foregone the advantages which would have been derived from the service of this Corps and continued it at its present station, but this not having been the case, I am compelled to avail myself of its aid

I have the the honor to be with the greatest respect

Your Excellency's

Most Obet Hble Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Govr. Reed

LXXVII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters

Bergen County

22nd July 1780

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 18th came to my hands last night—Considering the delicate situation in which I stand with respect to General Gates, I feel an unwillingness to give any opinion (even in a confidential way) in a matter in which he is concerned lest my sentiments (being known) should have unfavourable in-

terpretation ascribed to them by illiberal minds—I will however state facts, and leave you to draw inferences, with respect to the promotion required.

Custom (for I do not recollect any resolve of Congress authorizing it) has established a kind of right to the promotion of Brigadiers in State lines, when there are Regiments, enough to require a Brigadier to command—There can be no objection therefore to the Gentn named, on this ground.

By the practice of our Army, never less than four Regiments are placed in a brigade, but in cases of necessity.—The quota of Regiments allotted to the State of Virginia originally were 15—In the year 1778 there was an incorporation of some of them by the Committee of arrangement (sent to the White Plains); & approved, to the best of my recollection by Congress—this reduced them to —; one of which is now at Fort Pitt. The State of Virginia at this time (Since the recall of Weedon) has 4 Brigrs in pay, & two in active service—Those in captivity will be injured if they should not return to actual command when they are exchanged; & they can have no command out of their own line—nor can there be any in it if new Bs. are made. The State was about to raise 5,000 men, 4,000 of which is, more than probably as many as they will get—& were I to form my judgment from our usual disappointments & the customary deficiency in these cases, I should not expect 3,000 men.—

At the request of Govr. Jefferson & from a list of the officers of the Vtrga line (not in captivity) I have made a

temporary formation of these Troops into Six (or as the case may be) Seven Regiments, till they are surcharged—there being officers enough in the State for this purpose—

The case of S—ns is not singular it frequently happens—& in the nature of things must happen while we depend upon Militia and the appointment of officers of his rank are in the Executive of each State—I have no doubt but that several instances of this kind will occur under my immediate command in the course of the Campaign (if our intended operation goes forward) It is unavoidable, while we depend upon Militia for field Service.

The Gentn who is the subject of your Letter is a brave officer, & a well meaning man, but his withdrawing from Service at the time he did last year, could not be justified on any ground—there was not, to my knowledge, the smallest cause for dissatisfaction—and the season and circumstances were totally opposed to the measure, even if cause had existed, till matters assume a different aspect than they wore at the time of his proffered resignation.

From this state of facts, which I believe to be candid and impartial you will judge of the propriety, or impropriety of the promotion in question & act accordingly—

If any letter of mine to Colo. Harrison (Speaker to the Virginia House of Delegates) could have a tendency to injure rather than promote the service in which we are engaged, the operation of it & my intention, are as far apart as the North pole is from the South.—In May, after the Marquis', arrival with

assurances of speedy succour from France, I wrote to Col. Harrison (which I had not done for many months before) & informed him knowing the assembly was then sitting—of the totally deranged situation of our affairs—of our distresses—of the utter impracticability of availing ourselves of the generous aid unless the States would rouse from the Torpor that had seized them—and observed—that

“This is a decisive moment—one (I will go further and say) *the* most important America has seen. The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance and if we disappoint its intentions by our supineness we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind; nor can we after that venture to confide that our allies will persist in an attempt to establish what it will appear we want inclination, or ability to assist them in

“Every view of our own circumstances ought to determine us to the most vigorous efforts; but there are considerations of an other kind that should have equal weight—The combined fleets of France and Spain last year were greatly superior to those of the enemy—The enemy nevertheless sustained no material damage, and at the close of the Campaign have given a very important blow to our allies—This Campaign the difference between the fleets from every acct I have been able to collect will be inconsiderable—indeed it is far from clear that there will not be an equality—what are we to expect will be the case if there shd be another Campaign?—In all probability the advantage will be on the side

“of the English, and then what will become of America?—We ought not to deceive ourselves—The maritime resources of Great Britain are more substantial & real than those of France and Spain united—The commerce is more extensive than that of both her rivals; and it is an axiom that the Nation which has the most extensive commerce will always have the most powerful Marine. Were these arguments less convincing the fact speaks for itself—her progress in the course of the last year is an incontestible proof—It is true France in a manner created a fleet in a very short space, and this may mislead us in the judgement we form of her naval abilities. But if they be any comparison with those of G. Britain, how comes it to pass that all the force of Spain added she has lost so much ground in so short a time, as now to have scarcely a superiority.—We should consider what was done by France as a violent and unnatural effort of the Government, which for want of sufficient foundation cannot continue to operate proportionable effects.

“In Modern wars the longest purse must chiefly determine the event;—I fear that of the enemy will be found to be so—Though the government is deeply in debt, and of course poor, the Nation is rich & their riches afford a fund which will not be easily exhausted.—Besides their system of public credit is such, that it is capable of greater exertions than that of any other nation.—Speculatists have been a long time foretelling its downfall, but we

" see no symptoms of the catastrophe  
 " being very near—I am persuaded it  
 " will at least last out the War, & then  
 " in the opinion of many of the best  
 " politicians it will be a National ad-  
 " vantage—If the War should terminate  
 " successfully the Crown will have ac-  
 " quired such influence and power that  
 " it may attempt anything and a bank-  
 " ruptcy will probably be made the  
 " ladder to climb to absolute authority  
 " —Administration may perhaps wish  
 " to drive matters to this issue—At any  
 " rate they will not be sustained by an  
 " apprehension of it from forcing the  
 " resources of the State It will pro-  
 " mote their present purposes on which  
 " their all is at stake, & it may pave the  
 " way to triumph more effectually over  
 " the Constitution—With this disposi-  
 " tion, I have no doubt that ample  
 " means will be found to prosecute the  
 " War with the greatest vigor".

" France is in a very different posi-  
 " tion, the abilities of her present finan-  
 " cier has done wonders—By a wise  
 " administration of the revenues aided  
 " by advantageous loans he has avoided  
 " all the necessity of additional taxes—  
 " But I am well informed—if the War  
 " continues another Campaign he will  
 " be obliged to have recourse to the  
 " Taxes usual in time of War, which  
 " are very heavy—and which the people  
 " in France are not in a condition to  
 " endure for any duration—When this  
 " necessity commences, France makes  
 " war on ruinous terms; and England  
 " from her individual wealth will find  
 " much greater facilities in supplying  
 " her exigencies"

" Spain derives great wealth from her

" mines but not so great as is generally  
 " imagined, of late years the profit to  
 " Governmt is essentially diminished—  
 " Commerce and industry are the best  
 " Mines of a Nation; both which are  
 " wanting to her—I am told her treas-  
 " ury is far from being so well filled as  
 " we have flattered ourselves She also  
 " is much divided on the propriety of  
 " the War—there is a strong party  
 " against it. The temper of the nation  
 " is too sluggish to admit of great exer-  
 " tion—& though the Courts of the two  
 " Kingdoms are closely linked together;  
 " there never has been in any of their  
 " wars a perfect harmony of measures  
 " nor has it been in this; which has  
 " already been no small detriment to  
 " the common cause

" I mention these things to shew that  
 " the circumstances of our allies as well  
 " as our own, call for Peace; to obtain  
 " which we must make one great effort  
 " this Campaign. The present instance  
 " of the friendship of the Court of  
 " France is attended with every circum-  
 " stance that can render it important  
 " and agreeable that can interest our  
 " gratitude, or fire our emulation—If we  
 " do our duty we may even hope to  
 " make the Campaign decisive on this  
 " Continent. But we *must do our duty*  
 " *in Earnest*—or disgrace and ruin will  
 " attend us—I am sincere in declaring a  
 " full persuasion that the succour will  
 " be fatal to us if our measures are not  
 " adequate to the emergency"

" The Committee of Congress in their  
 " late Address to the several States,  
 " have given a just picture of our Situ-  
 " ation—I very much doubt its making  
 " the desired impression, & if it does

"not, I shall consider our lethargy as incurable—The present juncture is so interesting, that if it does not produce correspondent exertions, it will be a proof, that motives of honor, public good & even self preservation, have lost their influence on our minds"

If there is anything in the foregoing quotation of my Letter to Col Harrison that could prejudice the Service, I must abide the consequences, for I certainly wrote what is recited—not officially as you will readily perceive, but in a private letter to a friend, whose influence together with that of every well wisher of the cause, I wanted to engage, as I thought it high time that every Engine should be at work.—The whole of what I wrote on the points you mention, are faithfully transcribed, that you may judge how far it could prejudice the Service—with the greatest esteem & regard

I am Dear Sir Yr Afft Humble Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Joseph Jones Esq.

P. S. The latter clause of the quotation of my Letter to Col Harrison I am not *absolutely* certain was sent—The original draught contained it, but I am in some doubt whether it was copied, or not—This I mention that there may be no possible mis-information on my part.

LXXVIII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Qrs. Orange Town,

Aug 10th 1780

Madam.

I have the honor to thank you for your favor of the 31st Ult.

It was not my intention to divert the benevolent donation of the Ladies from the channel they wished it to flow in.—I gave my opinion in consequence of their request, but I shall be equally ready to subscribe to theirs—and will execute their commands in the manner most agreeable to themselves.— At the same time, I have my apprehensions (from the peculiar circumstances of our Army) that a taste of hard money may be productive of much discontent, as we have none but depreciated paper for their pay.

A few provident Soldiers will, probably, avail themselves of the advantages which may result from the generous bounty of two hard dollars in specie—but it is equally probable that it will be the means of bringing punishment on a number of others, whose propensity to drinking, overcoming all other considerations, too frequently leads them into irregularities, & disorders which must be corrected.—

A Shirt would render the condition of the Soldiery in general much more comfortable than it is at present, & no prospect of public supplies (in any degree adequate to our wants) are yet opened to my view— The provisions made, or making for the Troops of Pennsylvania, and the late importation from France, is small in comparison of our aggregate call, and affords a melancholy prospect of continued sufferings;—

I have the honor to be Madam,

With the most perfect respect,

Yr most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Mrs Presidt Reed, Phila.

## LXXIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters Orange Town

20th Aug 1780

Dear Sir

I had this morning the honor of yours of the 17th from Trenton. When I ordered the Militia of Pennsylvania to assemble at their place of rendezvous, I was in hopes that our supply of provisions would have been adequate to their subsistence with the Army: But, from repeated and a late pointed representation from the Commy General, I find myself very unfortunately disappointed. I can, with every exertion, scarcely keep the Army in this Camp (intirely Continental) fed from day to day. In this situation, it will be only adding to our distress to bring forward the Men under your Excellency's command—to halt them any where between this and Delaware would be in fact the same thing, and altho' ordering them back to their Counties may be attended with some inconveniences and delays hereafter, yet necessity constrains me to do it in some measure. I would wish you immediately to send orders to those of the remoter Counties, who have not yet joined you, to return for the present, but to hold themselves in readiness to move again upon the shortest notice. Should you be of opinion that those of Philada and the neighbouring Counties, who are already embodied and under your command, could take a position in the County of Bucks, where they could be subsisted without interfering with the supplies coming on for the Army, I should prefer it to disbanding them; for to be candid, I fear so much time will be lost

in getting them out again after the second division of the French Troops and Ships (hourly expected) arrive, that the Season for action will have glided away, and that we shall on that account be unable to prosecute the intended operation. But should your Excellency be of opinion that they may return home, and be collected again in the course of a few days when wanted—I shall have no objection. The Delaware Militia being but a handful of Men, and those armed and accoutred by the public, I have thought it better to order them forward than, by countermanding them, run the risque of losing the public Stores which they have drawn. I am infinitely obliged to you for providing your people with Camp Equipage, as it would not have been in my power to have furnished them with a sufficient quantity, if with any at all.

It is a most mortifying reflexion, that we should not, at this advanced period of the Campaign have Magazines of Provisions for even one half the Men necessary for our intended operations. I can only hope that this is owing to the new Crop not having yet come into use, and that by the time of the arrival of the 2d division, upon which the commencement of our operations will depend, we shall be in a situation to draw a head of Men together. I have every assurance from the French land and Sea Commanders that the second Division may, without some very unexpected accident, be daily expected. Should we, upon the arrival of this reinforcement, be found, after all our promises of a co-operating force, deficient in Men—provision and every other essential—your

Excellency can easily conceive what will be the opinion of our Allies, and of the World, and what will be the consequences in the deranged—distracted State of our Affairs. And that we shall be found in this situation, unless the most vigorous exertions are made by the several States to send in those supplies which are demanded of them, I am as well convinced as I am of any one thing in nature.

Let me conjure you then my dear Sir to make the people use every moment of the time which we have, [remaining] The finest prospect [is] held out to us, and if we do not embrace the opportunity which now presents itself, and which is certainly within our reach, if we will make use of the means in our power—can we expect ever to have the offer repeated?

I have the honor to be  
with great Respect and Esteem  
Yr Excellency's  
most obt and hbl Sert  
GO. WASHINGTON

[Governor Joseph Reed]

P. S. I duly recd your Excellency's favrs of the 3d and 7th.

LXXX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Qrs Sept 9th 1780

Dear Sir,

I have heard that a new arrangement is about to take place in the Medical Department & that is likely, it will be a good deal curtailed with respect to its present appointments. Who will be the persons generally employed I am not informed, nor do I wish to know;—

however I will mention to you, that I think Doctrs Craik & Cochran from their services, abilities & experience—and their close attention, have the strictest claim to their Country's notice, & to be among the first officers in the Establishment.

There are many other deserving characters in the Medical line of the Army, but the reasons for my mentioning the above Gentlemen are, that I have the highest opinion of them—& have had it hinted to me that the new arrangement might possibly be influenced by a Spirit of party out of Doors, which would not operate in their favor. I will add no more than I am

With the most perfect regd  
Yr most obdt Servt

G. WASHINGTON

The Honble Joseph Jones Esqr  
of Congress—at Philadelphia

LXXXI

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Head Qrs Octr 4 1780

Sir

Your favor of the 15th ulto reached my quarters during my late absence from the Army. I am exceedingly obliged by your care of the Case of Liqueurs committed to your charge by Mr. Jay, as I am for that, which you so politely added. I have only to regret that they both suffered much by the roughness of the transportation.

I am— Sir

Yr most obt & Hble Ser.

GO. WASHINGTON

William Bingham Esqr

## LXXXII

From the original, gift of William A. Fitzhugh,  
in the New York Historical Society Library

Head Qrs Passaic Falls,  
Oct 22, 1780

Dear Sir

The Gentn who will have the honor of presenting you with this letter is Major Genl Greene, a particular friend of mine, and one who I would beg leave to recommend to your civilities— He is going to take command of the Southern Army, and calls at Annapolis to make some arrangements with the State respecting its supplies which are turned into that direction.

This Gentleman is so intimately acquainted with our situation and prospects—and can relate them with such accuracy, that I shall not trouble you with them— My best respects attend Mrs Fitzhugh and the young officer, whose final exchange is I hope not far distant ; if the Prisoners we have in this quarter will reach the date of his captivity in the exchange we are about to make— The Comy is now gone in with powers to effect this purpose.

I am Dr Sir

Yr Obt & affecte Hble,

GO. WASHINGTON

[Hon. Wm. Fitzhugh,  
Maryland]

P. S. I hope the Assemblies that are now sitting, or are about to sit, will not rise till they put three things in a fair & proper train.

First, to give full & complete powers to Congress competent to all purposes of war.

Secondly, by Loans & Taxes, to put

our finances on a more respectable footing than they are at present, and

Thirdly, that they will endeavour to establish a permanent force— These things will secure our Independency beyond dispute—but to go on in our present system—Civil as well as military—is an useless and vain attempt— It is idle to suppose that raw and undisciplined Men are fit to oppose regular Troops—and if they were, our present Military System is too expensive for any fund except that of an Eastern Nabob—and in the Civil line, instead of one head and director, we have, or soon will have, thirteen, which is as much a monster in politicks as it would be in the human form— Our prest distresses and future prospects of distress, arising from these and similar causes, is great, beyond the powers of description, & without a change must end in our ruin.

I am &c,

G. W.

## LXXXIII

Communicated by Pierre Van Cortlandt

Head Quarters  
Preckiness 8th Novem 1780

Sir,

I have received yours of the 7th with a Report of your Proceedings with the British Commrs of prisoners at your late meeting— I have thought proper to accede to the proposal of the several exchanges offered in the Returns numbered 5, 6, 10, and shall take the speediest occasion to direct the Officer commanding at Charlotte Barracks to send down the Officers who are the objects of the propositions. You will order the



several British and German corps mentioned in the return No. 8 to be sent to New York in exchange for our privates now there. They will leave a Balance of upwards of 60 privates in our favor. I shall be ready to grant a passport for a Flag Vessel to proceed to Newport or providence to bring the prisoners from Rutland. I have it not in my power to accede to the proposed exchange of Lt Col de Buypée for Lt Governor Hamilton (return No 7); that Gentleman, with Major Hayes, has been permitted by the State of Virginia to go to New York upon parole, but they will not consent at present to his final exchange— In regard to the proposal of exchanging the Officers who will remain upon Long Island after the foregoing are carried into execution for a Division of the Convention Troops—I have only to say that I will enter into a negociation for such an exchange provided Lt Genl Burgoyne is made an object of it, but upon no other terms. And in respect to the further proposal of a general exchange of the Convention Troops, officers and men, for the prisoners of War taken to the Southward, as far as they will apply, you must be sensible that we are no ways prepared to enter upon that business, as we have but [a very] imperfect state of the prisoners in that quarter, and more especially as we have good reason to believe that a considerable number of prisoners have lately fallen into our hands there. Another reason for my not wishing to interfere in the exchange of the Southern prisoners at present is that the Commanding Officer in that district has powers competent to that purpose, so

far as he may have prisoners of war in his hands.

I am Sir

yr most obt Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Abraham Skinner Esq

C. G. P.

LXXXIV

From the original, a gift of William A. Fitzhugh,  
in the New York Historical Society Library

Hd Qrs Passaic Falls,  
8th Novr 1780

Dear Sir,

I have now the pleasure to congratulate you, Mrs Fitzhugh, and the Cornet on his exchange— It was compleated a few days ago, and the Commissary of Prisoners will forward the certificate or promulgation of it.

The favourable prospect, which at one stage of the campaign was held up to view, has vanished like the morning dew, leaving scarce a trace behind it, but the recollection of past distresses on the score of Provisions, the want of wch continues to threaten us.

Our acct's from the Southward are vague and uncertain, but agreeable— If it be true that a body of French and Spanish Troops have landed in South Carolina, it may aid in the total destruction of Cornwallis' Army— Another embarkation is talked of at New York— but this also is a matter suggestion—not certainty as to numbs—

It is devoutly to be wished that the late resolves of Congress for regulating the Army and completing the Regiments for the War may receive all the energetic force of the respective States. Certain

I am, that if this measure had been adopted four, or even three years ago, that we might, at this time, have been sitting under our vines and fig trees in the full enjoyment of Peace & Independence. To attain which, the delay of the measure is unfortunate, it does not make it too late, but more necessary to enter upon it vigorously at this late hour.

An army for the war, proper magazines—and sufficient powers in Congress for all purposes *of war* will soon put an end to it—but the expensive and ruinous system we were pursuing was more than the friends of any Nation upon Earth would bear, and served to increase the hopes of the enemy in proportion as the minds of our people were depressed, by a boundless prospect of expence, which was increasing as it rolled on like a snow ball.

My best respects attend Mrs Fitzhugh —& Compliments to your Son— With much esteem and affection,

I am Dr Sir

Yr most Obedt Servt

GO WASHINGTON

The Honble Wm Fitzhugh Esqr  
Maryland

—  
LXXXV

From the Livingston Correspondence. Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters Passaic Falls  
19 Novemr 1780

Dear Sir,

I have been this day honored with your Excellency's favour of the 18th. You may be assured that I shall pursue

the same measure this winter that I have invariably done heretofore—of sending every Horse that can possibly be spared to a distance from the part of the country which has been the seat of the Army during the Campaign, and as there will be fewer troops in Jersey this winter than usual, I hope the inhabitants will find relief in proportion. The exertions of the State have been great, and it is intitled to every indulgence that the nature of the Service will allow.

Your Excellency and the Legislature must be sufficiently acquainted with the State of the Army to know that our force, after the dismissal of Levies, will admit but few troops to remain in Jersey. I shall throw all that can be spared, after securing West Point from any possible insult, on the communication from Morris Town to King's Ferry; but as their number will be but few, they cannot be cantonned nearer to the Sound than Morris Town. They will occasionally keep patrols and light parties advanced to give notice of any approach of the Enemy. I am convinced that a force within striking distance of an enemy, any thing short of a body sufficient to keep them in perfect awe, instead of affording protection to the inhabitants, only serve as an inducement to bring the enemy out upon them.

I have the honor to be with

very great Respect and Regard

Yr Excellency's most obdt

and humble Servt

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Governor Livingston.

## LXXXVI

Communicated by Mary E. Norwood  
Morristown 28th Nov. 1780

Dear Sir,

Both your letters of the 25 came to my hands this day. I received with much pleasure the report of your successful enterprize upon Fort St George and the vessel with stores in the harbor, and was particularly well pleased with the destruction of the hay which must, I should conceive, be severely felt by the enemy at this time.

I beg of you to accept my thanks for your judicious planning and spirited execution of this business, and that you will offer them to the officers and men who shared the honors of the enterprize with you. The gallant behaviour of Mr. Munison gives him a fair claim to an appointment in the second regiment of Dragoons, or any other of the state to which he belongs, where there is a vacancy, and I have no doubt of his meeting with it accordingly, if you will make known his merit, with these sentiments in his favor.

You have my free consent to reward your gallant party with the little booty they were able to bring from the Enemy's works.

With much esteem & regard,

I am Dear Sir, Yr most obed servt,

[Col Tallmadge] GO. WASHINGTON

## LXXXVII

From the Livingston Correspondence. Communicated by S. L. M. Barlow

Head Quarters

New Windsor 10 Decr 1780

Dear Sir,

Your Excellency will, I presume, have

recd before this reaches you an Act of Congress of the 4th of last month, calling on the several States for specific quantities of fresh and salt provisions—Flour—Salt and Rum for the Army, and directing all of the above articles, except the Fresh Meat, to be collected and deposited at such places in each of the States as should be judged most convenient by me. This communication I should have done myself the honour of making somewhat earlier, had not the greater part of my time since the receipt of the Act been taken up in arranging and visiting the Hospitals and Winter Cantonments of the Army.

Upon considering the point with respect to the Supplies required of your State, I beg leave to inform your Excellency that it appears to me they should be deposited at the following places, viz.

The whole of the Salt—Salt Meat and Flour, at Morris Town—Pitts Town—Sussex Court House and Ringwood, in such proportion at each as may suit the State—

The Commy General, as he is directed, will inform you, from time to time, of the quantities of live Cattle which will be necessary, and where they are to be delivered.

I have the honor to be with great Respect,

Your Excellency's

Most Obedt Servant,

GO WASHINGTON

His Excellency

Gov Livingston

## LXXXVIII

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel.

New Windsor 12th Decr 1780

Dear Sir,

I persuade myself you will embrace the opportunity of the Marquis de la Fayette's visit to Philadelphia to give the picture of him the finishing touches.—You may not have another opportunity, and I wish its completion.

I am Dr Sir Yr Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

[C. W. Peale Esqr]

P. S. As I presume you must be done with my picture of the King of Prussia 'ere this, I should be glad to have it returned to me.

## LXXXIX

Communicated by T. Bailey Myers

New Windsor 21st Decr 1780

Sir

This letter will be handed to you by the Chevr de Chasteleaux, Major General in the French Army and an officer of great merits, whom I recommend to your particular attention—and I request that he may be furnished with Guards for any tour he may incline to make towards Lake George or &c &c.

I am Sir Yr Most Obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Brigadier Gen. Clinton

Commanding at Albany &c &c.

## NOTES

GENERAL SULLIVAN IN RHODE ISLAND, 1778.—The memory of General Sullivan is dear to his descendants and kins-folk. If unjustly aspersed they are naturally

distressed and aggrieved. This sensitiveness is entitled to consideration and all honorable men respect it. In the article by John Austin Stevens, entitled "The French in Rhode Island" (*Magazine of American History*, III, 390), it is charged that the first expedition of the Americans and French for the capture of the British garrison at Newport fell through because of "the delay of General Sullivan in his preparatory movements." In the name of the descendants of General Sullivan we protest against this charge. It is equivalent to the assertion that because General Sullivan did not in less time than two weeks, between July 29 and August 9 (1778), collect his army of eight to ten thousand men (composed largely of volunteers and militia), with which on the latter day he crossed over to the island, train and organize them for the important service expected of them and get together their supplies, he was obnoxious to the charge of procrastination. In the communication,\* which is transmitted herewith, this charge is refuted and we request for it in full or in part an early insertion.

JNO. SULLIVAN,  
EDWARD SULLIVAN,  
THOMAS C. AMORY.

*Boston, June 17, 1879.*

\* This communication will appear in the September number. EDITOR.

SO FAR WEST.—The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York charging the Grand Jury of the City of New York in the March Term, 1726-7, said: "As to the several kinds of witchcraft, our laws, I think, are a little obscure,

and I hope we are so far West as to know nothing of it but the Name. But if, upon enquiry you find any of the People of this country have been dealing with the devil in that uncommon way, I believe you will not fail to present them."

There is a sly thrust at the superstition of New England, and at the same time, a concession to public opinion visible in the foregoing words.

R. L. F.

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INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES—CHILLAKOTHE.—As the name of Chillakothé has been applied to different places in the course of this letter, it may not be improper to remark here, that it is derived from the name of an influential chief, who formerly headed the Shawanoes. Whenever his people happened to be driven from their town, they retired to some other spot, and founded a second by the same name, and so a third, a fourth, &c. In like manner the Miami, and some other Indians, have communicated the respective names of their nations, or tribes, to various rivers and places, as they severally happened to remove, or spread themselves over the country. The savages know well how to choose a situation for a town. The scite and surrounding country of every Chillakothé is very beautiful. — *Gen. Harmar's Report of an Expedition against the Indians, dated Nov. 23, 1790.*

W. K.

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JOHN JAY AT A BULL-FIGHT, 1780.—Mr Jay and myself went yesterday to a Bull-fight which is the only diversion

this town affords—and a cruel one it is—I will not shock you with a description of it— Except the Gladiators I never read of anything more inhuman— In the morning one of the Knights who fought on horseback was killed & two wounded— This was some thing very uncommon, as the men seldom get much hurt. But the horses which are torn to pieces by the Bull & the serious tormenting death of the Bulls themselves is a most shocking part of the Entertainment— What surprised me most was the pleasure the Spanish Ladies received from the death of the poor animals— Indeed unless a great many horses are killed they call it a very poor feast. The activity and strength shown by the fighters is really surprising—the danger they put themselves into is still more so. I have seen a man, tossed over a fence 5 or 6 feet in height on the Bull's horns, return to the fight again in an instant as if nothing had happened to him.

Besides these Bull-fights they have a comedy every evening. But as I do not know enough of the language to understand the actors I have not derived much pleasure from any I have yet seen. The Devil has a great Part in their Comedies. I have been in one shop where there were more than 3000 comedies of different kinds to be Sold & I have been told by an Abby here that above 500 of these are now in actual vogue and presented on the two theatres in this city.—*Extract from a letter of John Brockholst Livingston to Gov. Livingston, dated Madrid, 12 July, 1780.*

IULUS.

SIMON GIRTY AND THE ATTACK ON FORT HENRY, 1777.—J. E. Cook, in his *Stories of the Old Dominion*, repeats the old story that Simon Girty led the Indians in their attack on Fort Henry in September, 1777. Where and when this story originated I have never been able to ascertain. Withers, in his *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, published in 1831, asserts it, and De Hass, in his *History of Indian Wars in Western Virginia*, repeats it. McKnight, in *Our Western Border*, contradicts the story, but says: "it must have been George or James Girty who were living among the savages." Now the fact is not one of the Girtys was with the Indians at the time of their attack on Fort Henry in September, 1777. There is no historical fact better established than the dates of the desertion of Simon, James and George Girty. Thomas Girty never did desert. Col. George Morgan was Indian Agent for the middle department of the United States during the Revolution, with his headquarters at Fort Pitt, and his Journal proves that Simon and James Girty were employed by him as Indian Interpreters; it also shows that on the 28th of March, 1778, Simon Girty deserted with McKee and Elliott, and that at that time James was on a message to the Shawanese for Colonel Morgan, and was induced to desert the cause of his country and attach himself to the interest of his brother Simon. See *Hildreth's Pioneer History*, pp. 129-30. The muster roll of Capt. James Willing's company of marines, at the time under Gen. George Rodgers Clark, now in the State Archives at Harrisburg, shows that George Girty was com-

missioned a Second Lieutenant in said company on the 6th of February, 1778, and that he deserted May 4th, 1779. See *Potter's American Monthly*, VII, 388. There is other evidence, but this is sufficient to prove that none of the Girtys could have led the attack on Fort Henry in September, 1777.

ISAAC CRAIG.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

BROWNSVILLE, PENN., EPITAPHS.—At Brownsville, Fayette Co., Penn., two tombstones mark the spot where lie the bodies of two nephews of General Washington. They were passing through Brownsville, taking a gang of slaves from the eastern part of Virginia to the West, and while there were poisoned by some of the slaves, dying a few days afterwards at different times. The inscriptions on the stones are as follows:

In memory of  
JOHN H. WASHINGTON,  
A NATIVE OF VIRGINIA;  
was born in the county of Southampton the 8th  
of June A. D. 1789; departed this life  
13th of April 1818.

In memory of  
ARCHIBALD WASHINGTON;  
was born in the county of Southampton the  
25th of February. A. D. 1785, and  
departed this life the 10th of April  
1818.

In the same ground is a stone bearing the following inscription:

HERE LIES THE BODY OF THOMAS BROWN WHO ONCE  
WAS OWNER OF THIS TOWN WHO DEPARTED THIS  
LIFE MARCH 8TH 1797  
AGED 59 years.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

I. C.

## QUERIES

THREE OLD ALMANACS—ARE THEY RARE?—

(I) STAFFORD'S | ALMANAC, | For the Year of our LORD | 1778. \* \* \* By *Hosea Stafford*. \* \* \* NEW HAVEN. | Printed by Thomas and Samuel Green.

(II) THE | UNITED STATES | ALMANACK. | FOR | The Year of our LORD | 1782; | \* \* \* BY ANDREW ELLICOTT, Esq. | CHATHAM: | PRINTED AND SOLD BY SHEPARD KOLLOCK.

(III) HUTCHINS IMPROVED: | BEING AN | ALMANACK | AND | EPHEMERIS | OF THE MOTIONS OF THE | SUN AND MOON: | \* \* \* FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD | 1784: | \* \* \* BY *John Guthrie Hutchins*. PHILOM. | NEW YORK: | PRINTED AND SOLD BY H. GAINE, AT HIS | *Printing Office*, IN *Hanover-Square*. | Where may be had the NEW YORK POCKET ALMANACK.

C. W. B.

PORTRAIT OF VESPUCCI.—A portrait in oil of Vespucci was brought to this country by C. Edwards Lester, committed to his care by the Vespucci family. (Field book of the Revolution, Vol. I., p. xxviii., Introduction.)

What has become of it? A. H.

VALENTINE AND MOLL DERRY.—A writer of a local sketch in the Uniontown, Fayette County, Pa., *Standard* says: "Valentine Derry, commonly called Felty, and Mollie, his wife, came to this country at the time of the Revolutionary war. They were both Haytiens, and both belonged to the British army. Derry, with his wife, deserted and joined the American side, and were under General Morgan." They afterwards "found their way over the mountains, and settled in Georges township, Fayette county, Pa."

Can any of your readers confirm this statement? In the 10th Company of Morgan's Riflemen, commanded by Samuel Brooks, as it stood Nov. 30, 1778, I find the name of John Derry. Could this be a name assumed by Moll Derry to hide her sex. I. C.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

SCHUYLERS OF NEW JERSEY.—In the battle of Brandywine, September, 1777, a British officer was wounded, and had his leg amputated. He was committed to the care of a family by the name of *Schuyler* by whom he was cared for six months. Can any of your correspondents give me information as to this family, or their descendants?

G. W. S.

TILLEY GENEALOGY.—Can any of your readers inform me of the dates of arrival in this country (Boston) of three brothers, William, John and James Tilley. They came from Edford, Devon, England. They worked in Boston at rope making, for their cousin William. He died, December, 1717. They came about 1700. After the death of their cousin the three brothers left Boston; William settled in Newport, R. I., John in New York State, and James in New London, Conn. Any information respecting them will gladly be received by

R. H. TILLEY.

*Newport, R. I.*

ROBBINS' REGICIDES.—Can any of your readers tell me in what Magazine and when was published "Chandler Robbins' Regicides sheltered in New England."

R. P. ROBINS.

*Philadelphia.*

**SMITH'S CLOVE.**—In the accounts of the Revolution I find constant references to "the Clove" and to "Smith's Clove." In the Itinerary of Washington, recently published in the Magazine, it appears that his quarters were there when on the march, July, 1777. Where were these cloves and what is the derivation of the word Clove, which I take to be a ravine in the hills or a valley?

TOPOGRAPHER.

**WAYNE'S BURIAL PLACE.**—The Pittsburgh Gazette of December 24, 1796, contains the following:

"DIED on Wednesday night, the 14th inst, at Presqu' isle, his Excellency ANTHONY WAYNE, Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army.

—The birth of some great man, or death,  
Gives a celebrity to spots of earth;  
We say that MONTCALM fell on Abram's Plain;  
That BUTLER presses the Miami bank;  
And that the promontory of Segean  
Has Achilles's tomb—  
Presqu' isle saw WAYNE expire; and  
The traveller shall see his monument;  
At least his grave. For this,  
Corroding jealousy will not detract;  
But will allow a mound—  
Some little swelling of the earth,  
To mark the interment of his bones.

Brave honest soldier sleep—  
And let the dews weep over thee,  
And gales that sigh across the Lake;  
Till men shall recognize thy worth,  
And coming to the place, shall ask,  
Is this where WAYNE is buried?

I. C.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

**OUGH SARACOSS.**—This is said to be the name under which a tract of land on the Ohio river was entered. Is it an

Indian word, and if so, what does it signify? James P. Fleming says: "its orthography may be a corruption of 'O. Cæsar Augustus.' The Spanish city Saragossa was formerly called Cæsaragusta, which was modified to Saragossa. If we add to this the Indian exclamation 'Ough,' we have 'Ough-saragoss.' If this is the correct orthography of the name it might give us a suggestion in regard to the origin of the race."

I. C.

*Alleghany Pa.*

**THE FIRST FRENCH ADVENTURERS IN 1776.**—"The greater number of the first French who came to America when the revolution broke out were men crippled with debts and without reputation at home, who announcing themselves by assumed titles and false names obtained distinguished rank in the American army, received considerable advances in money and disappeared at once." This is the statement of the Abbé Robin in his *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*. How far is it true?

HISTORY.

**CROGHAN'S JOURNAL OF 1765.**—Does any reader of the Magazine know who has Col. George Croghan's Journal of 1765, originally published in Featherstonhaugh's Monthly Journal of Natural Science and Geology for December, 1831? There is reason to believe that the printer in setting it up, or the copyist, made a slight but important mistake. If the original journal is still in existence it would settle an historical question of some interest.

I. C.

*Alleghany, Pa.*



MELLONS.—Will some of the many readers of the Historical Magazine please give the origin of the naming the following towns and post offices? Mellon Springs, Clay Co., Kansas; Mel-  
lington, Kendall Co., Ill.; Millon, S. Carolina; Mellonsville, Lawrence Co., Va.; Mellons P. O., Louisa Co., Va., Melon P. O., Barbour Co., W. Va.; Millin P. O., Burke Co., Ga.

GEO. MELLON.

CRACKERS.—In a letter of Alexander Brymer, of Boston, to Mr. Ch. Champ-  
lain, of New York, concerning the supply of the British fleet on the American Station, 10 February, 1775, the word "*crackers* for the use of the officers" appears. This word, common here, is not in use in England. What is its origin?

J. E. M.

Newport, R. I.

PARENTAGE OF JOHN ADAMS OF THE CONNECTICUT LINE.—The following copy of the discharge of one John Adams appears recorded on p. 10, Vol. I., of the town records of Arlington, Ct.

"Connecticut Village Highlands

26th April 1782

John Adams a soldier who deserted from the late 8th Connect. Regiment about three years from date willing to accept of the Benefit of his Excellency General Washington's Proclamation has in consequence of his ill state of health and inability to join hired Benjamin Bingham to serve in his stead during the present War— Bingham appearing to me to be an able bodied and effective Man and from every circumstance it evidently appears to me that the public

will be benefited by the exchange—I from these reasons do consent to receive him and John Adams is hereby discharged the Army.

Given under my hand this  
26th of April 1782.

Isaac Sherman

Lt. Col. Commd.

5th Connect. Regiment.

Done by the approbation of Col. Swift Commd of the Connecticut Division.

(Signed) I. Sherman

A true Copy, May 3, 1782.

Attest Thos. Tolman

Register "

Can any reader of the Magazine inform me who the parents of this John Adams were, their residence, or anything relating to his ancestry, and where "Connecticut Village Highlands" was?

NELSON D. ADAMS

Washington, D. C.

MONONGAHELA. — What does it mean? I have always understood it to mean *Falling-in*, or *Mouldering banks*. In the Rev. David Jones's "Journal of Two Visits made to some Indians on the west side of the River Ohio, in the Years 1772 and 1773," p. 10, he says: it "signifies *Falling-in-bank river*." And H. H. Brackenridge, in the Pittsburgh Gazette of July 26th, 1786, says: "The word Monongahela is said to signify, in some of the Indian languages, the *Falling-in-Banks*, that is, the stream of the *Falling-in*, or *Mouldering Banks*." But on the 30th of May last, James P. Fleming, of Alleghany City, is reported in the Pittsburgh Gazette to have asserted "that an eminent divine and linguist" states that Monongahela, "in the In-

dian language, signified *fire-water, or ever burning river*." A writer in the Evening Chronicle, over the signature of "Anxious Inquirer," having asked Mr. Fleming to "favor the public with the name of the eminent divine and linguist," and also "the particular Indian dialect in which Monongahela signifies fire-water, or ever burning river," Mr. Fleming declined to answer what he styled "envious and querulous quibblings of an anonymous scribbler." I would be glad to know the dialect and correct meaning of the word. I. C.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

AN OLD RHODE ISLAND BOOK.—The Vestry of the Episcopal Church of Newport, Rhode Island, in 1723, had a book or tractate published, bearing the following title :

"A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church.—Recommended as proper to be put in the hands of the Laity."

Whether this book was printed in Newport, or not, and whether it was an original publication, or a reprint of some English work, I have not learned. That it was of small dimensions I infer from the price, which was twelve pence.

Is this title known to the collectors? Is a copy of the book to be found in any collection of *Americana*?

C. W. B.

## REPLIES

PEPPERRELL COAT OF ARMS.—(II, 754.) In a letter<sup>1</sup> from Sir William Pepperrell, dated from Piscataqua, in New England, December 6th, 1737, and ad-

dressed to Mr. Silas Hooper, of England, occurs the following passage. "I must ask another favour of you, to procure for me and send a handsome marble tomb stone, to put over my dece'd Father's Tombe, with proper marble pillers or supporters to set it on. I would have his Coat of arms Cutt on it, w'ch is three pine apples proper, but you will find it in ye Heralds office, it being an Ancient Arms, and I would have ye following Inscription Engraven on ye Stone." (Here Lye's ye body of the Honorable William Pepperrell, Esqr., who departed this life ye 15th day of February, anno Domini 1733, in ye 87th year of his age, with ye remains of Great part of his family.)" The tomb alluded to is still to be seen, as erected upon Kittery Point, at the mouth of the Piscataqua River in what is now the State of Maine. Over the inscription, as above given, are cut the family arms, a chevron between three pinecones, surmounted by an esquire's helmet, with no crest.<sup>2</sup> We even find among the Pepperrell papers the original cost of the structure, which, independent of casing, cartage, &c., was £30, 6s. 10d., while "searching for the arms at the Herald Office," incurred an expense of 3s. 6d.

Though the elder Pepperrell is stated to have come from Twistock Co., Devon, the family are usually assigned a Cornish origin. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Walter Pepperrell was Mayor of Plymouth, county Devon, and was interested, with others, in some land called Bushe parke, about three miles from that place, in the parish of Buckland-egg. Contemporary with him

was Richard Pepperrell, who held freehold lands in Chag ford, in the same county. Mention is made of the family in the Harl. MS., 1538, fo. 15 b. (Brit. Mus.), which is a collection of pedigrees taken from the Devon Visitations of 1564 and 1620, with some continuations to 1637. Burke in his *Gen. Armory* gives to the Peppeuerells, or Perperells of Cornwall, arms similar to those of the family of Pepperrell.

On the evening of July 2, 1745, news reached Boston that Louisbourg had capitulated, and two days thereafter Captain John Rouse, of the colonial cruiser Shirley Galley, sailed for England with duplicate despatches. He returned before the end of September, bringing answers of August 10th, from the Duke of Newcastle, one of the Secretaries of State. The *American Magazine* of September, 1745, under date of Monday, 30th, states that, "By letters which came in by Capt. Rouse, we are assured—That the account of the reduction of Cape Breton was received by their Excellencies the Lords Justices of Great Britain with the greatest joy." On receiving advices whereof, at Hanover, His Majesty expressed the highest satisfaction; and that, among other honors conferred, "General Pepperrell was thereupon made a Baronet of Great Britain." An account of this title, the creation of which bears date Nov. 15, 1746, is to be found in *Kimber's Baronetages of Great Britain* (London, 1771), which states that, for the signal services of Sir William, "his Majesty was graciously pleased to confer on him the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, and likewise to give him a command of a regiment

of foot, raised for the defense of the said town and fortress, and, soon afterwards, to perpetuate the memory of this event, had the following ensigns of honour granted to him and his descendants, viz :

**Arms :** Argent, a Chevron, Gules, between three Pine-apples Vert; together with the augmentation of a Canton of the second, with a Fleur-de-Lis of the first.

**Crest :** An armed Arm, embowed, proper, grasping a staff, thereon a Flag, Argent, issuing out of a Mural Crown, (Argent) with three Laurel Leaves, between the Battlements proper; over the Crest, on an Escrowl, the word PEPERI, ("I have brought forth") and under the Arms this,

**Motto :** Virtute parta tuemini. ("Defend what is acquired by valor.")<sup>1</sup>

Having died July 6, 1759, Sir William was interred in the family tomb at Kittery Point. As he left no male issue the title became extinct, but, through his daughter, Elizabeth, he had four grandsons, by the name of Sparhawk. The second of these, William P. Sparhawk, in pursuance of his grandfather's will, assumed the name and arms of Pepperrell, and was created a Baronet, Nov. 9, 1774. Proscribed as a royalist he left the colony, losing his wife, ere he sailed for England, at Halifax. This lady, whom he married Nov. 12, 1767, was Elizabeth, a daughter and co-heiress of Hon. Isaac Royall, of Medford, Mass., by his wife an heiress of the McIntosh family; both families being of Scotch descent. The baronet died in London, Dec. 18, 1816, aged 70, and the title again became extinct. In the

chancel of St. Marys, at Froyle, Hampshire, is an achievement of the Pepperrell arms, bearing on an escutcheon of pretence, Azure, three garbs, two and one, or, for Royall. I. J. G.

<sup>1</sup> N. E. Hist. and General Register, XIX, 147.

<sup>2</sup> Drawing of the tomb, and of the arms, as cut thereon, are given in Frank Leslie's Illust. News, New York, Dec. 14, 1867. Miss Harriet Hirst Sparhawk, a great granddaughter of Sir William Pepperrell, died at Portsmouth, N. H., Aug. 27, 1871, aged 90, and was buried in the Pepperrell tomb on Kittery Point.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Grants, Vol. IX, fol. 162, Coll. of Arms, London.

CHEROKEE MEDAL.—(III, 55.) In relation to the medal presented to "Sequo-yah," or George Guess, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, Col. Thos. L. McKenney, in his biography of this Indian, states:

"In 1823, he (Guess) determined to emigrate to the west of the Mississippi. In the autumn of the same year, the general council of the Cherokee nation passed a resolution awarding to Guess a silver medal, in token of their regard for his genius, and of their gratitude for the eminent service he rendered to his people. The medal, which was made at Washington City, bore on one side two pipes, on the other a head, with this inscription: "Presented to George Gist by the General Council of the Cherokee Nation for his ingenuity in the invention of the Cherokee Alphabet." The inscription was the same on both sides, except that on one it was in English, and on the other in Cherokee, and in the characters invented by Guess. It was intended that this medal should be

presented at a Council, but two of the chiefs dying, John Ross, who was now the principal chief, being desirous of the honor and gratification of making the presentation, and not knowing when Guess might return to the nation, sent it to him with a written address."

According to an article in Harper's Magazine for September, 1870, Guess died near San Bernardino, Northern Mexico, in 1842. L. S. H.

*Washington, D. C.*

A CANTSLOPER.—(III, 452.) Although Mr. Craig has anticipated me I am glad he has made this inquiry. Another journal of Col. John May, in MS. and unpublished is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It gives an account of his trading expedition to the North-Western Territory in 1789, accompanied by Messrs. Downer & Breck, and made on *horseback*. In this journal he frequently uses the word "*Cantsloper*;" he sometimes spells it "*Khansloper*," and again "*Kentsloper*." One record says: "May 19. Set out from the foot of Laurel Mountain, *frost last night*, and rode all the morning in my *Cantsloper*!"

Mr. John Jordan, Jr., of the His. Soc. Pa., first called my attention to the word. He writes, "I find in Chambaud's French & English Dictionary, London, 1778, the following:

"*Kennett*—a sort of coarse Welch cloth." "*Slops*—trousers—chausses." Put them together and with a very small sketch we get one word. I had imagined it was an overall or Surtout, but it was probably to protect the legs."

Spier & Surrenne gives as one of the

meanings of the word "Slops"—*hardes de matelots*—sailors breeches, which are known to be wide. Adler defines the word as "*schiffer-hosen*," sailors trousers, and also as "*die weiten hosen*," wide trousers.

Webster derives the word "*Slop*" from the Anglo-Saxon "*Slop*, a frock or outer garment, Icelandic *Sloppe*," hence he defines it, "any kind of outer garment, as a night dress; a smock frock." From the fact that Col. May wore his "*Kent-sloper*" as a protection from the frosty morning air of this mountainous region, I think the article to be a frock of Kennetts, or Welch cloth worn over the body to protect it from the cold. It is to be hoped that if this is not satisfactory, the query will not be forgotten until it is fully answered.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

*Brownsville, Pa.*

GREEK COLONY IN FLORIDA.—(III, 56, 264.) It was a Dr. Turnbull—not "Trumbull"—who founded New Smyrna, and, with the aid of Lord Hillsborough, reduced the colonists to slavery. He was the father of Robert J. Turnbull, of Charleston, S. C., one of the leaders of the nullification party, 1830-32. T.

#### NOTICE

##### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS

The third session of this Society will be held at Brussels, from the 23d to the 26th September, 1879, under the protection of the King of the Belgians, the presidency of the Count of Flanders and the patronage of the city of Brussels.

Our readers will find (III, 65) accounts of the proceedings of the preceding sessions at Nancy in 1875, and at Luxembourg in 1876, and the programme adopted for the approaching session, which includes History, Archæology, Anthropology and Ethnography, Linguistics and Paleography.

The by-laws of the association admit to the Congress, with right to all of its publications, any persons who apply for a *member's ticket* to the Treasurer or the General Secretary and make payment of twelve francs. This sum may be paid by postal card or banker's cheque on Brussels, Amsterdam, Cologne, London or Paris.

The address of the Treasurer is M. JOSEPH FRÈRE, Director of the Ministère des Finances, rue de Milan 4, Ixelles, Belgium.

The address of the General Secretary is M. Anatole Bamps, Doctor of Law, rue du Marteau, No. 37, Brussels, Belgium.

The American delegation consists of Messrs. R. B. Anderson, of Wisconsin, Hubert Bancroft, of California, Levi Bishop, of Michigan, E. T. Cox and R. S. Robertson, of Indiana, M. F. Force and Stephen Peet, of Ohio, Albert S. Gatschet and Spencer Baird, of the District of Columbia, C. C. Graham, J. K. Paterson and Shaler, of Kentucky, Moody, of Illinois, and Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts.

We trust that our historians and archæologists will be fully represented at this Congress, the proceedings of which will be watched with attentive interest.

EDITOR.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**HISTORY OF NEW YORK DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, AND OF THE LEADING EVENTS IN THE OTHER COLONIES AT THAT PERIOD.** By THOMAS JONES, Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. Edited by EDWARD FLOYD DE LANCEY. With notes, contemporary documents, maps and portraits. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 748 and 713. Printed for the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

These volumes are edited and printed with precision and elegance in the highest style of the typographical art. The advertisement prefacing the first volume supplies the reason for the elaborate study and expense which have attended their preparation and publication.

They contain as illustrations in the first volume a fine steel portrait of the author and his wife by Burt from portraits by Arnold; Ratzer's map of the City of New York in 1746 and Sau-thier's map of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, etc., of 1777; in the second volume, steel engraved views of The Fort Neck House, the author's seat, and an interior view of its hall, the First map of the United States as acknowledged by the Peace of 1783, and a map of the de Lancey Bowery Farm in New York as it was at the time of the revolution.

This history of New York is printed at the expense of the "John D. Jones Fund of the New York Historical Society," from the manuscript of Judge Thomas Jones, who was one of the family of the liberal giver of the fund, and a collateral relative of the painstaking and accomplished editor of these volumes. No labor has been spared to throw every possible gleam of light upon the text, and every known source of information has been thoroughly searched for illustrative details. The manuscript, entirely in the handwriting of Mr. Jones, bears internal evidence of having been written soon after the close of the revolution. It passed into the hands of the Right Rev. William Heathcote de Lancey, late Bishop of Western New York, in 1835, and from him to his son, the present editor. Its publication is announced "to have been delayed from feelings of delicacy until the death of the last of the persons mentioned in the narrative." "The text," the editor adds, "has been given with merely the correction of a few redundancies, colloquialisms and such obvious errors of the pen as occur in all unprinted writings." It is greatly to be deplored that an exact textual reproduction of the original, *verbatim et literatim*, has not been strictly adhered to. So much is said that challenges criticism and demands sub-

stantiation, that it is unfortunate the reader is not left to judge for himself of the *nature* of the redundancies of which the editor gives notice, and the *value* of the "expressions" he has modified. The text and context of the dropped or altered phraseology may perhaps not materially affect the statements themselves, but precisely given they may aid in the formation of a just appreciation of the nature of their author and the animus which prompted them.

The history is a tory history of the war, and is edited in a spirit of defence of those who adhered to the Crown during the revolutionary struggle. An introduction and memoir of the author give an account of his family. He was a grandson of Thomas Jones of Fort Neck, Long Island, the first of his race in America, of Welsh extraction, and native of Strabane, in the county of Tyrone and province of Ulster, in Ireland. He is said to have been a Protestant gentleman, and to have taken part in the wars which finally overthrew the Stuarts, but strangely enough fought on the side of the Catholic dynasty. Emigrating to America, he married in Rhode Island a daughter of Thomas Townsend of Oyster Bay, through whom he acquired a small tract of land at that place, to which he later added largely by purchase. The estate took the name of Fort Neck from an Indian fortification which stood upon it. Here Major Jones lived and died in the "the Brick House," the first building of that material at the east end of Long Island, which he erected in 1696. His eldest son, David Jones, was a lawyer of note, Judge of Queens county, member of the Assembly of New York from Queens, Speaker of the same body from 1745 to 1758, when he was appointed Fourth Justice of the Supreme Court of New York by Lieut. Governor de Lancey, a post which he held until 1773, when he resigned. He died at Fort Neck in 1775. By his wife Anna Willet he had six children. Of this issue, Thomas Jones, the author of the present history, was the third child and eldest son. Born in 1731, he was graduated from Yale College in 1746 at the age of fifteen. He began the practice of the law in New York city, and in 1769 was appointed to the office of Recorder of the city, which he held until 1773, when, on the resignation of his father, Judge David Jones, already mentioned, he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court. Meanwhile he had married a daughter of Lieut. Governor de Lancey. As Supreme Court Judge he held the last court for the King for Westchester county at White Plains in April, 1776, and during the session rendered his loyalty to the Crown conspicuous by discharging from cus-

tody several persons arrested by the patriot committee for disloyalty to the cause of the country; an act which he says in his story was the cause of his name being included in the Act of Attainder, and the consequent confiscation of his estate.

Refusing to obey a summons of the New York Provincial Congress, he was arrested at his house at Fort Neck in the month of June following, but discharged on his parole. Again arrested just prior to the battle of Long Island, he was sent to Connecticut to await the result of that contest, but again liberated on written parole in the month of December following. Under this parole he resided at Fort Neck until November, 1779, when he was seized by a party of patriots from Fairfield, and carried off as a hostage for General Gold Selleck Silliman (a college classmate), who had been abducted in a similar manner from his house in Fairfield by a party of Tory refugees. Mr. Jones was held in captivity for six months, and then exchanged for General Silliman. In 1781 he sailed for England, which he reached in safety with his family, and resided first at Bath and later at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, a little village on the River Lea, where he died in 1792.

The first volume opens with the year 1752, "when Great Britain was at peace with all the world," and New York was in its happiest state, a period which the editor terms the "Golden Age of New York," and closes with an account of Arnold's plot and treason in 1780 and the Southern campaign. In the eighteen chapters, which comprehend the period, history, politics and social gossip are treated of by turns and together in a narrative style of extreme clearness and simplicity, at times full of verve and constantly enlivened by anecdote. The quarrels of the religious denominations, the rule of de Lancey and the *wicked* opposition of the Presbyterian triumvirate, Smith, Livingston and Scott, to Trinity Church, and the arrest of Alexander McDougal for libel, make up the first and not the least curious chapter of the book, and leave no doubt as to the opinions of the author. In every line he shows his hatred of dissenters of every hue and of opposition generally, whether in Church or State, New York was then governed by de Lancey, and about every post of honor or station in the gift of the Crown was held by this family and its immediate connections. Later in this history of the war the patriot leaders and the British officials, military and civil, fall under the same bitter resentment—the one for daring to rebel, the other for their failure in repressing the rebellion. The patriots, in his jaundiced vision, were all self-interested and insincere, the British corrupt, venal and inefficient. Nor is his animosity satisfied with general criticism and impugment of motives, but he never omits an occasion to steep the barb of

malice in personal detraction and abuse, and disgraces himself while he degrades his narrative by scurrilous charges, sometimes covert, sometimes open, upon the character of individuals whom we have been taught to honor, and the reputation of families who are now, as they were then, the best representatives of American civilization.

The second volume opens with an account of affairs in New York in 1780, in April of which year Gen. Robertson issued his proclamation, assuming the government; its historic part begins with a chapter on the responsibilities of the two sides for acts of war in the revolution, in which he holds the balance with even hand between the British and the Americans, and demonstrates that "the burning of towns in times of war in all civilized nations is a usual practice." Following this are ten chapters devoted to biographies, or they may be more properly termed personalities. These give sketches of Schuyler; Lord Stirling; George Clinton; Generals Woodhull, Sullivan and Colonel James Holmes; Colonel John Butler, Isaac Sears, John Lamb; Washington; Charles Lee and Arnold; Donald Campbell; Francis Lewis; Sir William Johnson; Colonel John Harris Cruger and Mrs. Cruger.

We are unwilling to comment upon the nature of these sketches, or notice the personal slanders which they originate or repeat. We are surprised that the Publication Committee of the New York Historical Society should have consented to give them currency under the warrant of their authority.

Of the zeal, conscientiousness and ability with which the vast editorial labors bestowed upon this history have been performed, mention has already been made. This, more than the original material even, makes it a history of New York, a partisan history certainly, but a history in its comprehensiveness. In apparent complete sympathy with the author, except on rare occasions, the editor has fortified every position taken, every statement made in the text as far as it was possible to fortify them. That the book will not be allowed to pass unchallenged is certain. It opens a controversy, in which there will be blows to take as well as blows to give, but from which, we venture to predict, the virtue and honor of the whig element of old New York will come out bright and clear as the noonday sun.

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DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION; PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF THE LATE WAR. By RICHARD TAYLOR, Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army. 8vo, pp. 274. D. APPLETON & CO. New York, 1879.

In a few words of preface the late General announces that he had recorded these his rem-

iniscences of secession, war and reconstruction as a duty. He was a personal man, and his views of men and events as thoroughly personal as himself. He had none of that higher faculty which enables the true historian, even in scenes in which he participated, to step out from the circle of his self-consciousness and review the revolving events from an independent standpoint. Perhaps it was in appreciation of this that he gives the name of *Personal Experiences* to a volume which covers a field of critical observation larger than that which came under his own eye.

A slight sketch of him by a brother, Confederate officer in a recent number of the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, alluding to his military career, says, "that it was exceptionally successful, and that he was never involved in disaster, or identified with any defeat during the four years of his varied and active service. And of his personal characteristics the same well-informed gentleman says that "his absolute self-reliance amounted to a total irreverence for any man's opinion," a trait which no one will doubt who will peruse these volumes.

It is difficult in a brief notice to give even an idea of the merits and faults of this peculiar volume. Interesting in narrative, graphic in description, striking in its analysis of character, sometimes philosophical, constantly metaphysical, it is unsatisfactory and incomplete. The naturally simple style is obscured by a pretentious manner of illustration, in which history and literature are ransacked for imagery. On one single page, which we open at hazard, we find in close proximity President Grant and Dame Fortune, Malvolio, Sir Toby and Haroun Al Raschid, the Duke of Wellington, Othello, Desdemona, Iago, Phalaris, Agrimentum, Monsieur Fourton and the "harridan of radicalism," whose name is not given. It is amazing to think that a graduate of Yale could be guilty of such wretched taste.

In the conduct of the war General Taylor found but little to be satisfied with even on the Confederate side. Even of Gen. Lee, whom he considers as "towering above all on both sides, as the pyramid of Ghizeh above the desert," he considers that "his tactical manœuvres on the field were inferior to the strategy." Surely history will record that if the Confederates were the superiors on the field they claim to be, they did not take advantage of their successes. Jackson alone, with his restlessness and consequent indomitable activity, seems to have been a soldier wholly to the taste of his equally restless follower.

In a phrase worthy of Tacitus in its meaning conciseness, Gen. Taylor says of him, that he "could set no limit to his ability, because he was always superior to occasion."

The description of Jackson's vast all-absorbing

ambition is not only the strongest passage in the book, but it aptly applies to Secession itself, which was as measureless in its ambition and as fanatical in its faith in final triumph. Of Jefferson Davis, who was his brother-in-law, he says but little. His only mention is to pay a tribute to his amiability, and to relate a visit to him while in confinement at Fortress Monroe.

We wish we could stop here. Of the politics of the book, we have not a word to say. They were what might be expected of one who to his death would not submit to the conditions of reconstruction, which would have restored to him his citizenship and his confiscated estate. But we trust there are few of his companions who are capable of the abuse, better suitable to a Thersites than a true soldier, which he lavishes upon the Generals and officials of the Union he sought to overthrow.

Nor yet do we care to characterize the contemptuous opinion he expresses of the state in which he found Northern society at the close of the war. It is not to be denied that, as usual in all great civil contests, and particularly in those which are accompanied by a depreciation of the currency, *society* changes its phases, and new people, men and women, come to the surface; but to say that "society disappeared" at the North is simply ridiculous.

Nor is it true, as General Taylor says, that, "as in the middle ages, to escape pollution, honorable men and refined women (and there are many such in the North) fled to sanctuary and the desert, or, like early Christians in the catacombs, met secretly and in fear. The masses sank into a condition that would disgrace Australian natives, and lost all power of discrimination."

Where were these hiding places for the honorable men and refined women, the "dear friends" of General Taylor, with whom he says he spent the most of his time for three years after the war? New York in the winters, Newport in the summers, were his habitual haunts, and he was the constant guest of the very society he abuses. We regret the book; we regret that he did not live to repent of and retract it.

General Taylor was a great favorite in society and possessed rare conversational powers. His position as private Secretary to his father when President of the United States brought him, while yet in early manhood, into personal contact with the leading men of both political parties, and established relations which he continued unbroken through all the vicissitudes of his career. Abroad he was received in the highest circles with marked distinction, and no American of our day had freer access to the titled society of England than he. He died in New York in the prime of life, having just passed his fifty-third year.



## AMERICAN AUTHORS—WASHINGTON

IRVING, By DAVID J. HILL. With portrait on steel. 16mo, pp. 234. SHELDON & CO. New York, 1879.

This series of personal literary and anecdotal biographies of leading American authors in all walks, happily begins with a sketch of Irving, certainly the best known and the most popular of them all. They are intended to combine pleasant reading with instructive example, and without critical analysis or disquisition, to give an easy running account of the personal traits and literary successes of their subjects; in a word, to fill a place halfway between the slender sketches of biographical dictionaries or literary cyclopedias and the compendious "lives and letters" which belong to library shelves.

The work is pleasantly handled in a chronological order, and will certainly realize the author's wish to stimulate the reader to know more of Irving. Those who knew him will turn with interest to the last chapter on "the man and the writer." It is difficult to portray a nature so charming in its simplicity and modesty, its tenderness, its playfulness and reserve as that of Irving. His appearance in literature was a surprise. Jeffrey was amazed to find that an American could write English on the model of the most elegant and polished of native authors. Alexander H. Everett called him the Morning Star of our heavenly host. Mr. Hill finds his source of power to be in his sensibility to outward impressions and his faculty of form. He was a thorough artist, perfect in description. Yet Mr. Hill denies him the creative faculty. But what characters are more original than his Van Winkle and Ichabod Crane, and the doughty Paladins of New Amsterdam. They stand out from the canvass of literature as imperishable as the creations of Shakespeare or of Dickens. Mr. Hill thoroughly vindicates the nationality of Irving's works, while claiming for him a cosmopolitan nature. True enough, all mankind were kin to his large generous heart. He is properly styled the Father of American letters.

## POLAR COLONIZATION — MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS AND ACTION OF SCIENTIFIC AND COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATIONS. 8vo, pp. 143.

This memoir to the Forty-fifth Congress was prepared by Henry W. Howgate, U. S. A., in the hope of convincing it of the wisdom of supporting a plan for the establishment of a temporary Arctic colony in the interest of scientific discovery. An outline map of the North Polar regions of the western hemisphere, showing the location of the proposed colony on Lady Franklin Bay, prefaces the memorial. This is laid down at the mouth of Lady Franklin Channel,

on the northern shore of Hall Basin. At Hall Basin is the confluence of the waters of Kennedy Channel and Peterman Fiord from the south with Lady Franklin Sound and Robeson Channel from the north. It lies a little south of the eighty-second parallel of north latitude, and between longitudes 64° and 66°, on what is called Grant Land, the northern borders of which are washed by the Polar Sea.

The expedition of Captain Hall in the *Polaris* in 1871, and of Captain Nares in the *Alert* and *Discovery* in 1875, demonstrated that steam vessels can reach the entrance to Robeson's Channel in latitude 61° north with comparative ease, and that the serious difficulties to be overcome in reaching the Pole are to be encountered above that point. The inference naturally follows that the most economical and promising plan of operation is to establish a settlement at this point as a point of departure for future expeditions, which can avail of every temporary advantage that the seasons may offer, and accumulate observations of climatic and atmospheric changes of priceless value to the outgoing navigator. The lookout of the *Polaris* reported open water in sight from the upper end of Robeson's Channel, just beyond an intervening pack of ice. In 1875 and 1876 Captain Nares here found solid ice, impenetrable to vessels and impassable by sledges. This indicates that there are variations in the ice movement, which can only certainly be taken advantage of by a colony on the spot. Hall's experience was that each year of residence better acclimated him and better fitted him for the work of exploration. A colony of fifty resolute men is proposed, thoroughly equipped, with whom annual communication should be maintained. The memorial includes a detail of the necessities required for such an expedition, and indicates the route to be taken; that by Smith's Sound being recommended.

A bill in accord with the plan of Captain Howgate was submitted to the House in January, 1877, and reported on favorably by the Committee on Naval Affairs. In the summer of the same year a preliminary expedition was fitted out by private subscription, and the *Florence* sailed from New London, under the command of Captain George G. Tyson, who had served with Hall on the *Polaris*, on the 19th July. His instructions directed him to procure a colony of ten families of Esquimaux, a train of twenty-five dogs, with two sledges, and a supply of fur and skin clothing, sufficient to supply fifty persons for three years. The plan included the capture of enough whales on the voyage to provide a profitable return cargo. The *Florence* was to meet with the vessel sent out with the members and outfit of the colony of *Disco* in August, 1878, transfer to it his acquisitions of Esquimaux dogs, etc., and return

to New London. Mr. O. T. Sherman accompanied it as Meteorologist and Mr. J. Kumlein as Naturalist, both with precise instructions.

An appendix to the memoir gives Captain Howgate's plan for the exploration, a paper read before the American Geographical Society, January 31, 1878, an occasion illustrated by the presence of the Earl of Dufferin and Mr. William Cullen Bryant. To this are added resolutions and approval of the purposes of the expedition from all parts of the United States, scientific and mercantile societies, high naval officers, and letters from the Arctic explorers, Julius Payer of Frankfort-on-the-Main, Dr. John Rae of London, J. Wall Wilson of the second Grinnell expedition and the Geographical Society of France.

To an American, Captain Hall, is due the original conception of Arctic exploration by the aid of the natives from a fixed point of settlement, and it seems as though the crowning success is reserved to the successful prosecution of the plan he devised.

Photographic views of Discovery Bay, the seat of the proposed colony, in summer and winter, illustrate the memoir.

**MONEY AND CURRENCY.** A paper read before the Philosophical Society of Evanston, Illinois, by CHARLES RANDOLPH, December 9, 1878. 8vo, pp. 35. KNIGHT & LEONARD, printers. Chicago, 1878.

In all arguments the first necessity is an agreement upon the precise meaning of the terms employed. In no class of reasoning is there to be found greater confusion on this subject than in that affecting the character and uses of money. A paper like this, therefore, intended to define the distinctions between true money and its paper representatives, is always valuable, and peculiarly appropriate now, when the present equality of value between the precious metals and the legal-tender notes of the Government and those of the National banks may tempt the belief that such equality will be uninterruptedly maintained. So long as our exports not only pay for our imports, but provide exchange enough to pay the interest upon our bonds of whatever character, national or of corporations, held abroad, it is not possible that such equality of value can be disturbed, but this is by no means certain to be the case, and depends on circumstances which there is no power in the United States to control, and should they change the question as to how much paper currency can be floated on a par with coin must be met.

Aristotle is reported to have said of money, that "it exists not by nature, but by law;" and, from his day until our own, law has decreed that

the precious metals coined, and they alone, are money—and the ultimate solvent of all contracts, whether in the form of government or individual obligations of currency or credit.

Mr. Charles Randolph is well known as long the clear-headed, accomplished Secretary of the National Board of Trade, and his views are important, from the fact that they address themselves to the very class of Western people among whom false ideas of the nature of money most prevail. In our reviews of this class of contemporary literature we have repeatedly expressed regret at the unqualified denunciation of the greenback. The Western country look upon the government note as the best form of paper currency, and the National Bank note as a species of favoritism to a privileged class, who are by it enabled to make double interest on their capital. This question need not now be argued. The one important object to be attained is a retirement of sufficient paper from the circulating medium, and the restoration of gold and silver to the daily uses of the people. When we shall have three hundred millions of dollars in gold and silver passing from hand to hand in daily transactions, and the paper issues, whether of government or banks, reduced to the same amount, our circulating medium will be on a sound basis, and the gold reserve in the country sufficient to meet any sudden extraordinary demand for export, and the annual production of coin in the country keep pace with the increased necessities for money.

We notice one partial error in Mr. Randolph's statement. He says that Congress at the instance of Mr. Chase made the notes of the Government legal tenders because of the depreciation. This is not precisely the fact. Mr. Chase had them made legal tenders because certain bank officers in New York, angry because their own pet bank schemes had not been accepted by him, "threw them over the counter," as the phrase is, *i. e.*, declined to receive them. As the Secretary had no coin at command, he had no other resource. Notwithstanding his later expression of opinion, it is idle to suppose that the Government could have carried on its enormous transactions with a class of paper that the banks could refuse. What could have been done with their unanimous consent is another question. It could not then have been obtained.

Mr. Randolph concludes, 1st, that a convertible paper circulation is a necessity; 2d, that the paper currency issued under any other authority than that of the United States will not be tolerated; 3d, that the forms of paper currency in circulation are satisfactory. The only unsettled question is, whether the legal-tender quality shall be maintained. Decidedly not; when the volume of paper currency is sufficiently reduced and sufficient coin be floating in the circulating medium, the legal-tender quality should

be removed, and the note be stamped "redeemable in coin on presentation at any sub-treasury of the United States." Mr. Randolph evidently leans to a withdrawal of the National Bank notes, and to leave the entire currency to the issue by the Government. The objection to this is claimed to be the danger of Congressional interference with the amount of issues. One thing is certain, that there is no more dangerous thing than an extension of paper currency to meet the requirements of trade. We are a specie producing country, and therefore our policy as well as duty is to support the fullest possible use of coin in our transactions. The amount of paper should be strictly limited by law; the elasticity should be in the coin. The more we use of it, the greater will that elasticity be. We invite attention to one notable circumstance, that while in the year 1878 the Treasury Department was accumulating coin in preparation for resumption in January, 1879, the banks in the same period reduced their reserve, showing an evident purpose to leave the burthen of carrying the coin on the Treasury; a mistaken policy, if specie payment is to be maintained.

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY. By ALBERT WELLES. 8vo, pp. xxix. New York, 1878.

These are specimen pages of a volume in royal octavo, entitled *Pedigree and History of the Washington Family*, shortly to be issued by Mr. Welles. The publication in the Washington number of the *Magazine of American History* (February, 1879) of a genealogy of the Holland and German branch of the Washington Family has been the occasion of a dispute, in which Mr. Welles on the one side claims that he can establish by *legal evidence*, obtained by researches of thirty years duration, the lineal descent of Washington from the English progenitor of the family; and Col. Chester on the other, an American gentleman residing in London, and distinguished as a genealogist, asserts that no such connection can be made. Mr. Welles traces back the genealogy of the American Washington to Thorfin the Dane. According to this statement, Colonel John Washington of Warton and Lawrence, his brother, who emigrated to America in 1659, were the sons of Leonard Washington of Warton, who was the son of Lawrence Washington of Warton. This direct connection with Lawrence, whose father, grandfather and great-grandfather were named Lawrence, give color to the correctness of the descent. Perhaps, however, the legal connection may not in the eyes of Colonel Chester be sufficiently established. Thorfin the Dane reached, Mr. Welles gives the pedigree of that worthy as

thirty-second in descent from Odin through Skold of Jutland. "Sic itur ad astra."

#### THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF ROBERT MORRIS. A chapter from a forthcoming "Financial History of the United States." By ALBERT S. BOLLES. Reprint from Penn Monthly for October, 1878.

The administration of the finances of the United States by Robert Morris forms one of the most important chapters in its history. To it may be traced many of the forms of finance which have prevailed, and some not less important which have been abandoned in practice. Morris assumed the direction of the Treasury at a critical period of the revolution. The French contingent had been landed at Newport in the summer of 1780; the States had been called upon to raise forces for an active and conclusive campaign, while the low state of American credit, and the precarious situation of the French Treasury, which the genius of Necker had for the moment galvanized into new, but in the opinion of many, temporary activity, showed the imperative need of extraordinary effort. In November the States were asked to furnish six millions of dollars, partly in specific articles at fixed prices, and the rest in four quarterly payments. On the 16th March, 1781, Congress adopted a measure, providing that all debts due from the United States for sums received in gold or silver, or other money equivalent, should be paid in the same. At the same time the States were requested to repeal all legislation making bills of credit a legal tender. The Continental currency had already fallen to a low point. In April a committee reported the public debt in specie at twenty-four millions, and the estimate for the coming year at nineteen and a half millions; the debt owed abroad being six millions of dollars. Congress now attempted to fund the outstanding debt on a specie basis in interest-bearing obligations. But as the public exigencies admitted of no delay, they could not wait for the State quotas, and drew on the State payable at thirty days, for their unpaid balance.

To further the financial operations of the Treasury, Morris, soon after his assumption of office, devised a plan of a National Bank. It had been favored by Hamilton, and was approved by Congress. The bank was incorporated under the name of the Bank of New America, with a capital of four hundred thousand dollars. For coin Morris relied on Governor-General of Havana, who was repaid by shipments of flour, guaranteed by France. The bank began operations with forty thousand dollars in specie. Natural issues could not be maintained at par, a discount from ten to fifteen per cent. was

arrest this depreciation, Morris applied himself to devise means to create a demand for the notes. They soon rose to par. While endeavoring to obtain aid from France, his chief reliance was on America. A scheme of taxation which should lean equally on all the States was impossible, some of them being occupied by the enemy. With the technical skill of a practical financier he kept some life in the Continental issues by accepting them for taxes, and by not reissuing, contracted the volume and maintained, if he did not raise their value. Such was his skill that he sustained himself for the first year without receiving a shilling of specie. The deficit in 1783 exceeded eight millions of dollars. He next set himself to work to replace the system of specific supplies furnished by the States, and paid in Government certificates, by direct Government contracts. By this he avoided the enormous frauds inherent to the other plan. When the Government credit was not sufficient, he supplemented it with his own, which was unimpeached. In every case his individual obligations were met, and in consequence, after a first hesitation, they rose to par, and were readily taken.

After long delay all the States, except Rhode Island, consented that Congress should levy a duty of five per cent. on importations, the States to be credited with the amounts collected in their territory. These sums Morris hoped to induce the States to receive in National obligations, similar to what are called inscriptions on the National debt. Connecticut, which had sought to appropriate the revenues thus collected for her own uses, revised her legislation to meet his views, but Rhode Island refused to yield. Morris saw in the failure of this scheme the weakness of the Articles of Confederation.

In reducing the expenses of the Government Morris was eminently successful; but we are inclined to side with Pickering in his condemnation of Morris' order to him to clip the gold coin issued by the bank at Philadelphia, because they were heavier than required by law. Morris was equally successful in diminishing the number of officials. In one day he dismissed one hundred and forty-six supernumerary officers.

In coinage Morris favored a single standard, and that of silver. He did not find it necessary to measure the money unit by a coin. This is easily understood when we remember the great variety of money in use in the colonies in Spanish, Dutch, French and English coins of various metals. The same practice of a fictitious money unit exists to-day in Hamburg, where all the infinite variety of coins about are reduced into the money-unit for which there is no coin equivalent. His plan was issued as a decimal coinage.

The public debt, January 1, 1785, was forty-two millions of dollars of which about eight

millions were owed abroad. A funding bill was passed at the close of the year, but it was inadequate in its provisions. A specific tax on spirits and leading staples of importation, and an *ad valorem* duty on all other importations, was resolved on, but Rhode Island vetoed it by declining her consent. "Notwithstanding the poverty of the Treasury," writes Mr. Holles, "the States were literally overrun with cash; the French and English armies had brought thither large quantities, while foreign loans and trade had largely added to the stock of gold and silver. Bills on Europe were currently sold at twenty to forty per cent. below par, a rate so favorable to the merchants that they purchased bills, and remitted them to Europe in payment of imports, which flowed into the country in great quantities." In this we find some explanation of the facility with which Morris was able to face the difficulties which confronted him. During his whole administration he had an abiding faith that with proper provisions the public credit in America would be the best in the world. Morris, Mr. Holles concludes, was in truth the peerless financier of the revolution. Indeed he was the only practical one; Hamilton, whose grasp of the subject was intuitive, having as yet had no practical experience.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN, A quarterly journal devoted to Early American History, Ethnology and Archaeology. Vol. I, No. 3. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PRET. Published by BRADY, SCHINKEL & Co. Cleveland, Ohio, 1874.

This publication is exclusively devoted to early history, ethnology and archaeology. This number begins with a paper, by Edwin A. Barber, on *Native American Architecture*. He traces the progress of this practical science from its primitive state of cave dwellings up to the higher stage of stone structures, specimens of all which are to be found in this country, and gives a comparative view of the different forms of Aboriginal architecture. Attention is first invited to the similarity between the pile-dwellings of the ancient Mexicans and the pile-flores or lacustrine villages of ancient Switzerland, showing that the constructive instincts of man find analogous forms of expression. Next comes the architecture of the Monadnockians. In the adobe and stone buildings of the Pacific of Mexico an advance is noted, and in the megalithic architecture of Mexico and Central America is found the culmination of Aboriginal art, or the Western Continent, which can be favorably compared with the famous ruins of the East. Some text illustrations give a satisfactory idea of the cliff houses. The text acc. Mr. Barber says was unknown to the

people of the Western Continent. Nor was it known, as Stephens informs us, to the ancient Egyptians, Greeks or Etruscans.

The second article, by R. J. Farquharson, is on Phonetic Elements in American Languages. Another notable paper is the Report of M. C. Reid of Hudson, Ohio, on the Inscribed Stone of the Grave Creek Mound. The subject is elaborately discussed, and the conclusions arrived at are not favorable to the authenticity of the inscription, which it is considered might have been manufactured by any laborer of ordinary intelligence, while the evidence that the stone came from the mound is unsatisfactory.

The editor supplies an article on the Bible Narrative and Heathen Traditions, in which he recites the traces of the facts mentioned in Genesis found in the traditions of all nations. The resemblance between the myths of the ancients and the rich and beautiful American mythology is noticed. The subject is examined in the light of scientific investigation, independently of its relation to the authenticity or authority of the Bible as a religious book. The stories of a deluge, of a tree and serpent worship and of the creation may, it is held, be similar, because of a similar national experience, but the coincidences are so numerous in Eastern nations as to point to a common origin. In the Western nations also numerous coincident myths are found. The American traditions are not here treated of.

Mr Albert Gatschet, whose name is familiar to our readers from his exhaustive paper on the Indian Languages of the Pacific Coast [*Mag. Am. Hist.*, I. 145], comments upon the mythological text in the Klamath language of Southern Oregon—in which the creation is related. We here recall the tradition of the creation, which La Salle found among the Iroquois, which appeared in a translation from Mr. Margry's recent work in the Magazine [II. 238].

We heartily commend this interesting periodical, printed at the very center of American archaeological interest.

**LETTERS OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS.** With an introduction. By GEORGE DEXTER. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 8vo, pp. 22. Press of JOHN WILSON & SON. Boston, 1878.

In our January number [III. 61] attention was invited to the sumptuous volume of the *Cartas de Indias*, published by the Spanish Government. This volume contained two letters of Columbus and one of Vespuccius never before printed. Of the last we gave a translation in the Magazine for March [III. 193]. All three appear in a translation in this pamphlet, pre-

ceded by a valuable critical introduction. The Spanish editors express the opinion that the date of the first letter of Columbus was at the end of 1496 or the beginning of 1497, but Mr. Dexter considers it be of earlier date, and supports his theory with convincing argument. The date he assigns is between March 15th and September 25th, 1493, when he sailed from Palos on his second voyage.

**HISTORY OF THE ELY-REUNION,**  
HELD AT LYME, CONNECTICUT, JULY 10TH,  
1878. 8vo, pp. 158. STYLES & CASH. New York, 1879.

This account of the reunion of the descendants of Richard Ely, who came from Plymouth, England, in 1660, and settled at Lyme, on the Connecticut River, is announced as the forerunner of a more exhaustive history of the family, including a genealogy of those of the name in America. A Prospectus of the work is annexed to the sketch, with a form of queries, which persons interested are requested to answer.

Among those present on the occasion described was the late most excellent and worthy Mayor of New York, Smith Ely, and in the names of descendants of the first settler in the female line are Beach, Eaton, Goodrich, Griswold, Hill, Perkins, Selden, Silliman and Waite. Of the last of these, Chief Justice Waite, is the most distinguished representative. In a paper, submitted at the meeting by the Rev. Wm. B. Cary, it is stated that there were three distinct settlements of the Elys in this country in the seventeenth century. The first that of Nathaniel near Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1635; second, that of Richard at Lyme in 1660; third, that of Joshua at Trenton in 1683. The curious reader will be rewarded by the perusal of a disquisition on the English surname Ely, which the author traces to one Helie, an old British king.

The pamphlet is well printed, the pages being ornamented with a marginal line of red, "true Ely color."

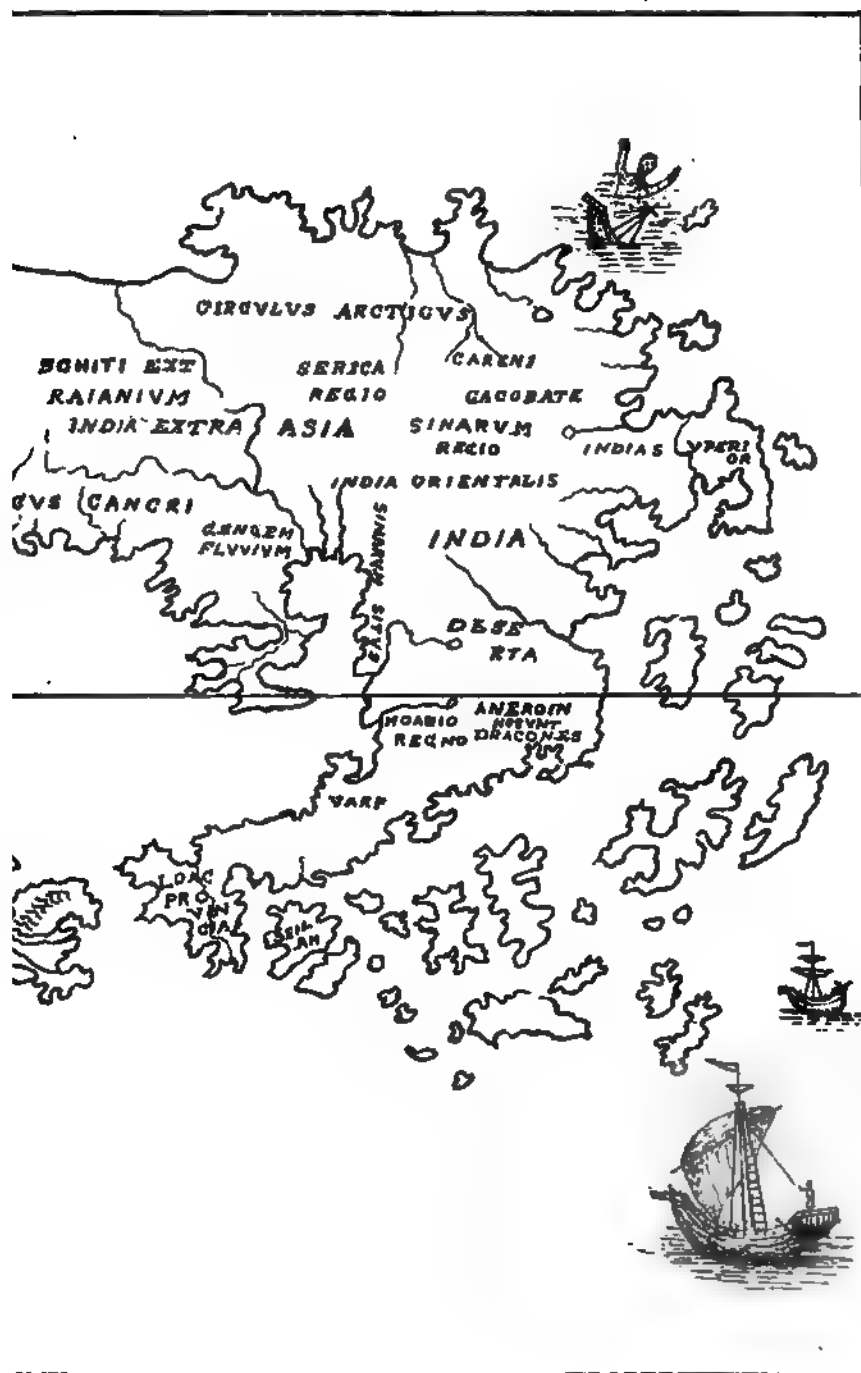
**THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN — A**  
QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO EARLY  
AMERICAN HISTORY, ETHNOLOGY AND ARCH-  
ÆOLOGY. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PRET.  
April, May, June, 1879, Vol. I, No. 4. 8vo.  
JAMESON & MORSE, Chicago.

The office of publication of this valuable periodical has been changed from Cleveland to Chicago, and the editor makes a personal appeal to its patrons to place it in a secure and permanent position. We wish it the success which its painstaking editor deserves.



# LOBE









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## THE LENOX GLOBE

THE Lenox Globe was found in Paris about twenty-five years ago by Mr. Richard M. Hunt, who presented it to Mr. James Lenox, the munificent founder of the institution which bears his name, the gift forming a graceful and appropriate recognition of the interest taken by Mr. Lenox in everything that relates to the history of America.

The Lenox Globe is the smallest of the ancient globes, being only about five inches in diameter, though this is half an inch more than the diameter of the prize globe of the Paris Exposition. The Lenox Globe is of copper and the workmanship is good, it being constructed in two sections, fitting together like a box, as in the case of the Vlpus Globe, the joint forming the Equatorial line. The degrees of latitude and longitude are not indicated, but on the sketch, of the size of the original, a scale is added. The date and the maker's name are both wanting, but there can, perhaps, be little doubt respecting its age, which, for various reasons, may be placed at the year 1510, or the beginning of 1511.

It will be observed that the eastern hemisphere occupies a disproportionate part of the longitudinal surface; yet on the other hand, many of the principal latitudes appear tolerably correct for the period in which the globe was made. The mountings of the globe are lost.

The date of 1510-11 has been assigned, for the reason, amongst others, that, while several of its representations are in advance of the published knowledge of 1508, they are behind that of 1511-12. Of course the simple fact that an instrument of this kind represents the condition of geographical knowledge at a certain period does not infallibly prove that it was produced at that particular period. Under peculiar circumstances, it would be possible for an instrument like this to possess many of the marks which indicate an early origin, simply through the failure of the projector to incorporate the results of the latest explorations, concerning which he might have been ignorant; but this suggestion, in



order to have any weight in the present case, should be supported by some proof of such ignorance. Respecting the points on which the globe gives no light, information was, nevertheless, so wide-spread in 1511 as to render it difficult to believe that any globe or map maker of the period could have failed to know of its existence. It is true that old maps often occur in new books. This was the case with many of the early geographical works; but in every such instance it is easy to show that the map is not in accordance with the text, and that the map was introduced by the publisher in lieu of something better. No such suggestion will apply to the Lenox Globe.

The date of this globe being deduced mainly from its representations of America, let us give a brief *resumé* of the condition of geographical knowledge respecting the New World for several years subsequent to 1510.

In the year 1500, Juan de la Cosa, the Pilot of Columbus, drew a map of the New World, but North America does not appear, Newfoundland being represented as a part of Asia. In 1508, on the map of John Ruysch, Newfoundland also appears as a part of Asia, being marked "Terra Nova." On the Lenox Globe, however, Newfoundland appears as an island, though without any name, and at the same time no part of continental North America is laid down. In Peter Martyr's work (*Legatio Babylonica*) of the following year, Florida appears as "Beimeni," while Stobnicza's map in the Ptolemy of 1512, gives a rough view of North America, similar to that found in the Ptolemy of 1513. The very early map attributed to Leonardo da Vinci (*Archeologia*, Vol. XL) shows "Florida" as an island, but since the map was not published no inference can be drawn from it. The maps of 1511, 1512 and 1513 nevertheless must have been known to every intelligent person engaged in globe making, and if the Lenox Globe had been made during those years, or later, it would have reflected information published to the world. This globe, therefore, takes its place in the year 1510, or the beginning of 1511. After passing this year, and reaching 1520, the newly found lands are so well known as to be celebrated in an English poem, entitled the "Four Elements."<sup>1</sup> The argument is indeed negative, but nevertheless it may be accepted as relevant.

What has been said thus far applies only to North America, but, upon turning to South America, the representation has the appearance of belonging to a period later than 1511. In fact, the entire continent is laid down, though apart from the Lenox Globe, no analogous representation is found before that of Schöner, 1520. This circumstance might,

therefore, lead some to conclude that the globe originated at a late period. If, however, it were to be argued that the Lenox Globe belongs to a period subsequent to Schöner, it might be necessary to assign its date to the sixteenth century. Le Maire and Schouten did not explore that region until 1615. But this question is one that may be disembarassed, for it will not prove a difficult task to show how the globe-maker may have obtained, in 1610, the knowledge which he exhibits.

In order to present the subject with clearness, it will be useful to state first, that Cosa's maps of 1500 exhibited the northern coast of South America, together with the eastern coast down to about  $25^{\circ}$  S. The map of Ruysch, 1508, also showed the eastern coast, but only down to  $38^{\circ}$  S.; while Sylvanus, in the Ptolemy of 1511, stopped at  $35^{\circ}$  S.; Stobnicza, 1512, at  $40^{\circ}$  S.; the Ptolemy of 1513 at  $39^{\circ}$  S.: and the Margarita Philosophica of Gregory Ruysch, 1516, at  $49^{\circ}$  S. Nevertheless the Lenox Globe gives all of South America, the drawing alone rendering it probable that the draughtsman was not unacquainted with the configuration of Terra del Fuego. How, then, could the globe-maker have known that South America terminated in such a form near latitude  $55^{\circ}$  S.? How, in fact, could he have known that it terminated at all, especially since sketches later than 1515, with one or two unimportant exceptions, represented Terra del Fuego as joined to a great continent, supposed to cover the entire region around the south pole?

On this point it may be observed that such a termination to South America was doubtless rendered probable by the argument from analogy. The ordinary observer must have perceived that the great bodies of land on the globe terminated towards the south in points. Good reasons also exist for believing that Africa was accepted as the type of South America. But it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that the termination of South America was known in 1510, even though its circumnavigation had not been accomplished. In 1508 it was recorded by Ruysch, that navigators had reached  $50^{\circ}$  S. On his map is found a Latin legend, translated as follows: "Portuguese mariners discovered this part of this territory, and proceeded as high as the fiftieth degree of South latitude, but without reaching its southern extremity." Humboldt (*Examen Critique*, II. 7) calls attention to the fact that in the fourteenth chapter of the work, in which the map of Ruysch appears, there is a separate statement, to the effect that the Portuguese had surveyed the coast of South America as far as  $37^{\circ}$  S., and that it was known as far as  $50^{\circ}$  S. by report. Thus in 1508 there existed at Rome a general understanding of the coast to within about two degrees

of the entrance to the Straits of Magellan. With such facts before him, Humboldt came to the conclusion that between the years 1500 and 1508 a succession of attempts were made by the Portuguese along the coast of South America, beginning at Porto Seguro in latitude 16° S. Vespucci is even credited with having gone to 52° S. Still the student is not justified, with such data, in declaring precisely how far the navigators knew the region by actual observation. The inference is that the navigators who passed along that region viewed the strait afterwards discovered by Magellan as an inlet, and that they learned from the natives the configuration of Terra del Fuego. Such information has been given to navigators in every part of the world. Cartier in Canada knew of the great lakes from the aborigines. The Indians also drew rough sketches for Champlain in New England. The Hudson's Bay Company possess at their House important sketches made by the Indians; while Balboa, called the "Discoverer" of the Pacific, had the Pacific discovered for him by the Cacique of Zumaco, who, upon the arrival of the Spaniard in the Bay of Panama, figured for him the coasts of Quito, and described the riches of Peru. (*Examen Critique* II. 13.) Columbus on his fourth voyage learned of the existence of water beyond Darien. (Select Letters, p. 175.) Parry and Ross had the coast lines of their charts extended for them by the Esquimaux. This was all that the Spanish and Portuguese navigators needed to have done for them by the natives of Terra del Fuego.

Sometimes the information thus derived was of great value, and it would appear that the maker of the Lenox Globe had received information of this kind. The principle in accordance with which the age of this globe is to be deduced is now therefore quite clear. The absence of any allusion to the continent of North America would seem conclusive. Perhaps it is not too much to believe that this globe has some connection with the Third Voyage of Vespucci, which brought him to the latitude of the Straits of Magellan. Peter Martyr, writing to the Pope in 1514, seems to have a definite view of the shape of South America quite in advance of published maps. Being "secretly together in a chamber" with the Bishop of Burgos, Martyr says that they examined many sea charts, one of which Vespucci "was said to have set his hand," while another had been influenced by both Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus. Speaking of South America, he says it "reaches forth into the sea even as Italy doth, although not like the leg of a man, as it does." (Dec. II.) Thus in 1514 South America had been figured more or less as drawn upon the Lenox Globe.


Another interesting and important feature of the globe transports the student to the far East. The globe shows very distinctly a large island, without any name, lying in the Indian Ocean. To the northward of this island is another, called "Madagascar," though the true Madagascar is laid down in its proper place without any name. Northward of the supposed Madagascar is an island called "Certina." Since, however, this part of the Indian Ocean contains no such vast island, and since Australia does not appear in its proper place, it may be allowable to suggest, though we do so with extreme diffidence, that Australia is represented by the great island in question, which was misplaced; while the so-called "Madagascar" and "Certina" are simply Sumatra and Java. Three other islands without names correspond to Sumbawa, Floris and Timor.

The uncertainty of the globe-maker respecting Madagascar may be explained by the fact, that it was not until 1508 that D'Acuhna made his exploration of the island, though it was known to Marco Polo. This excuse, however, cannot be offered for those who later represented Zanzibar as a great island out in the ocean.

The globe at Frankfort, which belongs to the period of Schöner, 1520, has an island similar in form and situation to the nameless island of the Lenox Globe, but in a reversed position, and called Madagascar. In Bordone's *Isolaria* (fols. 28-9 and 70, ed. 1528) Zanzibar is thus represented.

In support of the suggestion that the "Madagascar" and "Certina" of the globe are simply Sumatra and Java misplaced, we may cite the fact that the well-known islands of Sumatra and Java do not appear in their places, while the Malayan peninsula, called upon the globe "Loac," is extended so far south as to confuse the geography of the whole region. Acting, however, in accordance with the suggestion offered, it would prove an easy task to bring order out of the confusion. This may be done by moving the great nameless island into the position occupied by Australia on the modern maps, carrying with it "Certina," the so-called "Madagascar," and the three islands without name. When this is done, the student will have before him a tolerable indication of the geography of that region. Borneo and Celebes (called "Java Minor" by Ramusio), having their proper place, New Guiana, without any name, also appearing. In accordance with this view, it would be necessary to conclude that, though misplaced upon the Lenox Globe, Australia was known to the geographers of that early period.

It is true that one of the first references to the southern coast of Australia in the seventeenth century was that of 1627, when a Dutch



ship sailed along the shore for a distance of a thousand miles, while one of the earliest maps of that century which showed the outlines of Australia was the Montanus map, 1572. Nevertheless it is probable that Australia was known centuries before, when the Chinese, with the mariners' compass, navigated those seas. From Lelewel's sketch of map of Edrezi it is evident that the region including Java was perfectly well known in 1154. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo traveled with a map of the world in his hand, by the aid of which he appears to have described Madagascar. At that period the great island of Australia, lying close to well-known islands, could hardly have remained unknown to geographers. It would appear that the "Java Minor" of Marco, a term applied by him to Sumatra, came eventually to include the entire region. That this was so appears from the fact that names belonging to Java and the neighboring islands are given on maps of a later period. The Globe of Vlpus illustrates this phase of the question, Java Minor appearing as a very large island, and the true Java not being laid down at all. Four maps with similar characteristics, belonging to same period, are discussed by Mr. Major in the Hakluyt Society's work on Australia, and the matter is also touched upon in his "Prince Henry" (p. 441). Some of the geographers endeavored to set off Java, reduced to proper proportions, Schöner, 1520, being amongst the number; but in the attempt Australia in some cases disappeared altogether. On the Lenox Globe, nevertheless, Java appears to have the name of "Certina." Perhaps, therefore, the Lenox Globe may be regarded as showing one of the earliest attempts to correct a misunderstanding.

Attention has already been called to the fact that the great nameless island, with its attendant islands, is placed westward instead of south-east of the Malayan peninsula; but Sylvanus, in his Ptolemy of 1511, moves the whole group into its proper position to the southeast, thus giving a somewhat correct view of the geography of that region. Still the delineation of Sylvanus does not appear to have been understood. In fact he made too long and too sudden a stride towards the truth to be followed, though Lelewel, while severely criticising his work, admits that some of his delineations were not equalled for many years after. The Lenox Globe and the Ptolemy of Sylvanus would therefore seem to explain one another. At the same time the maker of the globe, in common with Sylvanus, in forming the outline of what we venture to offer as Australia, appear to have made a certain use of those outlines characteristic of the "Java Major" of Fra Mauro and Behaim, which lay on the east coast of Asia. The maker of the Lenox Globe

may have misunderstood his instructions, and thus pushed Australia into the Indian Ocean. The attention of the designer of the globe may have been directed to the subject by the voyage of Gonnville, who sailed from Honfleur in June, 1503, for the East, and fell upon a great country, not far from the direct route to the Indies, which they called "Southern India." The subject, however, is treated here in the way of suggestion.

Thus far nothing has been said of the general appearance of the globe, though, if it were necessary, many details could be pointed out which indicate its ancient origin. Amongst these might be mentioned the peculiar configuration of the Asiatic coasts, the style of the lettering, the drawing of the ships, and the aspect of the marine monsters. Beyond Newfoundland is a sinking ship, with the figure of a human being in the water, possibly an allusion to the loss of the Portuguese Cortereal.

South of Africa is a grotesque monster, intended for a whale, the creature being delineated with much care. Many curious notions prevailed respecting the denizens of the deep. Hence Arngrim Jonas, in his defence of Iceland (Hakluyt I. 568), believes it necessary to refute what Sebastian Munster said in his Cosmography, to the effect that "it sometimes falleth out that Mariners, thinking the Whales to be Islands, and casting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning." It would appear as though Milton found his own "Leviathan" on the page of Hakluyt, in whose works he had read the treatise signed "Arngrimus Ionus."

This leads to the remark that the author of "Paradise Lost" appears no stranger to the old globes and maps, which, in his earlier days as a traveler, he was accustomed to consult. His eye, however, could not have fallen upon the globe which we are discussing, since in that case he might have been deterred from writing of the two polar winds, which

"blowing adverse  
Upon the Cronian sea, together drive  
Mountains of ice that stop *the imagined way*  
Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich  
Cathaian coast ;"

for the imagined way is a clear open sea upon our globe. The globes he looked upon embraced the coast

including "Of Norumbega, and the Sameod shore,"

"—— cold Estotiland, and south as far  
Beneath Magellan ;"



and again, all those central regions where of late "Columbus found the American," girt

" With feather'd cincture, naked else, and wild,  
Among the trees on isles and woody shores."

When, however, the maker of the Lenox Globe looked away toward the region now occupied by North America, he saw only a watery waste, in the midst of which the island of "Bacaleos" or Newfoundland, rode like some ship at anchor. He may have heard of the Vinland of the Northmen, but the story of the Cabots had already been locked up in depositories where it was destined to lie too long; while Martyr's map of "Beimeni," or Florida, together with the publications of 1512, 1513, 1515, had not come from the press.

Some of the names appear to have been copied from Ruysch's Map. The word "Getulia" and "Zamor" point to the influence of the Goths and Moors in Africa, while "Paludes Nile" show that, in common with the geographers of that period, the globe-maker had anticipated the discoveries of Livingstone and Stanley. Some of the names are misspelled; among them, Libia Interiour.

In Asia the Himalayan range, anciently known as "Imaus," had its influence upon the globe-maker's geography, who indicates "Schite extraianivm" for "Scythia extra Imaum." He also puts "Simarum Situs" on the border of the Gulf of the Ganges, where "Sinarum Situs" is put by Ruysch, "Sinarum," like "Serica," or silk, being a name applied to China, which on the globe is called East India. In this region, near the equatorial line, is seen "Hc Svnt Dracones," or here are the Dagroians, described by Marco Polo as living in the Kingdom of "Dagroian." These people, as once charged against the Irish, feasted upon the dead and picked their bones. (B. II. c. 14, Ramusio's ed.) "Loac" is the "Locac" of Marco Polo (B. III. c. 8; Yule II. 258), and "Seilan" is the Borneo of our day, the former name having been taken from its proper place near India to make room for "Taprobana," which was often applied to Sumatra. In Northern India is "Sachavvm Regno," the sugar region described in the Ptolemy of Patavino (1596, p. 262). Near Persia is "Carmenis," the "Kermann" of Marco Polo, who does not refer to the neighboring "Calicut," or Calcutta. (B. I. c. 18.)

"Moabio" appears to be the "Maabar" of Marco Polo (III. 16), who says that in all this Province "there is never a Tailor to cut a coat or stitch it," for the very good reason that "every body goes naked." The globe-maker, however, should have placed the province where Polo

and the Nancy Globe place it, on the Coromandel coast. "Carene" appears to be the ancient home of the Mongols mentioned by Marco Polo (I. 18). Yule (I. 102) has a note on these people, some of whom went to Persia.

Turning to America once more, it is found that Japan is called "Zi-pangri," being close to Yucatan, whose well-known bay, first explored in 1518, has a conjectual coast line trending towards the south instead of the west. Cuba, on the other hand, is correctly laid down as an island, being called "Isabel," in honor of Queen Isabella. The names on South America are few. That country is called "TERRA SANCTO CRVCIS," as upon the map of Ruysch, and "MVNDVS NOVVS," a name given by Sandacourt, a Canon of St. Dié, when he framed the title of the Latin version of Vespucci's letter, which described Brasil. But a new name is added, "TERRA DE BRAZIL." The history of this name, however, is not quite so clear as the others, though Navarrete (III. 9) calls attention to Muratori's notice of the fact that "brazil," signifying a red dye-wood, was an exciseable article at Ferrara and Modena in 1193 and 1306. He also quotes from Capmany's "Memorias sobre la antiqua marina, commercio, y artes de Barcelona," which contains references to this wood connected with the years 1221, 1243, 1252 and 1271. Navarrete takes the ground that Covarrubias (Tesoro de la leng. art. brazil) is in error where he says that the name, as applied to this wood, was drawn from America. Brazil appears on a map of the fifteenth century, but the Catalan map of 1375 also shows an island in the Atlantic bearing the name.\* Marco Polo (B. III. c. 22) mentions Brazil wood (Yule II. p. 368), and Chaucer says:

" Him needeth not his colour for to deen  
With Brazil, ne with grain of Portingale."

It is reasonable, however, to conclude that the name was applied to South America, because the first navigator found there an abundance of desirable dye-wood. Hence, on the Verrazano map, 1529, is also found a similar name, "Verzino."

The name of "America" does not appear upon the globe, which fact, so far as it possesses any significance, favors the belief that the early date assigned to the instrument is correct. The name of America was first proposed in 1507 by Martin Waldseemuller, known under the Greek pseudonym of "Hylacomilus." It appears in his "Cosmographiæ Introductio," where, having called attention to the fact that the old continents were named after women, he observes that the new one

should be called after a man. In the work entitled "*Globus Mundus*," printed at Strasburg, 1509, the suggestion occurs again, *Hylacomilas*, evidently repeating himself. (*Archeologia*, 40, 1. 25.) The name occurs in Schöner's "*Luculentissima*," etc., 1515, but the idea that it was generally used is a mistake. (Santarem's "*Vespucci*," Boston, 1850, p. 155.) The name was first published on a map made by Appianus, 1520, in the work of Camers, but the Ptolemy of 1513, in a legend on the map made by *Hylocomilus* himself, attributes the discovery of the new world to Columbus. This has been alluded to as very curious, though the course pursued by *Hylacomilus* was altogether consistent. The really curious thing remains to be stated, and for the special consideration of those writers who have had so much to say about the ingratitude shown to Columbus by early geographers. The point is this, that though Ferdinand, the son of Columbus, lived until 1539, and for many years was the owner and diligent reader of the "*Cosmographiæ Introductio*," which he annotated and rebound, he is not known to have written or spoken a syllable, or to have caused any one else to write so much as a word, expressive of any sense of injustice done to his father by the naming of the New World after Vespucci. HARRISSE, in his *Life of Ferdinand Colomb* (p. 143), also calls attention to the fact that the partizan *Life of the Admiral*, which has been attributed to his son, while exceedingly severe upon those who detracted from the fame of Columbus, does not mention either *Hylacomilus* or his book. It would appear, therefore, that the indignation referred to is, upon the whole, a modern thing, of which the immediate friends of the famous Genoese had no experience.

*Hylocomilus*, while admitting the priority of the voyage of Columbus, felt no necessity for naming the New World after one who, in the most pronounced manner, declared that there was no New World to be named. *Hylacomilus* was entirely friendly to Columbus, as was the case with Vespucci in his relations to the Genoese; nevertheless the geographer of St. Dié named the New World after the Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci. It is probable that he had resolved upon this course before Columbus died, while there is nothing whatever to indicate that Vespucci took any action to secure the honor awarded to him, or even that, any more than Columbus, he was solicitous upon the subject. His claims were not understood to conflict with those of Columbus. The Lenox Globe appears to have been made at a time when geographers regarded the matter with unconcern, as neither Columbus nor Vespucci have any honor awarded.

In closing, the following may be suggested as legitimate results of the discussion :

First. The Lenox Globe is the oldest Post-Columbian globe now known to geographers.

Second. It is the oldest Post-Columbian Globe that shows any portion of the New World.<sup>1</sup>

Third. It is the oldest instrument of any kind showing the entire Continent of South America.

Fourth. It is the oldest instrument showing that the discoveries of Columbus formed no part of the Asiatic Continent, and that America was absolutely "Mvndvs Novvs," or the New World.<sup>2</sup>

B. F. DE COSTA

<sup>1</sup> Collier's "Annals of the British Stage" (II. 310), in which the following lines :

"This See is called the great Occyan ;  
So great it is, that never man  
Coude tell it seth the worlde began,  
Till now within this xx yere  
Westwarde be founde new landes,  
That we never harde tell of before this."

And again :

"But this newe lands founde lately,  
Ben callyd America, by cause only  
Americus dyd furst them fynde."

<sup>2</sup> Lelewel's Atlas. See views that have been entertained in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 1866, No. XLIV, p. 26, and 1867, No. XLVII, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Humboldt maintains that Vespucci, equally with Columbus, believed that the land discovered formed a part of Asia. He says that three times in his second voyage Vespucci calls the country "terra del Asia," but in the third voyage calls it "un' altro mondo" and "Mondo nuovo." To break the force of this, Humboldt refers to the fact that Cadamosto calls the west coast of Africa "Altro mondo." This, however, he confesses is a mere adaptation of the old classic use, the *alter orbis* of Pomponius, Mela and Strabo. He then shifts the argument, and shows that Peter Martyr in 1493-4, while speaking of the "novis orbis," did not recognize its separation from Asia, and that this use was long continued. He forgets, however, that Martyr describes South America as land never known by the ancients. (*Examen Critique* V. 182). For Humboldt's vindication of Vespucci against Schöner (Nuremberg, 1532), see *Cosmos* II. 676.

<sup>4</sup> The author does not admit that the regions beyond the Atlantic were never reflected on a pre-Columbian globe.

<sup>5</sup> The Viscount Santarem (*Researches respecting Vespucci*, p. 154) has taken the ground, as well as some others, that the map of Hylocomilus, in the Ptolemy of 1513, was the work of Columbus. This map shows the separation of America from Asia, but we believe that the Lenox Globe is earlier. The separation, however, on the map in question proves that it could not have been the work of Columbus, as it has been shown repeatedly that Columbus died in the belief

that there was no separation. The Genoese, at the end of Cuba, on his second voyage, required his companions to declare on oath that Cuba was not an island the person maintaining the contrary being liable to a fine of ten thousand maravedis, and to have his tongue cut out. (Navarrete II. 145.) Pinzon on the first voyage "understood Cuba to be a city, and that the land here was a continent of great size, which extended far to the north" (First Voyage of Columbus, Boston, 1827, p. 68). The map of 1513 would seem rather to reflect the ideas of Pinzon, as it extends to 55° N. It has invariably been used by map-makers to represent the coast of North America, whatever may have been its *origin*.



THE LENOX GLOBE


## THE OLD STONE MILL AT NEWPORT

### CONSTRUCTION VERSUS THEORY

*"The stones have voices and the walls do live"*

The student of history, the architect and the engineer have alike endeavored to penetrate the mystery which surrounds the "Old Stone Mill" at Newport, to establish the date of its erection and the purpose for which it was designed. One attempts to prove with many ingenious argument that this gray and time-worn tower—a perfect specimen of early Norman architecture—is a ruined Baptistery, which owes its origin to the roving followers of Lief Erickson; another holds that it was erected in the latter part of the seventeenth century by English colonists for the utilitarian purpose of grinding Indian corn. The latest contribution to "Old Mill" literature is from the pen of the late Mr. R. G. Hatfield, President of the New York Chapter, American Institute of Architects. In an able paper, published in the March number of Scribner's Magazine [1879], he takes the ground that the "Old Mill" was erected in the early part of the eleventh century by Northmen, the founders of the Vinland colony. His argument is supported by an interesting account of the wanderings of the Vikings, with illustrations of religious edifices erected by them in various parts of Europe, and a section of the "Old Mill" restored, based upon the Baptistery of Asti.

To these records of history no one can take exception, for they are too well authenticated to admit of doubt. The Northmen were Christians, and roamed the world over, leaving behind them castles, monasteries, churches and baptisteries, with well-defined architectural details. Their edifices, as Mr. Hatfield remarks, are in all cases similar in proportion and construction to the "Old Mill" at Newport, and at first glance it seems highly probable that the dates and builders were the same. There are, however, details in the construction of the "Old Mill" which seem to have escaped the attention of all who have measured it and have written upon the subject. These points I shall endeavor to make clear by the accompanying illustrations, which have been prepared upon the ground from measurements carefully taken and verified. The sketches show the form and position of every prominent stone, and are drawn to scales for comparison. So far as I am aware no such complete survey has yet been published. To the measured



drawings are added sketches of the Leamington or Chesterton mill, and several buildings of colonial date, presenting analogous construction. This survey was made in October, 1878, and was commenced with a firm belief in the old and pleasant traditions so delightfully presented to us by Mr. Hatfield. But, with all an architect's veneration for the works of his predecessors, and a natural desire to assign to the monuments of our country their greatest possible antiquity, I have found myself confronted with constructive features, which point to the last quarter of the seventeenth century as the time when the structure was built, and to Governor Benedict Arnold as the designer as well as owner of the "Old Stone Mill."


It is generally admitted by all who have investigated the subject that there are but two available dates; the colonization of Vinland and the English settlement on Aquidneck. All theories as to the edifice having once been a Norman Baptistery are based upon the supposition that changes have from time to time been made in its interior. It is the object of this paper to show that it would have been difficult to effect such changes, even if they were not practically out of the question. Professor Rafn, after assigning the eleventh century as the date of erection, adds: "That this building could not have been erected for a windmill, is what an architect will easily discern." That he still had doubts upon the subject is however manifest, for in a letter, dated January 6th, 1849, he writes: "It is difficult, however, without being on the spot to offer any decided opinion as to the period to which the structure itself is to be referred, nor has any one here ventured to do so. Here in the North no windmills occur of this construction, and a gentleman, distinguished for his knowledge in the progressive history of the arts, and who has traveled much in Europe, has declared *that he never met with any such.*"

The alterations generally in question are the fireplace and the windows. These are claimed as late additions, made by English colonists to fit the ancient edifice for their own uses. The first floor over the arches has also been claimed as an addition, but I have never seen any allusion to a *second floor and staircase*, of which there are undeniable evidences. These statements I will now attempt to verify.

Was the fireplace introduced into the Norman Baptistery by English colonists? The fireplace is directly over one of the piers, and its construction exhibits careful workmanship. The stones are laid up smoothly, and fit together closely, in marked contrast to the rest of the interior. The hearth—a flat slab of slate, six inches thick—is built in

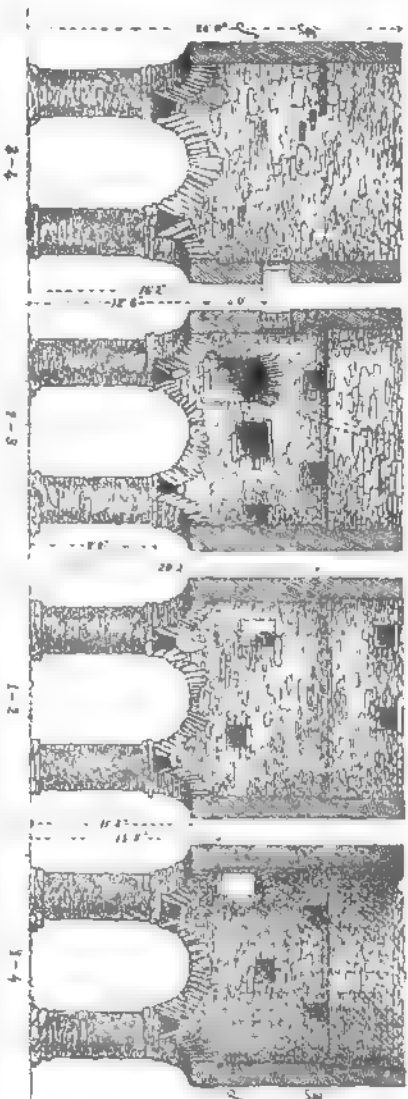
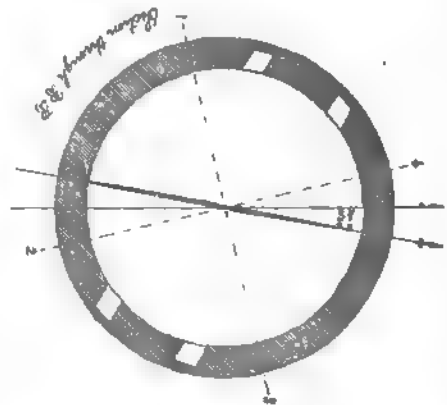
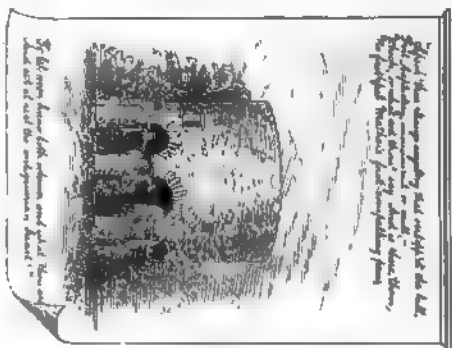
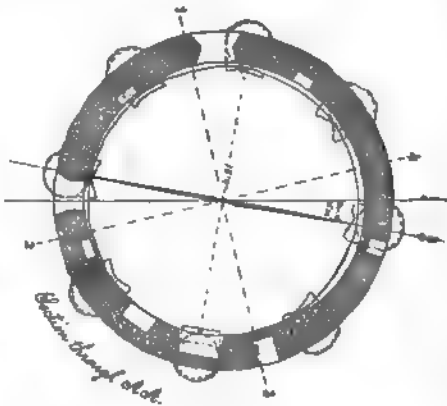
under the splayed jambs several inches at each end ; the opening is finished with a segmental arch on the face, and has a flat roof, one foot above the crown of the arch. This roof is made of flat slate stones, laid vertically with the axis of the wall ; at each end is a flue five inches by eight inches, an unusual form of construction. The north flue runs up nearly vertical, while the other flue curves off easily to the south for some distance, and then turns up with an inclination still to the south. Both flues open out on the face of the wall about ten inches below the top, and they are each covered with a large stone, evidently to protect the wooden plate of the roof. The north flue shows no evidence of pargetting or plastering, but the south is still perfectly parged, the mortar being identical with that used in the construction of the piers. The curves are neatly rounded, and the flues are of a full and even area throughout. The wall around the fireplace is thicker than in other parts of the building, and gradually diminishes at the north of opening, where is situated the well-hole of stairs, to be described. In breaking out the old walls to insert a fireplace after the building had stood for centuries, it would have been impossible to adjust the back, jambs and roof with such nicety, and without showing jagged and broken stones. It would also have been impossible to have constructed the two flues, particularly the south one, or to have parged them with such care. And is it not more than probable that in making such a radical change the artificers would have been satisfied with *one* flue instead of two, particularly as the additional flue was of more than questionable advantage.

The next point in question is the windows. Are they the result of alterations? At first sight they appear to be so, for they present the only anomalous features in the building, their position having been established without regard to the intercolumniation. This is the more remarkable in that every other part of the building is accurately spaced on a given plan, from the setting out of the piers on the true cardinal points of the compass to the heights and curves of arches, and the placing of piers outside the axis of the wall. Would such a departure from symmetry in the disposition of windows be likely in the original design? Let us study the construction as shown in the illustrations. The reveals of windows are splayed both ways, leaving a square jamb, four inches wide in the centre. The sills are made of two flat stones, laid four inches apart, corresponding with the jambs ; the edges of these sills toward the centre are *square cut* the whole length, and terminate in mortises, four inches square and three and one-half inches



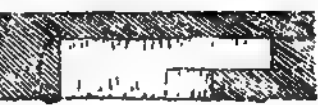






Old  
Stone Mill  
— at —  
Newport, R. I.  
from —  
measurements made by  
Siz & O'Brien, Jun.,  
Architect,  
Oct 10,  
1872

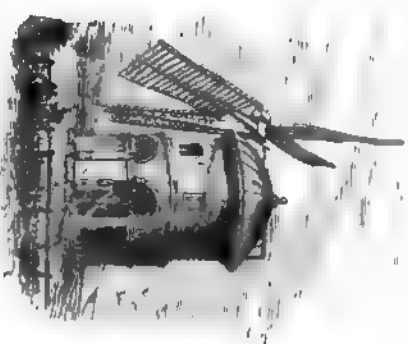




*Sketch of Stables.*

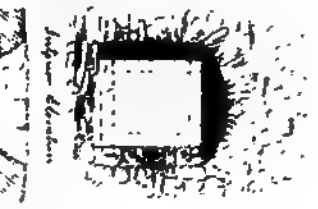
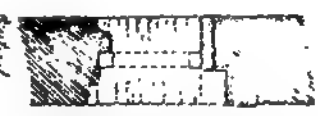


*Side of walling from*

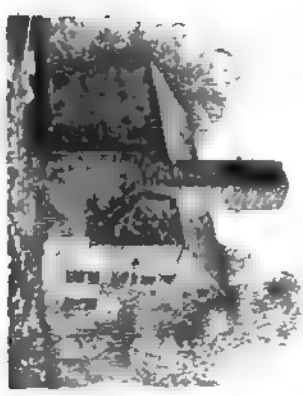


*Wilmington Mill,  
erected 1822*

*Sketch illustrating the construction of  
— The Old Stone Mill —  
— at Newport, R. I. —*



*Sketch of Stables.*



*Side of walling from*




of which is traced on the interior elevation—seems to be conclusive evidence that the ruined tower was not a Baptistery, but that it owes its origin to the English colonists.

Let us now compare the construction of the "Old Mill" with that of the mill at Leamington or Chesterton, England. This mill, designed by Inigo Jones, was erected in the year 1632, and is here illustrated by a sketch taken from the Penny Magazine. The theory that this mill furnished the model or *motif* for the Newport structure was considered by Mr. Hatfield as untenable, for the following reasons: The Newport tower has eight arches and round piers, the latter placed upon the cardinal points of the compass and outside the axis of the wall. The Leamington mill has but six arches, with square piers, placed—as is generally supposed—directly under the axis of the superstructure. The construction employed at Newport is random rubble, while the Leamington mill is built of cut stone. I can give no satisfactory reason for the adoption of eight arches instead of six, unless the number was fixed by the compass, to be a perpetual record of the cardinal points, based upon an accurate survey. Such a disposition is not improbable, as the mill stands upon the crown of a ledge of rock at a level of eighty-four feet above the sea, and near the summit of the ridge, which, running north and south through the centre of the island, rises gradually from the water on either side. Thus situated, the tower became naturally the most important edifice on the island, and a land-mark visible for several miles.

The other differences may be more easily accounted for. The Leamington mill was built in highly civilized England; materials of good quality were abundant, with skilled labor for cutting and fitting together stone work, enriched with carved mouldings and accurately jointed voussoirs. It was erected under the eye of Inigo Jones, and the result was the conversion of a simply utilitarian building into an artistic edifice.

The colonies at that time were a vast wilderness, with but few mechanics, and only rude appliances for cutting stone. They could lay out their work accurately, and build solidly—for eternity—but that was all. Time with them was a necessary consideration, and the work was rapidly accomplished. But allowing that the colonists had the necessary skill and the will to execute works in cut stone, the *material* was wanting. On Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, there is no stone to be found suitable to cut for face work. The rocks on the island consist of a laminated slate—which splits easily, and makes a strong, but not a



island, ten feet of the tower disappeared—was removed or fell of itself? It would hardly seem so. Had the colonists found it of full height, with numerous windows scientifically constructed, is it likely that they would have cut it down ten feet, inserted new windows at irregular intervals, and put in floors, stairs, fireplace and flues, all which would have impaired its value as a mill? Thirty-six feet is no more than the usual height of windmills, and their sails have a diameter of from sixty to eighty feet. That the structure was originally plastered or stuccoed is highly probable, as the colonists were accustomed to cover their rough stone work in this way, and we have seen that the same course was followed in building Governor Arnold's house.

The domestic edifices erected by the early English colonists exhibit, in nearly every instance, stone chimneys and gable ends, as already described in connection with the house of Governor Arnold. The sides of these buildings and the ends above the line of roof-plate were of frame construction, made of heavy oak timber rudely squared, put together with tree-nails and boarded with oak, usually at an angle of 45°, thus making of every board a separate brace. The boarding was covered with coarse stucco, or split shingles, put on with wrought nails. Many of these venerable houses still remain, their sturdy timbers and thick walls seeming to defy the ravages of time. The two selected for illustration are good examples of their class, and each has had an eventful history, with quaint legends of its own. The first was erected by Governor Henry Bull in the year 1639. Until within a few months it stood unaltered, but since then the "restorer" has been at work, and one-half of the house has been modernized. The gable ends and the rear still remain as originally built; the stone, similar to that in the "Old Mill," is laid up in the same rough and random manner. The second example is from the island of Conanicut, opposite Newport. The date of its erection is not definitely known. A relic of the past, with huge chimney and picturesque outline, it nestles among the trees, quaint, old and time-worn. But old as it is, it is still tenantable, and may do good service for many years.

One other detail in the construction of the "Old Mill" is worthy of notice. The disposition of the eight piers upon the true cardinal points of the compass is a feature that must have been the result of deliberate thought and careful measurement. Can we by chance get a clue to the date of erection from this fact? By referring to section A A, it will be seen that the true north bisects one of the piers. The variation of the needle, taken from reliable modern maps, is 10° 34' west.

Now did the founders of the edifice find the magnetic north, and then calculate the variation to discover the true north, or was the "Mill" erected at some period of time when there happened to be no variation of the needle? This problem I am not able to solve, and I only allude to it here hoping that some scientific investigator may be able to throw light upon the subject, if only to establish the date of the erection of the "Old Stone Mill."

GEORGE C. MASON, JR.



## A JUSTIFICATION OF GENERAL SULLIVAN

I regret to see an injustice done to the memory of one who made as great sacrifices for the cause of American liberty and national independence as any other general officer of the Continental army. I allude to General Sullivan. The following considerations show that the charges in the July number [1879], in the article on the French in Rhode Island, imputing unnecessary delay to General Sullivan in 1778 are not just.

It is there stated (III. 390) "that the plans of the allied forces were to fall to the ground from the delay of General Sullivan in his preparatory movements," and the golden opportunity lost between the 29th of July (when D'Estaing arrived with his fleet off Newport) and the 9th of August (when the French army disembarked on Conanicut, and reembarked, and the Americans crossed on to the island). I have in my possession the correspondence of the general officers connected with the expedition, and have studied it carefully in preparation of a paper on the siege of Newport, read in 1875-1876 before the Rhode Island and Pennsylvania Historical Societies. I shall be glad to submit this correspondence to any student of our revolutionary history who takes an interest in the subject. I am confident that no one familiar with this, the best evidence of what occurred, will discover in it the shadow of foundation for the charge of needless delay, but on the contrary every proof of dispatch. These papers came into my possession from the grandsons of General Sullivan, and I feel it my duty, and shall be doubtless justified in the public mind, to defend his reputation when unjustly assailed.

When D'Estaing arrived off New York a joint attack was intended by his fleet and the army of Washington on that city. But this not proving practicable, on the 20th of July Hamilton wrote Washington that D'Estaing had decided for Newport. By the 23d, Sullivan, apprised of this intention, began his preparations. A few weeks earlier he had informed Congress that the 1,500 men under his command were scattered from Point Judith to Seconnet Point, sixty miles. As on the 17th of July the garrison of Newport had been reenforced to 7,000 veterans, at least double that number, according to military rules, were needed for the attack, and to form part of this force there were 4,000 French soldiers in the fleet. Washington sent him about 2,000 men from the army

which fought at Monmouth. The greater part of his army Sullivan had to collect from their farms and workshops throughout New England or from their business pursuits in its large towns. Supplies for twenty thousand men, including the French soldiers and sailors, were to be gathered, boats, guns and ammunition to be provided; and D'Estaing looked to him for whatever he needed, after his long voyage aboard his ships.

The army was thus not only to be largely created, but organized, drilled and disciplined; the officers in many instances being as inexperienced as their men. As to the battle of Butts' Hill on the 29th of August, of the 5,000 who then composed the army, only 1,500 had been under fire, and these must have consisted of the Continentals sent by Washington; it will readily be conjectured how difficult was the task. These preparatory movements and arrangements took time; and by the 8th of August—when the arrival of a considerable portion of his troops from Boston rendered it prudent to cross on to the island, and the withdrawal of the two regiments of the enemy posted at Butts' Hill permitted the Americans to cross unopposed, to have gathered together an army of ten thousand men in two weeks from such distances, and to have organized out of such material, militia and volunteers, fit for service, a force competent to cope with seven thousand veterans, strongly entrenched, deserves praise, and not blame.

It should be remembered that the arrival of the English fleet from Europe or the storm were not events for calculation. The conjuncture demanded dispatch, but not precipitation. Had Sullivan crossed on to the island with an inferior force and insufficient supplies, and encountered disasters, he would have been more reasonably obnoxious to criticism. The requirements of his responsible command were zeal, activity and prudence, and whoever reads the letters which were passing in those eventful days, urging forward troops and supplies, and upon other matters—forty or fifty in French—will be convinced that they were not wanting in the General-in-Chief or in his coadjutors; and he had with him the Greenes, Varnum and Cornell, and much of the time Lafayette likewise.

Before the arrival of the troops from Boston and the evacuation by the enemy of the lines on Butts' Hill on the 8th of August, the design had been for the Americans to cross at Fogland Ferry, and the Provence and Engageante, under Preville, were ordered while the troops were approaching to join the Alcméne and Aimable, under St. Cosme, stationed there since the 30th of July to protect the crossing. Opposition

was expected, and due precautions taken, requiring time, as also preconcerted arrangements, as the French were to have landed simultaneously on the west shore of the island, either near Dyer's Island or between it and Coddington Cove, and thus cut off the two regiments at Butts' Hill. Wind and its direction were important elements for consideration, as the movements depended on support from the fleet. Up to the 9th all had gone prosperously, no time had been lost; neither the people who, in their exhausted condition, sent so large a force into the field; neither officers nor men, French nor Americans, were chargeable with procrastination. They had all done marvellously well. The appearance of the English fleet, the storm, were beyond their control. The spirit of detraction must travel far to find fault with any one. Mr. Stevens relies, I presume, on what he considers good authority for his statement, but I am sure on review of the actual circumstances he will be just to General Sullivan, and at least allow those who have read the charge to consider the reasons which go to disprove it. This charge of delay I have not seen before.\* All other charges have been shown to be groundless, and I am sure if the correspondence were published, there would be an end to the fault finding with one who was faithful to the cause, and lost his health and a large part of his means in the contest.

I also submit to the readers the enclosed portions of the General Orders of the 24th and 26th of August, that they may judge for themselves if the opinion alluded to on page 392 of the Magazine, when taken in connection with the occasion and the context, was just or well grounded. It was very prudent and reasonable that Washington and Greene should "disavow" what seemed to be an imputation on the good faith of our allies, who, after inducing such costly preparations, abandoned our army in a position of such great danger and probable humiliation. Unless compelled by greater disasters than they seemed to have sustained on their return on the 20th, in the pursuit of the English fleet, from the storm or partial engagements, they certainly were under obligation to incur some risk, and if they had tarried forty-eight hours Newport would have fallen. Sullivan no doubt, as a good officer and patriot, was willing to be sacrificed to prevent any unpleasantness endangering the alliance and cooperation of the French, but it does not necessarily follow that his language in the orders of the 24th was indiscreet or unseasonable. It certainly did not prevent a good understanding before the week was over with D'Estaing. Considering what is now known of the state of feeling in the fleet, the irritations existing between the Admiral and his officers, reported by Greene, should be taken into account.

Towards the close of the General Orders of August 24th is the passage to which exception has been taken by the article. It reads: "The General cannot help lamenting the sudden and unexpected departure of the French fleet, as he finds it has a tendency to discourage some, who placed great dependence upon its assistance, though he by no means supposes that the army, or any part of it, is the least endangered by the movement. The enemy now on the island are far inferior in numbers to this army, and are so sensible of their inferiority that nothing can tempt them to action. This superiority we shall maintain, so long as the spirit and ardor of Americans continue to be the same as in the beginning of this enterprize, unless the enemy should receive a strong reenforcement. This is the only event which can oblige us to abandon any part of the island we are now possessed of, and this event cannot take place in an instant. A considerable time will be required for a fleet to enter the harbor, come to anchor, and land a body of men sufficient to make the number of the enemy equal to ours. The General assures the army that he has taken into consideration every event that can possibly happen, and has guarded in such a manner that in case of the most disagreeable, a retreat, it can be made with the greatest safety. It is with grief and astonishment he finds large numbers of volunteers are about to quit the island at this time, and give to America a lasting proof of their want of firmness and bravery. The approaches to the enemy's line are to be carried on with the greatest despatch. The General is fully sensible of the value the brave officers and soldiers and citizens are to America, and he is determined that no rash steps shall make a sacrifice of them. At the same time he wishes them to place a proper confidence in him as their commander-in-chief, whose business it is to attend to their safety. Yet he hopes Americans will prove by the event able to procure that by their own arms which their allies refuse them assistance in obtaining."

It having been suggested that the last sentence of this General Order might give umbrage to the unreasonable susceptibilities of the French General and his officers, General Sullivan, not that he conceived any reparation was due, for the withdrawal of the fleet at such a time warranted an expression of warmth, and the language used was that best adapted to keep up the spirit of his troops, on which their safety depended, but still not disposed to endanger the good understanding between the two countries, endeavored the day but one after to do away any impression that might have that tendency.

On the 26th August he says in his General Orders: "That having secured his heavy cannon and provided a safe and easy retreat in case of misfortune, he thinks proper to inform the army that he has the strongest reason to expect that before reenforcements arrive to oblige us to quit our present position, that the French fleet will return to cooperate with us in the reduction of the island. It having been supposed by some persons that by the orders of the 24th instant the commander-in-chief meant to intimate that the departure of the French fleet was owing to a fixed determination not to assist in the enterprise, and as the General would not wish to give the least color for ungenerous and illiberal minds to make such unfair interpretations, he thinks it necessary to say that he could not be acquainted with the Admiral's orders, or determine whether the removal of the French fleet was absolutely necessary. He, however, hopes that their speedy return will show their attention and regard for the alliance formed between us, and add to the obligations which the Americans are already under to the French nation. However mortifying the departure of the French fleet was to us at such a time of expectation, we ought not too suddenly to censure the movement, or for an act of any kind to forget the aid and protection which has been afforded us by the French since the commencement of the present contest. He regrets the numbers of militia or volunteers whose time is up who are going off, and begs those who can to stay a few days longer."

This was on Wednesday, and on Friday, the 28th, 3,000 of the volunteers and militia having gone home, leaving his force less than the British behind their entrenchments, and informed by Washington that reenforcements to the garrison (who—about 4,000—actually arrived on Monday, the 31st) were on their way from New York, he moved his army Tuesday night in good order eleven miles to Butts' Hill, and on Saturday took place what Lafayette pronounced the best fought battle of the war. The numbers on either side were equal, about 5,000, and it ended by a charge of the light corps and a regiment under Jackson from Massachusetts, under Colonel Livingston, ordered by Sullivan, which drove the British to their lines on Quaker Hill at the point of the bayonet; and on the night of the 30th the Americans left the island without loss, unopposed.

THOMAS C. AMORY

\* "On the eighth, the French fleet, which a whim of Sullivan had detained for ten days in the offing, ran past the British batteries into the harbor of Newport." *Bancroft's History of the United States*, Vol. X., p. 147, Boston, 1874.  
EDITOR.

## BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL MEREDITH

### FIRST TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES

In the noble eulogy on Emanuel Swedenborg, delivered by Mr. Samuel Sandel, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm, at the request of that body, in the Great Hall of the House of Nobles, on the 7th of October, 1772, occur these words:

"Nature and art form the ornaments of the earth; birth and education form those of the human race. A fruit-seed does not always produce a tree which yields as excellent fruit as that which produced it; which often is owing to the modifications effected in the tree by art, which occasion a difference in its products, but do not at all alter its nature. Experience supplies us with a great many similar instances in our species. But it would be hazarding a paradox were we to attempt to determine how far certain virtues are hereditary in families, or are introduced into them by education. Be this as it may, it cannot be denied, that the advantage of having sprung from a respectable and virtuous family, inspires a man with confidence, when he is conscious that he does not disgrace his descent. In every condition, it is a real advantage to be born in a family which has been, for a long time, the abode of honor and virtue, and a nursery of citizens every way useful to the country."

To such a family belonged the subject of this sketch. The son of a man, himself distinguished for his virtue, integrity and patriotism, a friend of liberty and a benefactor of his country, we are not surprised to find Samuel Meredith, at an early day, openly advocating the cause of the colonies.

Reese Meredith, the father, was a native of Leominster, Herefordshire, where he was born in 1708. His father, John Meredith, a woolen merchant of that town, was the youngest son of "Richard Meredith of Presteigne, Gentleman," living in 1673, the representative of the ancient line of "Merediths of Radnorshire," to whom Queen Elizabeth granted the right to bear arms in 1572, viz: "Argent, a lion rampant, sable, collared and chained, or; Crest, a demi-lion, rampant, sable, collared and changed, or." Reese Meredith was educated at Oxford, and at his father's death, in 1729, came to this country, landing in Philadel-

phia in February, 1730, where he entered the counting house of John Carpenter, second son of the well-known Samuel Carpenter, Member of the Provincial Council, Treasurer of the Province, and one of the two Lieutenant-Governors appointed by Penn to assist Markham in the government of the Province; the commission bears date September 24, 1694, and was issued to John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter. In 1738 Mr. Meredith married his employer's daughter, Martha, and was taken into partnership with his father-in-law, and on his death succeeded to the business. He lost his wife August 26, 1769; he survived her nine years, dying on the 14th of November, 1778. During the darkest hours of the revolution Mr. Meredith's faith in the ultimate success of the colonies never wavered; and when the patriots were perishing from cold and hunger, at Valley Forge, in the winter of 1777-78, he generously gave, from his ample means, the munificent sum of £5,000 to feed and clothe the starving soldiers. George Clymer and Colonel Henry Hill, names well known to the students of American history, were his sons-in-law.

Samuel Meredith, the son, was born in the city of Philadelphia in the year 1741, in his father's mansion, which stood on the corner of Second and Walnut streets. The house was built by his great-grandfather, Samuel Carpenter, soon after the settlement of the city. When about fourteen years of age he entered the academy of Dr. Robert Allison, of Philadelphia, a noted Presbyterian divine, where he remained some four years. Upon leaving the academy he immediately went into his father's counting house, and devoted himself to learning mercantile business. March 22d, 1765, George Clymer married his sister, Elizabeth Meredith, and in April the two young men were admitted as partners in the business, the firm name becoming "Meredith & Sons." It so continued until 1778, after which it was "Meredith & Clymer," until 1782, when it was dissolved. November 7th, 1765, all three of the firm signed the "Non-Importation Resolutions," the great forerunner of the "Declaration of '76." About this time Mr. Meredith began to take a deep interest in the political affairs of the day. He was an earnest advocate of the principles of the Whig party, and served a term or two in the General Assembly. On the 19th of May, 1772, he was united in marriage, at the Arch street Meeting House (Friends), to Margaret, daughter of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, one of Philadelphia's leading surgeons, and a member of the Governor's Council. They enjoyed a happy married life of forty-five years, and were blessed with six children. On the 20th of May, 1774, Mr. Meredith attended the first of the meetings, held by the

citizens of Philadelphia, to protest against the unjust pretensions and usurpations of Great Britain. On the 18th of June he was present at the great meeting held in the State House yard, at which John Dickenson and Thomas Willing presided, when it was determined to be expedient to issue a call for a Continental Congress. Mr. Meredith was sent, as a deputy from Philadelphia, to the Provincial Convention, held in Independence Hall from the 23d to the 28th of January, 1775. On the 24th of April, 1775, he was one of the great meeting held in the State House yard, at which it was estimated over eight thousand citizens were present. Here it was that the citizens of Philadelphia determined to form battalions for the defence of their lives, liberty and property. One of these battalions, the Third, was officered as follows: John Cadwalader, Colonel; John Nixon, Lieutenant-Colonel; Thomas Mifflin, Senior Major; Samuel Meredith, Junior Major.

The first appearance of these citizen soldiers was in May, when they marched out to meet the southern delegates to Congress, and escort them into the city; a like compliment was paid to the delegates from the Eastern States a few days later. The third battalion is historically known as the "Silk Stockings," so called from the social standing of its officers and men. Early in 1775 a number of the prominent citizens of Philadelphia, favorable to the cause of independence, organized an association, which they named the "Whig Society." Each member presided in turn for a month. In August, 1775, this honor fell on Major Meredith. The questions discussed were, of course, of a political nature. The society generally met at the "City Tavern." Washington, in July, 1776, requested that the associators be sent to the defence of Amboy. In pursuance of these orders, Colonel John Dickenson with the First battalion, and Colonel John Cadwalader with the Third and the Second, the name of whose Colonel is unknown to us, left Philadelphia on the 12th of July for Amboy, and remained there six weeks. In December, upon Washington's recommendation, the three battalions were consolidated into one brigade of 1,200 men, with Colonel Cadwalader as Brigadier-General. Nixon became Colonel of the third, and Meredith, Lieutenant-Colonel, the Senior Major, Mifflin, having been elected to Congress. They left Philadelphia for Trenton on the 10th. Washington, in a letter to the President of Congress, dated December 13th, 1776, says: "Cadwalader, with the Philadelphia militia, occupies the ground above and below the mouth of the Neshaminy River, as far down as Dunk's Ferry, at which place Colonel Nixon is posted with the Third battalion of Philadelphia."



When Washington planned the attack on Trenton, he arranged for the main army to cross at "McConkey's Ferry," nine miles above Trenton; Dickenson, with the New Jersey Militia, to cross at Yardlyville, four miles above the town; Ewing at the Falls opposite; and Cadwalader at Bristol. Owing to the ice, the main army alone succeeded in crossing. Cadwalader, with a detachment, crossed over at Bristol, but had to return, as his entire force was unable to move. He succeeded, however, in crossing on the 30th, and marched to Lambertown, now South Trenton, on the south side of the Assunpink Creek, and his entire command took an active part in the battle of Princeton on the 3d of January, 1777. The Americans then went into winter quarters at Morristown. Cadwalader's brigade remained there until about February 1st, when they returned to Philadelphia.

In the latter part of January Washington paid a flying visit to Philadelphia, as would appear from the following extract from a letter to Colonel Meredith from his wife, bearing date January 27, 1777: "General Washington invited himself to breakfast with me yesterday; the children were at table, and behaved themselves extremely well. I observed that the General is very grave. I do not wonder at it; a man of his reflection must feel strongly our present unhappy situation.

\* \* \* Experience teaches me, my dear husband, that true happiness can alone be found in the bosom of independence." The intimacy between General Washington and the Merediths was one of long standing, and Reese Meredith used to relate the following anecdote as to its origin, which has been handed down to us by successive generations. Says he: "In the fall of 1755 I happened to step into the Coffee House to lunch. While sitting there I noticed a genteel-looking stranger, sitting apart from the rest, reading a paper. I took the liberty of a Friend to approach the young man, and inquired his name and place of residence, and was answered in reply that he was Colonel George Washington of Virginia; that he was here on business for the Governor of Virginia in relation to the Indians. I was highly pleased with the young man's appearance, and invited him home to dine with me on fresh venison." This acquaintance, thus happily begun, lasted through life, and was only broken by the death of Washington in 1799.

April 5, 1777, Colonel Meredith was commissioned Brigadier-General of the Fourth Brigade; June 5th, 1777, John Armstrong was commissioned Major-General, and on the 26th of August James Irvine, Brigadier-General. The four brigades were placed under Armstrong, the Brigadiers ranking as follows: John Cadwalader, First Brigade,

date of commission, December 25, 1776; James Potter, Second Brigade, date of commission, April 5, 1777; Samuel Meredith, Third Brigade, date of commission, April 5, 1777; James Irvine, Fourth Brigade, date of commission, August 26, 1777. In this rank they took part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and shared the discomforts of Valley Forge.

General Meredith's military service ended January 9, 1778, when he resigned his commission, and returned to Philadelphia. He was succeeded by his senior Colonel, John Lacey, whose commission dates January 9, 1778. This step was occasioned by his father's ill health, and the continued absence of his brother-in-law, Mr. Clymer, to the great detriment of the business of the firm of Meredith & Sons. General Meredith had taken the oath of allegiance to the new State Government of Pennsylvania, August 7, 1777, and on the 6th of November, 1778, was elected to the Assembly from the city of Philadelphia. He served until October, 1779. He was again elected to the Assembly in November, 1781, and served until October, 1783. In the fall of 1779 he, with George Clymer and Henry Hill, fitted out the sloop-of-war "Mariah," commanded by John Lord, carrying eight guns, and manned by twenty-five men.

In the spring of 1780 he and George Clymer subscribed £5,000 (\$25,000) each to the fund of \$315,000, contributed by ninety-three citizens of Philadelphia, for the support of the army. Mr. Meredith was also a director of the Bank of North America, organized by Robert Morris and others in May, 1781. In August, 1781, he was elected President of the Welsh Society in Philadelphia, which bore the rather high-sounding title of the "Royal Society of Ancient Britons." In 1782 he and Mr. Clymer dissolved partnership. November 26, 1786, he was elected to the Congress of the Confederation and served on the committee, composed of one delegate from each State, which issued the call for the Federal Convention, in pursuance of the recommendation contained in the letter issued by the Annapolis Convention of 1786. General Meredith served until November, 1788 (two terms). August 9, 1789, he was appointed by President Washington Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia, but he held the office only six weeks, as appears from the following:

"Journal of the Senate, Friday, September 11, 1789—A message from the President of the United States, which Mr. Lear, his secretary, delivered to the Vice President and withdrew: '*Gentlemen of the*

*Senate*: I nominate for the department of the Treasury of the United States Alexander Hamilton of New York, Secretary; Nicholas Eveleigh of South Carolina, Comptroller; Samuel Meredith of Pennsylvania, Treasurer; Oliver Wolcott, Jr., of Connecticut, Auditor; and Joseph Nourse of Pennsylvania, Register; \* \* \* and in case the nomination of Samuel Meredith should meet with the advice and consent of the Senate, I nominate as Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia William McPherson.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

General Meredith entered upon the duties of his office when the Treasury of the country was in a most distressing condition. It required financial ability of the highest order; but Washington well knew the character of the man whom he had selected to fill this most responsible position. He held the office twelve years and six weeks; his annual reports were models of their kind, and always received deserved recognition from the hands of Congress. During his long administration as Treasurer not a single discrepancy marred the entire correctness of his accounts. During the first year he resided in New York in a house on Broadway, opposite the Presidential Mansion. He was on terms of intimacy with Chancellor Livingston, with whom he frequently dined in a "friendly manner." He was also a frequent guest at the table of the first President, as appears by the latter's private journal. He resided in Philadelphia from 1790 to 1800, and in Washington until October 31, 1801, the date of his retirement. He served under Washington and the elder Adams, and seven months under Jefferson; and his chiefs were: Alexander Hamilton, 1789-95; Oliver Wolcott, 1795-1800, and Samuel Dexter, 1800-1802. His retirement was due to ill-health and financial embarrassments, his private affairs having become sadly neglected during his official life; upon it he received the following complimentary letter from Jefferson:

"Monticello, September 4, 1801.

Dear Sir:—I received, yesterday, your favor of August 29th, resigning your office as Treasurer of the United States after the last of October next. I am sorry for the circumstances which dictate the measure to you; but from their nature, and the deliberate consideration of which it seems to be the result, I presume that dissuasives on my part would be without effect. My time in office has not been such as to bring me into intimate insight into the proceedings of the several departments, but I am sure I hazard nothing when I testify

in your favor, that you have conducted yourself with perfect integrity and propriety in the duties of the office you have filled and pray you to be assured of my highest consideration.

Mr. Meredith.

THOMAS JEFFERSON."

General Meredith retired to his estate called "Belmont," situated in Clinton, Mount Pleasant and Preston townships, Wayne County, Pennsylvania. It was some twenty miles in length, and two in breadth, and contained nearly 26,000 acres. He had purchased this tract about 1796, and about 1812 erected a dwelling on it, about a mile from Mount Pleasant, at a cost of \$6,000. Here he spent the remaining sixteen years of his life, superintending the settlement and development of his vast estate. He, with his brother-in-law, George Clymer, from 1774 until 1800 purchased vast tracts of wild land, situated in Bradford, Luzerne, Pike, Schuylkill, Sullivan, Susquehanna, Wayne and Wyoming counties, Pennsylvania; Sullivan and Delaware counties, New York, and in Western Virginia and Eastern Kentucky; in all about 500,000 acres.

General Meredith departed this life at "Belmont," on Monday, February 10th, 1817, in the seventy-sixth year of his age; his wife survived him nearly four years, dying September 20th, 1820. They were both buried in the private burial-ground of the family, on the "manor tract." We know of no better personal description of the General than the following, taken from a letter written by the venerable Alvah Norton, of Aldenville, Wayne County, to Dr. Meredith Maxwell, of New York, a great-grandson of the General. It is dated June 30th, 1877. Mr. Norton was then in his eighty-first year.

"Dear Sir:—Received your letter dated June 20th, 1877, concerning General Samuel Meredith. In reply to your first inquiry, I remember an elderly gentleman attired in dress coat and knee-breeches of navy-blue broadcloth; shoes and silken hose; gold buckles at the knee and shoes; buff or white vest; ruffled shirt front and ruffles at the wrist falling over his delicate hands; hair powdered and worn in a queue, tied with a ribbon the color of his coat. In height about five feet ten inches, straight as an arrow, spare in flesh. A well-balanced head, bright, restless, light-blue eyes under a well-developed forehead, an aquiline nose, a firm mouth and decided chin. I have often seen him walking the porch of his residence, hands linked behind him, with nervous movements, oftentimes thinking aloud. There hung (in the old days), in the parlor at Belmont, a portrait of him, taken, I judge, about the age of forty, which was considered by the family to be an excellent likeness; \* \* \* Of

his habits of life I may not be a competent judge; should think he kept as closely to his city habits as change to country life would permit.

\* \* \* He kept a colored housekeeper named Rachael who, I think, came with the family from Philadelphia. She always, after his death, insisted that 'Old Massa' visited the sleeping-rooms, after the occupants were asleep, to see if the lights were out—an invariable habit of his as long as he lived. \* \* \* His daughters were expected to take as much care of their personal appearance as though living in Philadelphia. They were always in full dress at dinner."

Three hours were occupied at the dinner-table daily, and the utmost ceremony observed.

On the gentle declivity of the Moosic, overlooking the lovely valley of the Lackawaxen, lie the remains of the beloved friend of Washington and the first Treasurer of the Union; by his side sleeps his noble and accomplished wife. A movement was set on foot July 4, 1877, for the erection of a monument to mark the site. Hon. Edward Overton, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, has introduced a joint resolution in the House at Washington for an appropriation of \$10,000.

Of General Meredith's issue, we shall make slight mention of three. His only son, Thomas Meredith, was a lawyer by profession; held the commission of Major during the war of 1812; served as Prothonotary, Clerk of Courts, Recorder and Register for Wayne county, 1821-30, and was largely interested in the development of the Lackawanna coal-fields. He opened the first mines in Carbondale in 1824, obtained a charter, and had the route surveyed for a railroad from Scranton to Great Bend. The route is now used by the northern division of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Rail Road. He died at Trenton, New Jersey, in 1855, aged 76.

General Meredith's eldest daughter, Martha, married Hon. John Read, Agent-General of the United States for British Debts, member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and Senate, City Solicitor of Philadelphia, and President of the Philadelphia Bank, 1819-41. Their son was the late Hon. John Meredith Read, LL.D., member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania and Justice of the Supreme Court, Pennsylvania, 1858-72; Chief Justice 1872-73; and father of General John Meredith Read, LL.D., F. S. A., M. R. I. A., Regent of Cornell University, Adjutant-General of the State of New York, Consul-General to Paris, 1869-73, Minister and Chargé d'Affaires to Athens, 1873-79. General Meredith's third daughter, Anne,

married Samuel Dickenson, Esq., of Trenton, father of Philemon Dickenson, Esq., President of the Trenton Banking Co., 1832-79, United States Pension Agent for many years, member of the New Jersey Constitutional Commission, 1873, and Chairman Board of Managers of the State Sinking Fund, a Mason of high rank, an honorary member of the New Jersey Historical Society and of the State Society of the Cincinnati, and also of Colonel Samuel Dickenson's First New Jersey Militia, and Captain of Company E, Tenth U. S. Infantry during the Mexican war.

WHARTON DICKENSON

PERSONAL NARRATIVE  
OF THE SERVICES OF LIEUT.  
JOHN SHREVE

OF THE NEW JERSEY LINE OF THE CON-  
TINENTAL ARMY

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—John Shreve, the writer of the following narrative, was born April 8th, 1762, in Mansfield, Burlington county, New Jersey. He was the son of Colonel Israel Shreve, who commanded the Second New Jersey Regiment, "Continental Line," which was in active service during the war of the Revolution. John was made Ensign in 1776, and was appointed Lieutenant in July, 1777, in which capacity he served until he left the army in 1781. He was but thirteen years of age when he entered the army.

S. H. SHREVE

Soon after the battle on Bunker's (or Breed's) Hill, near Boston, in the province of Massachusetts, Congress, composed of delegates chosen in the 13 United Colonies, ordered four regiments to be raised in New Jersey. William Maxwell was appointed Colonel of the Second regiment, and my father, Israel Shreve, was appointed Lieut. Colonel of the same regiment; Maxwell took charge of four companies, rendezvous in Trenton, and the other four companies were under the command of my father at Burlington. Their commissions (I believe) were dated in November of that year; the companies were all completed in December, but clothing, arms and other equipments could not be procured for all the men until the month of February. Maxwell's men were supplied first, and marched for Canada

with the other three regiments, the first commanded by Colonel Ogden, the third by Colonel Dayton and the fourth by Colonel Marten. They passed over Lakes George and Champlain and down the River Saint Lawrence on the ice to the plains of Abraham at Quebec. My father followed the last of February with his four companies, and took me with him. We passed through Trenton, past Sussex Court House in New Jersey and Kingston (alias Esopus) to Albany in New York, where we stayed several weeks waiting for the ice to disappear in the lakes; here we were joined by Colonel Buel's regiment from Connecticut and several companies from Pennsylvania. We proceeded up the Hudson river to old Fort Edward, then over to Fort George, at the head of Lake George, where we remained some time for the ice to pass out of Lake Champlain and the river Saint Lawrence, collecting batteaux and loading them with cannon balls, bombshells and other military stores. When the ice was gone out of Lake Champlain we, with 25 or 30 men in each boat, cut through the ice a considerable distance in Lake George, passed Ticonderoga, Crown-point and through Lake Champlain; then passed Fort St. Johns down the rapids to Fort Chamblee, from thence down the beautiful River Sorel to the River St. Lawrence, thence down the latter river between several islands, then through Lake St. Peter, said to be thirty miles wide each way, the St. Lawrence river passing through it. A heavy gale of wind came on us as we were about the middle of the lake; we all reached the shore in safety in the

dark night, but several of the batteaux filled with water. Next morning we got into the river below, and passed down in a heavy shower of snow by the town of Three Rivers, Point Shambo, and landed at Wolfe's Cove in sight of Quebec City; they fired cannon shot at us, which fell short of us, but we heard the shot or balls whistle, which were the first English bullets that I ever heard screaming in the air, but not the last. We marched up General Wolfe's road to the plains of Abraham, and joined our other troops, I believe on the 2nd or 3rd day of May, 1776. A fire ship had been prepared, to set the enemy's shipping in the harbor on fire, and was in waiting for our arrival to storm the city. After preparing ladders, an attempt was made to set the enemy's shipping on fire, and our army marched with the ladders to scale the walls; but the ship had been fired too soon, and blew up before she reached the enemy, and our troops threw down their ladders and returned to the encampment. The next day the British fleet arrived in sight of the city with a reinforcement of nine or ten thousand troops; our army then raised the siege and retired up the river on the sixth day of May, 1776.

I, with Samuel Shute, son of Captain Shute, who was a little younger than I was, with our guns and knapsacks filled with some clothing and provisions, were sent off by ourselves with orders to remain at Point Shambo till the army arrived at that place. An English armed schooner came up the river ahead of our army with intent to capture our boats at Point Shambo, which were in a cove above the point. She frequently

fired at Shute and me, but did no other damage than to kill a cow belonging to a Frenchman. She passed on ahead of our army, and at low water got half way up the rapids. At this point, the wind dying away, she drifted down and came to anchor below the falls. Our army came on before a vessel could ascend the falls, got possession of the boats and ascended the river, passed over Lake St. Peter, and arrived at the mouth of the River Sorel, where we met General Thompson from Pennsylvania with fresh troops; they, being full of fight, would go and meet the enemy; they took the boats, and met the enemy near the Three Rivers Landing, and left the boats without a guard. The enemy moved many vessels up the river, landed their troops and took possession of the boats, defeated General Thompson, killed many, and took him and half of his men prisoners. The survivors had to pass through a swamp and round the north side of Lake St. Peter, and cross over the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Sorel.

When we arrived at the encampment near Quebec General Thomas of New England commanded, but died in a few days with the small pox (and many of the New England soldiers died also; the British knowing the New Englanders were opposed to being inoculated, sent out spies to spread the disease in the American camp, which killed more Yankees than they did). After the defeat at the Three Rivers Sullivan had the command.

My father was left at Sorel to collect provisions. When the army went down the river with General Thompson I stayed



at Sorel. Captain Ephraim Anderson, who was blown up in the fire ship and considerably burnt, was sent express to Congress after the defeat at the Three Rivers, and my father sent me and Samuel Shute, a son of Captain Shute, with Captain Anderson to go home and attend a school to fit us better for the next campaign. Gen. Sullivan conducted our army up the River Sorel and over Lake Champlain, and made a stand at Mount Independence, opposite and in sight of Ticonderoga, where I was appointed Ensign, a few days after the Declaration of Independence, in the Second regiment. The four New Jersey regiments were raised for one year, and were discharged in December, 1776.

Capt. Anderson left me with Samuel Shute at Skenesborough contrary to promise, and took the most of my money. Samuel and I had to go on foot by ourselves to Albany; from that place we went in a vessel to New York. The British fleet had arrived near Sandy Hook a short time before, and we could see their masts, which appeared like a forest of dead trees. We went on foot from New York through Elizabethtown, Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton and Bristol. I crossed over the Delaware to Burlington, and stayed a few days with my grandmother; then went to Philadelphia, and went to school, and continued at school until the Jersey troops were discharged.

I then was appointed first Ensign in the Second Regiment, my recruiting warrant was dated the 26th of December, 1776. Wm. Maxwell was appointed Brigadier Genl, and my father commissioned Colonel of the Second Regi-

ment. Three new regiments were ordered to be raised; Col. Ogden commanded the First, Col. Shreve the Second and Col. Dayton the Third. The new regiments were organized and mustered the first of February, 1777.

The enemy having been driven out of New Jersey, except at Brunswick and Amboy, Gen. Maxwell was appointed to command the New Jersey Brigade, consisting of the three regiments, and ordered to watch them at Brunswick, and to be on the lines between Elizabethtown, Newark and New York. The enemy came out from Brunswick and had an engagement with our regiment at the Short Hills; we lost Captain Ephraim Anderson, killed.

I was appointed Lieutenant the 1st of July. I was taken sick with a fever, and went to Col. John Olds, twelve miles east of the town of Reading, in Pennsylvania, where my father's family were residing after the enemy had overrun New Jersey. I was very low with the fever for several weeks. When I was well enough to ride out, Col. Olds took me to several harvest fields, where a dozen or more women were reaping and securing the wheat, and not a man with them; their fathers, husbands, brothers were at camp with General Washington, watching the movements of the enemy.

The British had embarked in their fleet, and were manœuvring on the coast between Boston and the Chesapeake, with the intention of baffling Gen. Washington, and keeping the American Army scattered from Boston to Philadelphia. They then sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, and landed their

army at the head of Elk. I had by this time recovered my health and joined my regiment, which was on the march. We passed through the cities of Philadelphia and Wilmington, and halted and prepared to meet the enemy within two miles of the town of Newport, where the British army lay: this was on the 10th of September, 1777. The enemy moved in the evening, not to attack us where we were, but to get round our right flank. Washington perceiving their intent, moved our army in the night, and we crossed the River Brandywine at daylight the next morning, the most of our army fording at Chads'-ford; but Gen. Stirling's division, composed of Gen. Maxwell's brigade of New Jersey troops, and Gen. Conway's brigade of Pennsylvania troops, crossed at Brinton's ford, about two miles above, when we, in sight of the ford, laid on the leaves in the woods in a line on our arms to rest and wait for orders.

About ten o'clock a messenger came with the information that the main British army was on the road leading to Jeffrey's ford, about three miles above Brinton's, and that part of their army had been ordered to proceed to Chads'-ford, and to make a feint of crossing at that place to keep our army there, while they made a landing above. Upon this Washington ordered Gen. Stirling's division to go up and hold the enemy at Jeffrey's ford as long as possible, while he recrossed the river and attacked that part of their army that was sent there. Two brigades had recrossed, and the rest of our army was on the move to join them, when another messenger came and said the British troops that were

seen on their march for Jeffrey's ford were only a small party sent up to draw up and divide our army, so that the main British army could easily force their way over at Chads'-ford. Washington thinking the two Brigades that had recrossed would be in great danger, ordered them back, and directed Stirling's Division to halt for further orders. In less than one hour the third messenger came and said the main British army had actually crossed above, and were on their march down the river on the East side. Gen. Stirling was ordered up to meet them; on going half a mile we met them at Birmingham Meeting House, two miles below where they crossed. It was supposed by many of our officers that the second messenger was in the British interest, and gave that information to divide the American army and give the enemy the advantage, which proved to be the case. The enemy outnumbering us four to one, turned our right flank and broke us off platoon after platoon. When we had to give way, the enemy in our front was so much cut up they did not follow us. We got off all our wounded, the enemy put theirs in the Meeting House, and remained there the next day to bury the dead. Two men, Jeremiah McMahan and Ezekiel Jobs, were severely wounded near me; they both recovered. My father was also severely wounded in the thigh. I took him that night from the battle ground to near the town of Darby, where we stayed until morning, then through Philadelphia to one of my uncles in New Jersey. When we stopped to dress his wound, and unbuttoned his breeches at the knee, the bullet, which had been flattened on

one side by striking the bone, rolled down on his boot. I believe one of my sisters has it now. On our retreat we met a Virginian division coming to assist us, but it was too late; I believe they were not engaged with the enemy that day. This account of the battle at Brandywine does not agree with some statements written of that engagement, but what I have written respecting it I believe to be true. There was harder fighting at Chads'-ford, where Gen. La Fayette was wounded. The American army being scattered, the enemy had the advantage.

After they obtained possession of Philadelphia, I went with my father to Reading in Pennsylvania. I joined the regiment at White Marsh a short time after the battle at Germantown. Our brigade was ordered to cross the river at Schuylkil, and break up a redoubt the Hessians were building near Gray's ferry, opposite Philadelphia. We were ordered to attack the fort on three sides at once, North, South and West; I had the middle forlorn hope on the West; they, hearing we were coming to attack them, left the fort and crossed over the Schuylkil River to Philadelphia. On our return we heard the explosion and saw fragments flying in the air of the British ship of war which blew up near Mud Island Fort. We then went into winter quarters, and built log huts at Valley Forge, where the whole army suffered for want of provision and clothes. I was sent with a scout of 26 men on a very cold night; the ground had been very muddy, and having frozen suddenly, was very rough, there was not a pair of shoes in the detachment;

blankets were cut up and put around the feet of some of the men, but soon were worn out so that their feet came to the ground, and they could be tracked by the blood. We came to a farmhouse about 10 or 11 o'clock about 15 minutes after an English scout had left the house; the men of the house were away, the women said if we stayed the English, they were afraid, would return and kill us. I told her we came to meet them if they were out, and were not afraid of them. I let the men lay in the fresh straw in the barnyard near an hour to rest themselves. I told the woman I wanted her to give the men some bread and milk that the English had left.

She with reluctance gave each of them some. She would not tell where the men belonging to the house were. I expect they were gone to the city with provisions to market. She appeared to me to be in the British interest, as no one called or known to be a Whig would stay and live so near the British army, as the Tories, who were worse than the English, would butcher them. We followed the road from this farmhouse to the river, then up the river road to our encampment at Valley Forge, where we arrived a little after daylight.

My father had now recovered sufficiently to join his regiment. After we received a partial supply of clothing, my father was ordered to take his regiment across the River Delaware and make a stand at Haddonfield, about seven miles from Philadelphia, to watch the enemy and prevent them getting any supplies from that side of the river. The English could not remain in that city much longer, unless they should get supplies

from the country. Our patrols stopped a great quantity of provisions going to the British.

General Washington and Congress were trying to increase the army that he could prevent the enemy from returning to New York, and they were becoming uneasy in their situation, as our army was getting fairly supplied with clothing.

I have thought of an occurrence which happened on the 11th of September, 1777, the day of the battle at the Brandywine. In the morning of that day of the battle a division of the enemy came near Brinton's ford while we lay in the woods near the ford; they discovered us, and fired several bombshells at us, which burst in the tree tops near where we were. As we had been marching four or five days and all one night, some of our officers obtained a pig, with the intention of barbecuing it, that we might have one good meal, as we expected hard work before night. When the messenger came at about ten o'clock (as I mentioned before), informing us that the main body of the enemy was on the road to Jeffrey's ford, we expected to be ordered soon to meet them; the roasting pig was examined, it was yet quite raw, we cut off slices and roasted them before the fire. But Captain Stout of our regiment could not eat any; he was asked if the enemy's bombshells that burst over our heads had taken away his appetite. He replied: "No, gentlemen, you know me better than that, but since I came to this ground I am satisfied that I shall not eat another mouthful or see the light of another day, but you will see

that I will do my duty as well as any of you." After we met the enemy and the engagement commenced, a cannon ball went through Captain Stout and through a Sergeant that stood behind him and killed both of them. This I know to be truth—I heard that a Captain Ashton of the British army told this story after that battle was over. When they were marching down on the east side of the river Brandywine from Jeffrey's ford and in view of the Birmingham Meeting House, Captain Piercy of the British army said that the scenery before him was as familiar to him as the scenery at his native place in Northumberland (in England); it had come before him at the twilight and in his slumbers over and over again, and added, "I know I am to die here." The battle soon commenced, and Captain Piercy received a mortal wound; he was taken to the Meeting House, and died before night in the presence of Capt. Ashton. The British buried the next day Colonel Gordon and Capt. Piercy of the English army and Capt. Stout of the American army in one grave.

Finding the enemy in Philadelphia were preparing for a move, Gen. Washington sent Gen. Maxwell with the rest of his Brigade to join us. While he prepared our army to move after or to meet them, Maxwell came to Mount Holly, where my father joined him. Maxwell was informed that the enemy was fitting out an expedition to plunder the inhabitants between the mouth of Rancocas River and the city of Burlington before they left Philadelphia, and sent me with twenty-six men to pass down Rancocas to the Delaware,

then up to Dunk's ferry, and try to stop them if they came. I patrolled all the night, but they did not come, and I returned through Burlington to Mount Holly the next morning and joined the regiment. The enemy soon after crossed their whole army over the Delaware at Philadelphia, and began their march toward New York. When they approached near Mount Holly I was sent off with the baggage of the Brigade (I believe in six wagons) to pass through Bordentown and Trenton, then on the road towards Princeton, there wait at the Red Barracks until the enemy had passed Allentown towards Monmouth Court House, as it appeared they would take that road. Gen. Washington was on his march and crossing the River Delaware at Howell's and Creell's ferry above Trenton with his main army. When he with the army crossed the road leading from Trenton to Princeton towards Monmouth Court House, I followed him with the baggage that I had under my care, and stopped at Englishtown, a small village three miles north of the Court House. General Washington met the enemy near the Court House, where he had a general engagement with them. The British left the field of battle and retired to their former encampment; Washington kept his ground, he had planned the action well, and if General Lee had obeyed and executed his orders, Washington would in all probability have destroyed and taken the most, if not all of the enemy at that place. This action occurred on the 27th of June, 1778. After the battle the British left their dead and the most of their wounded on the battle ground,

and took their flight in the night. Gen. Washington lay wrapped in his cloak under a tree with his troops on the battle ground all night, waiting for light to renew the engagement, but the enemy had fled. The day of the action was so exceedingly hot that many soldiers of both armies fell dead from the great heat and the want of water. Lee, was for disobedience of orders, deprived of his command and sent home. The day after the battle I joined the Brigade with the baggage. After I reached the battle ground I halted at a Presbyterian Meeting House and barn, both filled with wounded men of the American and English; the surgeons of both armies (the enemy had left several), after having been twenty-four hours dressing the wounded, had not got through. After the dead were buried we remained a few days to refresh the men. The enemy had got so near to Sandy Hook they were protected by their shipping, and as our men were much fatigued it was not proper to follow them with the whole army.

The enemy in a few days reached New York. Our army then went to the west and north of New York, the New Jersey Brigade, commanded by Gen. Wm. Maxwell, took our former station between Amboy, through Woodbridge, Elizabethtown and Newark, where we remained through the summer, the following winter and the forepart of the summer of 1779. We had many skirmishes with the enemy during this time; they at one time came in force and burnt the barracks at Elizabethtown, and in June their Gen. Knyphausen, with about eight thousand troops, passed about

seven miles into the country, and burnt a little village called Connecticut-farms ; after plundering the inhabitants and killing the wife of Parson Colwell and burning his house near Springfield, they returned to Elizabethtown, losing many men, killed and wounded, and sergeant, corporal and twelve men taken prisoners. I had the Camp Guard with twelve Tories confined, and Gen. Maxwell sent me to Chatham, a village three miles west of Springfield, with the Tories and the English prisoners, where I remained about a week, and then took them to Morristown, put them in jail, and joined the regiment on the lines near where General Knyphausen lay at Elizabethtown.

After the British Gen. Clinton arrived at New York from Charlestown in South Carolina with troops, Gen. Knyphausen, being reinforced, came out with nine or ten thousand men to destroy our stores at Morristown. Maxwell had but about fifteen hundred men, but the militia and Gen. Green with troops came to our assistance. My father's regiment, with Col. Angel's regiment of Rhode Island troops, contended with the enemy at the bridge east of the town of Springfield ; after their pioneers had relaid the bridge and crossed over, we were forced to retire to the bridge west a quarter of a mile, of the town and in fair view of it, where we met Gen. Greene and several thousand militia. The enemy burnt all the town, but two or three houses belonging to Tories, and retreated rapidly to Elizabethtown and crossed over to Staten Island. We followed them, but no engagement was brought on. The inhabitants residing on the road said

they had thirty wagons on their retreat, all filled with their dead and wounded. I know they left some of their dead in Springfield. I lost one man killed within two steps of me in my platoon, and received a slight wound in one of my legs; this engagement took place on the 27th of June, 1779. We continued in that neighborhood until the latter end of August, when we were ordered to march to the Susquehanna and join Gen. Sullivan, who had been ordered to chastise the Indians and Tories who massacred the inhabitants on the Susquehanna the year before. We arrived at Wyoming (now Wilkesbarre) in September, then proceeded up the river to the mouth of the Chemung branch, where the town of Athens now is. At Wyoming we were joined by troops that came up the river that from Northumberland, and by troops came down the river from the state of New York. While we waited here for the latter troops our Brigade marched up the river Chemung twelve miles in the night to an Indian town by that name ; we arrived at daylight. The Indians laid in ambush, and killed one of our men by my side (he touched me when he fell) and wounded several, one of them died. We knew of but one Indian killed ; we burnt their town (ten or twelve houses), cut down several acres of good corn, and returned down the river, carrying corn, pumpkins, garden truck and the dead and wounded men in several boats that we had taken up the river, and arrived at our encampment in the afternoon. After remaining here a few days, my father was ordered with a detachment to build a stockade fort at a place about two or three miles

up the two rivers, Susquehanna and Chemung, where they pass each other within about one hundred yards. I was left with this detachment. The fort was called Fort Sullivan ; it was nearly four square, about 90 yards one way and a little under the other way, and was built by digging a trench  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep, and placing upright logs in the trench about twelve feet high, leaving two or three gateways. After leaving the heavy baggage and the woman that belonged to the camp, Gen. Sullivan marched up the Chemung River to the Indian settlement in the northwest part of New York State, called Genesee country, inhabited by several tribes of Indians and tory white men, who were under the influence of the English, and hired by the British Government to burn the property and kill the American men, women and children, by offering a reward for all the scalps they could take ; our army killed some of them and lost several men in several skirmishes, burnt their town and destroyed their corn and other property, but could not bring the Indians and tories to a general engagement ; the British had troops with the Indians. After destroying all that could be found, our army returned to Fort Sullivan ; we left the Fort and passed down the River to Wyoming the last of October. We kept the boats in order until their return. I had four boats under my care going up and steered one of them. Our Brigade then crossed the great swamps at the head of the Lehigh River, a branch of the Delaware, marched through Easton, and passed the winter near Morrirstown in New Jersey.

I got leave of absence, and went to

school about two months and boarded at my uncle's, Thomas Curtis, in Burlington County. I joined the regiment before the opening of the campaign in the spring of 1780. We then took our former station on the lines, and had frequent skirmishes with the British on Staten Island at Strawberry Hill, Ash Swamp, Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, Newark, Passaic and in Bergen, and passed the summer of 1780 in that way. When the enemy sent a twenty gun ship up the River Hudson, conveying their Adjutant General John Andre (the spy), she came to anchor at the head of Tappan Bay, about seven miles below West Point ; Andre landed, had an interview with Major General Benedict Arnold, who conducted him to West Point Forts, and gave him a plan of the forts and public works. When the ship took her station so near the highlands and so near the Fort, the New Jersey Brigade was ordered up the river to the little village of Orangetown near the river ; here we met Gen. Greene with several Brigades of New England troops. I was ordered with a sergeant, corporal and twenty-four privates to take a stand on the west bank of the bay, nearly opposite where the ship lay, and watch her motions, and prevent her having intercourse with the shore on that side of the river. I was then about three miles above Orangetown, and was to remain there one week unless sooner recalled ; after being there a few days, I saw a barge, with four oarsmen and two men sitting in the stern sheets, rowed to the ship ; she immediately weighed anchor, made sail and passed down the river, with a full band of music playing ; be-

fore she got out of sight another boat came out of the narrows from West Point, rowed by four men, and with two sitting in the stern; she passed on by me and landed at the mouth of a small stream called the Slote, which comes down from Orangetown. She was the guard boat from West Point, commanded by Lieutenant Joseph Edes, with information to General Greene that Major John Andre, the Adjutant General of the British Army, a spy, had been taken on a horse within a short distance of the British lines, with a plan of the forts and works in the handwriting of the traitor Gen. Benedict Arnold; Major Andre gave his name as John Anderson, and had a pass from Arnold with that name. He was taken by three militia men, and conveyed to an American officer at an outpost, who suffered him to write a letter to Arnold, under the name of John Anderson, informing him that he was taken prisoner; and it was the traitor Gen. Benedict Arnold that I saw making his escape to the British ship. I was then recalled, and joined the regiment; General Washington returned at that time from Rhode Island, where he had an interview with the French Admiral De Grasse. Gen. Washington then sent the spy, Major John Andre, to Orangetown to Gen. Greene, and called on the Governor of the State of New York for the militia to keep possession of West Point, not knowing the extent of the conspiracy among the troops that Gen. Arnold had under his command. Washington sent them to Gen. Greene, and followed himself as soon as he had made preparations to repair the breaches that Arnold had

made in several of the fortifications while the spy John Andre was there; his excuse for this being that he wanted to make alterations for their better security. After Gen. Washington arrived at Orangetown, where the greatest part of our army was collected to resist an expected attack of the British upon West Point, he ordered a Court Martial of general officers to try Major Andre; they pronounced him a spy, and sentenced him to be hanged. General Washington approved the sentence, and appointed a day for its execution. The prisoner was guarded by a Captain, two subalterns and sixty privates. I was not on duty the day of execution, and when the guard moved from the place of confinement with the prisoner, I joined them: we passed to the north to a cross street, then wheeled to the west, which brought us in view of the gallows and of a great number of citizens and soldiers collected to see the execution. Andre did not appear to be in the least confused, and was in a familiar conversation with the Captain and one of the other officers of the guard—one walking on each side of him between the two platoons formed of the guard. On looking forward and seeing the gallows, Andre broke off from conversation and said, "I am fully reconciled to my fate, but am disappointed in the mode;" he had petitioned Washington to be allowed to die like a soldier, he could not bear the idea of dying on a gibbet; he then recommenced conversation. When we arrived at the place of execution my father had the command of the detachment that formed a square around the gallows to keep off the crowd, and



opened to the right and left to let us through; there was a wagon standing under the gallows with a coffin in it, and Andre stepped up into it. Gen. Parsons of our Army was officer of the day; he rode near and read the sentence of the Court Martial against him, and looking at his watch said, "Major Andre, you have fifteen minutes to live, if you anything to say, you can say it." Andre replied, "I have nothing to say, but this is for you to bear witness that I meet my fate like a brave man." He then took two white handkerchiefs out of his pocket, pulled off his scarlet coat and handed it to his servant, telling him to put it in his trunk. The man obeyed, going to the house where the trunk was, the tears running down his cheeks as he went. The wagon moved to let Andre swing clear; I have seen several men hung, but he flounced about more than any one I ever saw. When dead he was taken down, put in the coffin and driven under an escort to the landing place at the river, where a boat belonging to the enemy was waiting by permission, and took the corpse of Major Andre to New York City, and arrived with it at the British camp before midnight. His body was not buried under or near the gallows, as some historians have asserted. Within a few days after the execution of the spy the New Jersey Brigade, under General Wm. Maxwell, marched to West Point and relieved the New York Militia; they had repaired the breaches that the traitor Arnold had caused to be made in the fortifications. My father was ordered with the Second New Jersey Regiment to go down near the lines of the

enemy on the east side of the River to protect a brigade of wagons that went down to bring up a quantity of forage that it was supposed the inhabitants were preparing to take to the enemy in the city of New York. I had the Piquet Guard the night we laid nearest the enemy; the wagons were loaded and moved on their return; we followed and came up to them before night, halted, put out a guard and laid down in a line on the long grass in a meadow that had not been cut. We had been marching three days and having no sleep the night before, as I had the advance guard, I slept all night. When waked to march after the wagons that had been driven all night, I found myself covered with snow, and did not know that it had been falling.

The next evening we reached West Point. The British came out after us, but I suppose the snow storm stopped them, as they did not come up with us. After remaining at West Point a few days, we were relieved by the other troops, and returned to our former station at and above Newark and Elizabethtown. General Washington, preparing to drive the Enemy from the city of New York, had collected about sixteen thousand troops for that purpose within twenty-five miles of the city, but our purchasing commissaries failing to bring on provisions, we were for several days without anything to eat but damaged salt pork, and but half allowance of that; for two days without even that. Washington knowing soldiers could not be kept idle in camp without anything to eat, marched the army down the river towards the enemy's lines, where there

were no inhabitants but those in the British interest, for if any of the inhabitants must be plundered, those should suffer who had for years been supplying New York with all the provisions they could procure. After we halted in the evening, one man in the company that I commanded asked liberty of me to go and see a friend who lived in the neighborhood; saying he had not seen him for some time, and that he would return before nine o'clock. I promised to excuse him at roll-call. He returned about eight o'clock, and gave my cook several pounds of excellent beef without saying how he got it. After provisions arrived at our former camp, our army returned to our former place of encampment, and the man who gave me the beef told me that he and another soldier saw two men killing a steer, they supposed, to take to the enemy; he told the men they were butchers also and would help them to skin the steer; they each took a slice and returned to camp. I suppose that was the friend he wanted to see. While our army had to wait for provisions, the enemy by calling in their outposts strengthened their position in New York, and this I suppose was the reason our army did not attack them.

After manœuvring and fighting several years, the two armies, our own and the enemy, went into winter quarters nearly on the same ground they occupied two years before. Our Brigade went into winter quarters by building huts at Mendham, near Raritan River, between Brunswick and Springfield. In the latter part of winter the Pennsylvania troops revolted. When they rose, the

commissioned officers opposing them, the rioters killed a lieutenant, and left their encampment and took up their quarters in Princetown. The enemy thought to persuade them to join the British army by offering to commission officers of their own appointment, and sent spies to negotiate with them; and to the honor of the revolters they said, their attachment to the cause of liberty was as strong as ever, and sent the spies to General Washington for trial, saying if the enemy sent an army to persuade them to join the British, they would fight them to the last man under their own officers. The Legislature of Pennsylvania sent commissioners to ascertain their grievances; they said it was the want of pay and good clothing. The commissioners, with the commissioned officers of their regiment, satisfied them, and they returned to duty. Towards spring the New Jersey troops revolted also. The Legislature sent commissioners, who, together with my father, prevailed with them to return to their quarters, and if to their duty, promising that they should not suffer, and that the State would see that they should be supplied with pay and clothing. The revolters did return to their quarters, but the most of them refused to be subordinate to their officers. General Washington was determined to make an example of some of them, and had the leaders of the three regiments tried for their conduct. Two sergeants were condemned and shot, one of the First and the other of the Third Regiment. My father got the leaders of his regiment (the Second) clear.

Many of the men had enlisted to serve three years or during the war, but neither was designated. Some who had served three years claimed the privilege of leaving the service, and were discharged. The number of men being reduced, Congress ordered the men of one of the three New Jersey regiments to be distributed between the other two. My father being very fleshy, weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, left the service on half pay, and he thought, on account of the situation of our family, I had better leave the army also, as he had no available property left, not even being able to obtain what was due him from the Government. I left the army as he did. We rented a farm, and worked to support ourselves and the family. The same summer the capture of the British General Cornwallis and his army put an end to the war. That was the only engagement the New Jersey troops were in after I left the regiment.

The foregoing is not intended as a history of the Revolution, but merely as an account of the manner in which I passed the most of my time while I was in the army. I was in my minority the whole of the time, being but twenty-one years old at the close of that war.

I have written the foregoing narrative or statement, more than seventy years after the close of that war, from memory in the ninety-second year of my age, and without spectacles. Therefore I must be excused, as I cannot well transcribe and correct it, in letting it go as it is.

JOHN SHREVE

Near Salem, Ohio, Nov., 1853

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF JOHN SHREVE

*Near Salem, Ohio, Jan. 16th, 1854*

\* \* \* I thought I would mention a few occurrences, that I now recollect, that were omitted from my narrative.

Shortly after the battle of Lexington, when the British troops went from Boston to take possession of the military stores belonging to the then province of Massachusetts, the militia in the county where my father resided began to organize; they met at least once a week to learn military discipline, and elected my father Colonel of the battalion in the year 1774; and in the year 1775, shortly after the battle of Bunker Hill he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel in the regular service.

I will now mention what I understood from the conversation among the officers of our brigade concerning General Lee.

I believe it was before the British army took possession of Philadelphia, General Lee, with but one of his aids-de-camp, went to spend the day and dine with an acquaintance near the British lines; while at dinner a troop of British light-horse surrounded the house and took Lee prisoner. Washington had many captains and lieutenants prisoners that he took at Trenton and Princeton, but the British commander refused to exchange Lee unless Washington had one of the same rank. An American officer, who was acquainted in Rhode Island, knew where a British general quartered in that island, and procured a whale-boat and competent


men, who were used to row in rough water, and with a suitable number of chosen men, put out in the bay, and passed with muffled oars through the British fleet that was anchored near the Island, landed on the Island, took the sentinel prisoner, captured the General and pulled him out of bed, hurried him to the boat, and returned through the enemy's fleet in safety and landed with the prisoner on the Connecticut shore. Washington exchanged him for Lee shortly before the enemy left the city of Philadelphia.

After they left the city Washington came up to them at Monmouth Court-House. When the British General called a council of war some of the German troops opposed the risking a general battle; they were sent as a guard for their baggage to the forks of the roads, one leading to Middletown point and Sandy Hook, the other to Amboy—Washington called a council of war, General Lee opposed risking a general engagement, saying, British troops could not be conquered. All the others of the council, I believe, excepting one, whose name I have forgotten, were in favor of a general action. Washington then gave the officers the plan of attack. Lee, with his division of Virginians and one other division, the New Jersey brigade with them, was ordered to attack the rear-guard of the enemy on the west, and press on them and bring the main army to their assistance, not to retire until they drove him by force, and then he, Washington, with the main army, would march in between the British army and their baggage. As soon as the general action commenced General

Morgan, with his riflemen and our militia, were ordered to attack the Hessians and drive the baggage towards the town of Cranberry.

Lee disobeyed the orders, and suffered the English rear-guard, with not half the number of men that Lee had, to drive him. The British general then knew that Washington was not there, he went out north and met Washington late in the afternoon. After being engaged near half an hour the enemy retreated, and left their dead and wounded on the field. Washington sent his aid-de-camp three times to know why Lee did not press on the enemy. Lee said, "tell the General I am doing well enough." My father heard him say it. Washington called a court of inquiry on proof that Lee disobeyed general orders; he was suspended from his command for one year. The officers of our brigade knew he disobeyed orders, and some of them thought he was a traitor, but it could not be proven.

About the time Major Andre, the British spy, was brought a prisoner to the American camp General Washington was to have returned from Rhode Island to West Point, and it was reported in camp among our officers that one or two tories, having men in disguise, lay in ambush to surprise Washington, and convey him to the British ship that Andre came up in, and traitor General Arnold made his escape to, and she was detained for that purpose. As soon as Andre would have arrived in New York the British ships were ready to ascend the river with troops and take possession of West Point fort. Andre being taken the plan was broken up. After Andre was



sentenced to be hung, I was told that he sent two or three notes, requesting an interview with the General, who declined to see him. If Washington had gone to see him, what would have been the consequences, as they were both Free-Masons?

Twenty-two years after General Arnold had made his escape I chartered a vessel at New Orleans to take flour to the West Indies. On the passage I found the captain of the vessel to be the same Lieutenant Edes that commanded the guard boat that followed traitor Arnold from West Point fort, and took the information of Andre being captured and Arnold's escape to General Greene at Orangetown. Captain Edes told me he could have taken General Arnold, but he thought it best to let him go. Were they not both Free Masons? Arnold certainly had some one or more that aided in the conspiracy.

After our brigade relieved the New York Militia at West Point, it was discovered that several of the cartridges prepared for the cannon in each fort had two or three inches of ashes in the lower end to prevent the fire from the tube igniting the powder.

**SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.**—Mr. Shreve was wounded at the battle of Springfield, N. J., receiving a buckshot in one of his legs, which he carried to the day of his death. While the army was entering at Valley Forge, the soldierly bearing, bravery and intelligence of this lad, then only 14 years of age, shown in the different scouting expeditions sent out under his command, so won the admiration of a number of ladies then visit-

ing the army, among them an English lady, Miss Claypole, ardently devoted to the American cause, that, with the approbation of General Washington, they presented him with an exceedingly beautiful and valuable buckle, set with precious stones, for his sword belt. This buckle is now in the possession of one of his granddaughters, to whom he gave it with the warning—"Don't let it fall into disloyal hands."

Mr. Shreve married in 1786 Abigail, daughter of Solomon and Mary Ridgway, of Burlington county, N. J., and in 1788 moved to the western part of Pennsylvania, where he purchased a farm. In addition to farming, he was also engaged in the "Mississippi Trade." He purchased large quantities of flour on the Monongahela River, and floating it down the Ohio and Mississippi in flat boats to New Orleans, shipped it thence to the West Indies, where he exchanged it for sugar, coffee and other productions of these islands, which he brought to New York for a market.

It was while living in Pennsylvania that in 1824 he met his old comrade in arms, Lafayette. They had been warm friends in the army, both being very young, and had a peculiar salute which they gave each other whenever they met. When the boat carrying Lafayette touched at Brownsville, the usual speeches and receptions awaited the distinguished visitor, who received them with great calmness until, noticing a tall figure in the crowd, he at once recognized it, gave the old familiar salute and held out both arms to embrace his old friend.

In one of his visits to the east, in Nov-

ember, 1796, Mr. Shreve dined for the last time with General and Lady Washington, the latter calling his attention to the dinner service, which had been presented to her husband by the Society of Cincinnati. This, with the breakfast and tea sets, comprised a thousand pieces. It was manufactured in China, and the ornamentation was in blue and gold. Each piece had upon it the coat of arms of the society held by Fame, and the eagle of the order. Mr. Shreve was a member of the society.

During his residence in Pennsylvania he was for many years an active member of the State Legislature, and filled various offices with credit to himself and advantage to the public. About the year 1825, his children having removed to Ohio, he went to that State, and made his home with them until his death, which occurred September 8, 1854, in the ninety-third year of his age.

In closing a biographical sketch of Mr Shreve, the Democratic Transcript of Ohio, of October 11, 1854, said :

"He was a man of vigorous intellect and strong memory; he was benevolent to a fault, and often contributed to relieve the wants of others beyond what his own necessities would strictly justify. He was an ardent friend of freedom—strongly devoted to the principles of liberty, for which he had fought and bled under Washington. We have thus noticed concisely as possible a few of the leading incidents in the life of one who served his country, both in peace and war, with a faithfulness that won the approbation of such men as Washington and Lafayette and the community in

which he resided. To his posterity he has left the inheritance of an unsullied reputation, of greater worth than the gold of California."

S. H. SHREVE.

## NOTES

THE FIRST NATIONAL SALUTE GIVEN TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—Prior to 1876, when a more correct account of the historical facts was presented by the Hon. James Birney, U. S. Minister of Legation at the Hague, the common opinion had been that the first salute was given by a French Admiral on the 14th February, 1778. But the facts set forth by that distinguished gentleman, in an article from his pen, which was published at Concord, State of New Hampshire, and printed by the Republican Press Association—as we have recently learned—show that the flag was first formally saluted by the Governor of St. Eustatius, a Dutch island of the West Indies. The former opinion is said to have been derived through Commodore Preble, from the Diary of Dr. Ezra Green. But a fuller development of this matter may probably soon appear. W. H.

ERSKINE.—Robert Erskine, who was sent out to Ringwood, N. J., by the London Company to superintend their Iron Mines in 1772, was "Geographer and Surveyor General to the Army of the United States," as his monument erected at Ringwood by order of Washington, says : He died October 2, 1780, aged 45 years, and left behind him a

charming and accomplished widow. The Marquis de Chastellux stopped at Ringwood December 19, 1780, and called on Mrs. Erskine. He says: "I entered a very handsome house where everybody was in mourning, Mr. Erskine being dead two months before. Mrs. Erskine, his widow, is about forty, and did not appear the less fresh or tranquil for her misfortune." (*N'en avait pas l'air moins frais et moins tranquille.*) In the Secretary of State's office at Trenton, N. J., there is filed the marriage bond of Robert Lettice Hooper, Jr., and Elizabeth Erskine, dated October 13, 1781—a year and eleven days after the death of her husband. She doubtless found it difficult to manage the extensive works at Ringwood alone, and Mr. Hooper appears to have been willing to assist her. On May 31, 1782, in the Council, as the upper branch of the New Jersey Legislature was then called, "a petition from Colonel Robert Hooper praying to have leave to bring in a Bill for securing the estate and appurtenances lately in the possession of Mr. Erskine in the management and care of the said Mr. Hooper and his wife, late Mrs. Erskine, and the survivor of them subject to such settlements, payments and conditions as shall be thought proper, was read and granted." On June 7 following "Mr. Cox, on behalf of Robert Lettice Hooper, Jr., brought in a bill pursuant to leave, entitled 'an act to vest Robert Lettice Hooper, the younger, and Elizabeth, his wife, and the survivor of them, with powers of agency to take charge of and manage the estate of the *American Company*, commonly so called, in the counties of Bergen and Morris

and elsewhere, in this State, for the purposes mentioned therein.'" The bill passed the Council on June 11th, and the Assembly on the 20th.

WM. NELSON.

*Paterson, N. J.*

NICHOLAS HERKIMER.—But four autographs of General Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of the Oriskany battle in 1777, are known to be in existence. One of these is owned by M. M. Jones, of Utica; one by Hon. Samuel Earl, of Herkimer; a third by a gentleman in Buffalo; and a fourth by the Oneida Historical Society at Utica. The latter is such a unique document, and sheds so suggestive a light upon the character of the education possessed by General Herkimer, and upon the strange and mongrel Dutch-English language which was in current use in the Mohawk Valley during the revolution, and traces of which are still found there, that I have made a transcript of it for *The Magazine of American History*.

[COPY]

ser yú will order your bode!lgen do mercks immiedeetleh do ford eduard wid for das profiesen and amonieschen fied for an betell. dis jú will dú ben yúr berrell foram frind

Nicolas herchkeimer  
to carnell pieder bellinger  
ad de flats  
ocdober 18, 1776.

Mr. Matthew D. Bagg translates this curious order as follows:

Sir:—You will order your battalion to march immediately to Fort Edward,

with four days' provisions and ammunition fit for one battle. This you will disobey (at) your peril.

From (your) friend,

Nicholas Herkimer.

To Colonel Peter Bellinger, at the flats.

The order is written in a bold but blind hand, with no punctuation marks, and no capital letters except where indicated above.

The Colonel Peter Bellinger to whom this peremptory order was addressed was the colonel of one of the four regiments of Tryon County militia, and participated with his command in the battle of Oriskany. He was captured in that battle; and on the same night was compelled by Colonel St. Leger, together with Major Frey, who was also captured, to address a note to Colonel Gansevoort, commanding at Fort Stanwix, greatly exaggerating the disaster of Oriskany and counselling a surrender of the fort. General Herkimer undoubtedly knew how to spell his own name; and while the abbreviated form is well enough, in connection with the county christened in his honor, does not the fidelity of history require us, in speaking of the hero of Oriskany, to spell it Herchkeimer?

*Utica.*

S. N. D. NORTH.

INTRODUCTION OF CAMELS IN AMERICA.—A pamphlet of eight pages (anonymous) was printed in Cuba in 1831, entitled, "Memoria sobre las inmensas ventajas que resultarian de introducir y generalizar en esta isla el uso de los Camellos."

J. C. B.

## QUERIES

HAVRE DE GRACE.—In the Journal of Count de Fersen (Mag. Am. Hist. III. 438), he mentions the fact that when they arrived at the head of Chesapeake Bay, Aug. 6, 1781, they learned that Count de Grasse had arrived in the Chesapeake on the 3d.

Is not *Havre de Grace* named for this de Grasse, and should it not read Havre de Grasse, instead of Havre de Grace? The local pronunciation of the last name is always as if it were spelled *grass*, I believe. Can any one throw light upon the question?

R. S. ROBERTSON.

*Fort Wayne, Indiana.*

THE GAME OF BOSTON.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine give any information as to the origin of the game of cards called "Boston?" It is a comparatively insignificant matter but it is astonishing how little that is definite is recorded concerning the point in books of reference. My view is and I have seen it somewhere in print that it originated with the French officers on board the fleet which blockaded Boston harbor, and I want to substantiate or refute that idea. The terms used in the game are French, viz., Grande Misère; Petite Misère; Grande Misère ouverte; Petite Misère ouverte, &c. There are islands in Boston harbor, about Salem, and other places perhaps bearing the names of Independence, Great Misery and Little Misery—all terms used in the game. The Comte de Ségur in his memoirs gives Franklin the credit of introducing it, into the Salons of Versailles, with a political sig-



nificance; others connect it with the seige of Boston as originally American in origin, and the terms translated into French by Franklin, its *Miseries* and *Independence* relating to the phases of the seige. Later writers are in danger of obscuring its historical significance by calling it *Boast-on* and imply that it is of much older date. Larousse and Littré both refer to it in their dictionaries but not satisfactorily. Why could not Franklin have learned the game from the French officers and played it in France? W. L.

*Washington.*

THE TUTELOS.—The Shawanoes or Shawnees, now inhabiting a section in the northeastern part of the Indian Territory, have two names for their neighbors, the *Senecas*. A portion of the Seneca tribe, which was or is perhaps now mixed with Tutelos are called by them Tutelégi, being the plural form of Tutele, while the other portion are not called Senekagi, as could be expected, but Natuegi, the plural form of natue. A Weyandot or Huron Indian is called by them Natuésa; the Weyandot tribe Natuésgi. These names are both of Algonkin origin and are identical with the tribal name of the Nottoways and the Nadowaisi or *Sioux*; their meaning is that of *enemy* and more especially that of "sneaking fiend," "enemy creeping up stealthily," as the term is explained by Odjibwes. The Potawat'mis call a Weyandot man Notue, the Weyandot tribe Notueg, the plural form of the above and this meant *snake* in their dialect.

Through the discovery of Horatio

Hale, Esq., the Tutelos have become of great ethnologic importance. This investigator has given an unmistakable proof of their Dakota affinity by studying their language, and although his manuscript is not yet in print, and the location in which the Tutelos are first mentioned in history is far distant from the present seats of the Dakota tribes, this parentage can no longer be doubted. Tutleésa is a *proper name of man* among the Senecas in the Indian Territory, and some Tutelos may still exist there speaking their *own* language. Can anybody who lives or has lived in that neighborhood state in these columns, whether some Tutelos still exist among the Senecas there, and perhaps give their names? A. S. G.

*Providence.*

THE MAYFLOWER.—What became of the Pilgrims vessel Mayflower after it discharged its load at Salem, nine years after the landing at Plymouth.

*Hartford.*

C. D. W.

VIRGIL'S TEST OF SOILS.—Dr. Dodderidge in his *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania*, thus refers to Virgil's test of soils: "Judging from Virgil's test [*Viz.* Geo. lib. II. l. 230] of fruitful and barren soils, the greater part of this country must possess every requisite for fertility. The test is this: dig a hole of any reasonable dimensions and depth. If the earth which was taken out, when thrown lightly back into it, does not fill up the hole the soil is fruitful; but if it more than fill it up the soil is barren.

Whoever chooses to make this experiment will find the result indicative of the richness of our soil. Even our graves, notwithstanding the size of the vault, are seldom finished with the earth thrown out of them, and they soon sink below the surface of the earth."

Singular as this is I am inclined, from some experience, to think there is something in it. Can any reader of the Magazine throw any light on the subject?

I. C.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

HOLLOWAY'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON ENGRAVED.—While in London three years ago, a dealer in old books, &c., presented me with a line engraving of Washington—the only one of the kind I have seen. It may be very rare, rare or common so far as I know. The whole picture is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The portrait of Washington is in an oval (engraved) frame  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches. Underneath is a view  $1\frac{3}{4}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. inscribed "Event of the 19th of Oct'r, 1781, at York Town, in Virginia"—and underneath "Gen'l Washington,"—"J. Holloway Direxet." The paper and engraving are old and the likeness of Washington is very different from any I recollect of seeing before. What is known of it.

*Utica, N. Y.*

M. M. JONES.

ROCHAMBEAU.—I have heard it stated that the heirs of Count de Rochambeau some years since made application to the United States Government for a pension in recompense of his services in the Revolution. Is this true?

IULUS.

*New York.*

## REPLIES

JOHNNY CAKE.—(III, 451.) I think Col. Loudermilk and Mr. Craig are both in error concerning the origin of this name. In one of the Pennsylvania regiments of the revolution was an enlisted Indian by the name of Shawnee John. He was an adept at making corn-cake, and the name Johnny's cake was bestowed on them by the soldiers—a name which has come down to us through a century of years. There is a diary of the revolution in which this is noted, but I cannot remember where at the present writing.

W. H. E.

QUIDEN.—(III, 202-454.) This Indian name for "a ship or boat" is found in a list of "words learned of the Savages, in their language," which is appended to Rosier's Relation of Weymouth's Voyage, 1605, as printed by Purchas. These words, or most of them, belong to the Caniba dialect of the Abnaki language, the same that is represented in Rasles' Dictionary. Rasles gives "*aguiden*, canot," and "*amasur*, canot de bois." Both names are found, under dialectic variations, along the Atlantic coast, from Nova Scotia to Virginia. The former is the Micmac *kwiten* (Maillard), or *kwedun* (Rand), and the Virginian "*quintan*" and "*aquointan*" of Strachey, who tell us that the Indian boats, "which they call *quintans*, are very shapfull, made of one piece of timber," &c. (*Travaille into Virginia*, p. 68.) In Southern New England, the more common—and, so far as I know, the only—name was *mushoon*, or *m'shun*, corresponding to the Abnaki *amasur*; according to Roger Williams, "an Indian

boat, or canow, made of a pine, oak, or chestnut tree." We have other forms, in the Massachusetts *meshue*; Delaware *amochkol* (Zeisberger); Miami *missblé* (Volney), and Illinois *missouri*; all meaning "canoe."

Both these names appear to be *general*, that is, to be applicable to any canoe, whether of bark or wood, "dug out" or framed. "Quiden" or *Aguiden* is derived from an Algonkin verb meaning "to float in" or "to be supported by water;" (Chippeway *agwindé* "it floats, being partly in the water," Baraga.) The derivation of *amasur* or *m'shoon* is not ascertained. Rastes and Roger Williams agree in translating it by "a canoe of wood;" but in some dialects it was used, with or without a prefix, for a *bark* canoe; e. g. Illinois *wicwes missuri*, "canot d'écorce" (Gravier).

J. H. T.

MINOT.—(III, 378.) An Indian basket. Massachusetts, *menota* (Wood, 1634), *manoot* (Eliot); Narrag., *mundte* (R. Williams); Pequot, *munnotgh*; Abnaki, *menouté* (Rasles). Wood says, the Indian women gather "hempe and rushes . . . of which they make curious baskets: these be of all sizes from a quart to a quarter, in which they carry their luggage." (*N. E. Prospect*.) The name comes from a root meaning to carry a burden, and denotes "an instrument for carrying, or bearing." Some of these "great bags or sacks made of hempe," by the Narragansetts, would "hold five or six bushells."

Hartford, Conn.

J. H. T.

—Boyer's Dictionaire Royal, printed

in 1729, gives the word *minot*, measure containing half a mine; *mine*, measure containing half a sextier; sextier is not given. The revised edition of 1818 describes it as a vessel containing half a mine—a measure containing three bushels, as of salt, wheat, oats, &c.

IULUS.

—Under this word Littré, the latest French authority, says: "An ancient measure of capacity which contained the half of a *mine*, the equivalent of 39 litres. Minot flour—the kind which, intending for shipment, is packed in barrels.

*Proverb*.—We shall not eat a minot of salt together, that is, we shall not be long together.—I tell you, Sir, that I do not like such an answer and that we shall not eat a minot of salt together. *Hauteroche cocher supposé*. E. P.

—J. C. can find the word in Spier & Surrenne's French Dictionary. "Minot, n. m. (vieilli), a measure, 39 litres." A litre is 1.76 pint, a *minot* would therefore be slightly more than a bushel. Spier & Surrenne give as example: "Manger un minot de sel ensemble—to eat a peck of salt together." H. E. H.

Brownsville, Pa.

—In reply to the Query of J. C., I would say, that a "minot" is a measure equal to three of our bushels. See any French Dictionary.

CLEMENT F. SMITH.

Kokomo, Ind.

—(III, 378.) Our modern Canadians call a bushel, *un minot* or *un menot* in

their language. Originally two *menots* was *un sac*, a bag, and the *menot* was a somewhat larger measure than a bushel. But I cannot tell whether their *sac* equalled Johnson's measure of a *bag*, three bushels, or not. C. P. MAES.

*Monroe, Mich.*

MUSCIPULA.—(III, 379.) This Latin poem was written by Edward Holdsworth, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and was first published, in London, 1709. For a brief memoir of the author—an eminent scholar—see Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," vol. iii., p. 67. English translations have been made by Samuel Cobb (ob. 1713); R. Gostling (London, 1715); Dr. Edward Cobden, 1718 (published, London, 1757); R. Lewis, 1728; Dr. John Hoadly, 1737, printed in Dodsley's "Collection of Poems," vol. v, p. 258 (ed. 1758); and probably by Dr. Benjamin Young Prime, of Huntington, L. I., and New York, the author of "The Patriot Muse," and of the "other poems, in different languages, by an American," which were printed at Newburg, N. Y., in 1838, in the little volume mentioned by W. P.

The original Latin poem was reprinted, with R. Lewis's English version, at Annapolis, Md., in 1728, in a duodecimo of 52 pages, dedicated to Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, as the

"FIRST ESSAY  
Of Latin Poetry in English Dress,  
Which MARYLAND hath published from the Press."

A copy of this volume, lacking the title page, in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, was described in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. iv, p.

152, with a query as to its history, authorship and title. The title, with a reference to this description, is entered in the Am. Antiquarian Society's (Haven's) catalogue of Anti-Revolutionary Publications, under the year 1730. I have not seen a copy of the book itself, but the date of its publication is fixed, very nearly, by Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, who mentions his receipt of a copy in March, 1628-9, which was printed at Annapolis, "this year," and "one of the first things ever printed in that country" (!) See *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, p. 768, and *Notes & Queries*, 2d Ser., v., 176. J. H. T.

*Hartford, Conn.*

—Cambromyomacia, or "The Mouse-Trap." In answer to the query of "W. P." in this year's June number of the Magazine of American History, as to the authorship of this curious old "Satirico-Epic," Latin poem, we here quote a "Postscript," pasted on the last preface-page of our copy (published by Dodd, of this city, in 1840), which certainly seems to decide the matter for all time, and reads thus: "The *Presbyterian*, of Jan. 20th, 1844, contains an article headed "*Suum Cuique*," from which the following extract is made: 'The "*Muscipula*" may be found in a collection of Latin Poems, published in London, entitled, "*Musae Anglicanae*," Vol. II, p. 106, where it is attributed to E. Holdsworth, of Magdalen College, Oxford. The *imprimature* of this work is dated 1691; the edition before me, which belongs to the Philadelphia Library, was printed in 1761." W. H.

*Inwood, N. Y. City.*

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN AND  
CABINET KEEPER, NORTHERN DEPARTMENT  
OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
1877-8. pp. 45. EDWIN MARTIN STONE,  
Librarian. [Providence, 1878.]**

The worthy Librarian of this excellent institution congratulates himself and the Society, with good reason, on the good work of the official year. The papers were of an interesting and instructive character, and the treasures of the Society have been considerably increased. We regret that the Society has not yet seen fit to resume the printing of its collections, now for many years suspended. Each generation should do its full duty, and one volume each year is not too much to expect of the Rhode Island Society. The materials for history grow so rapidly that it is not well to postpone their preservation by publication.

In the report an account is given of the battle of Rhode Island. There it appears that the Rhode Island colored regiment, the first ever raised in the United States, was engaged; and as an appendix the protest of the American officers, dated August 22d, 1778, from their camp before Newport against the withdrawal of d'Estaing with the French fleet. In this it will be noticed that one of their reasons for such protest was that "the apprehension of Admiral Byron's being upon the coast was not well founded."

General Sullivan in his letter to Congress shortly after congratulated himself on the timeliness of his retreat, as one hundred sail of the enemy arrived in the harbor the morning after. It seems plain now that d'Estaing was fortunate in his withdrawal to Boston, and that the least delay would have led to his being absolutely blockaded, perhaps, indeed, captured by a superior force. The French navy showed courage enough, but the British had a better organization, and always contrived to throw a superior force upon any given point. Such was the case at Newport in 1778.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHU-  
SETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. 1791-  
1835. Published at the charge of the Peabody  
Fund. 8vo, pp. 581. Published by the So-  
ciety. Boston, 1879.**

Since the year 1855 the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society have been regularly published, and the issue already numbers fourteen volumes, but it is not until now that a beginning has been made in the printing

of the earlier records. This, the first of the important series, embraces the proceedings of the Society from January 24, 1791, when it was instituted, to March 26, 1835, inclusive. The committee of publication, which consists of Messrs. Charles Deane and Charles C. Smith, announce in their introduction that a second volume, containing the proceedings to the annual meeting in April, 1855, at which the administration of Mr. Savage as President concluded, and that of Mr. Winthrop, the present President, begun, will soon follow.

The honor of founding the Society, the oldest it is claimed of the character in the United States, is ascribed to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D. The idea was proposed to him by John Pintard of New York, to whose literary taste and philanthropy New York owes many of its most important institutions of economy, charity, commerce and learning. Their first practical work was in the collection of books and manuscripts, and in the encouragement of the publication of a weekly paper called the *American Apollo*; a fac-simile of the proposal for which is given in the present volume. The *Apollo* ran for thirty-nine numbers, and contained under the same cover the proceedings of the Society. It then cut loose from the Society and assumed a newspaper form. Scattered through the present volume of proceedings are portraits of nine of the ten original members, who were the founders in 1791, one of which, that of James Sullivan, in steel, is admirable in its execution. The others are by heliotype process. There are numerous other interesting illustrations, fac-similes and views of houses occupied by the institution. The proceedings contain notices of the resident members, which make an excellent contribution to genealogical literature, and the volume closes with an elaborate and carefully prepared index.

**PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUFFALO  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. No. 1. 8vo,  
pp. 48. BIGELOW BROTHERS. Buffalo, Jan-  
uary, 1879.**

This initial publication of the Buffalo Society, which ranks among its members some of the best known historical investigators in the country, begins with the inaugural address of Millard Fillmore, delivered at American Hall, July 1, 1862. The curious investigator into the origin of names will here find the reason for that of Buffalo, and in the second of the papers in the collection an exhaustive disquisition on the origin of the name of Buffalo, read the next

year, 1863, by William Ketchum. In his opinion the buffalo ranged on the south shore of Lake Erie as far east as the foot of the lake, a fact which Mr. Fillmore doubted. The pamphlet ends with a poem, "The last of the Kah-Kwahs, by David Gray, a story of the destruction of the "Nation Neutre," based on the historical investigations of O. H. Marshall, Esq., the best authority on the Indian local history of this interesting region.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 34. JOHNSON, SMITH & HARRISON. Minneapolis, 1879.

This department of the Minnesota Society was formed in April, 1879. At its next monthly meeting a letter of Rev. Gideon H. Pond was read, describing his life among the Sioux Indians at Lake Calhoun in the year 1834. This, the first paper in the pamphlet, is followed by an account of the Indian battle of Lake Pokegama in 1841, by Edmund F. Ely, formerly teacher of the mission school at that place. Next comes a memoir of Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, followed by some minor papers, among which one by Edward S. Stebbins on the Stone Implements of the Aborigines found in Saratoga county and at the West.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR THE YEAR 1878-9. In two parts. Compiled by GEORGE WILSON, Secretary. 8vo. PRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, 1879.

We called attention last year (II. 59) to the extreme value of this admirable series of reports, in which, thanks to the simple arrangement, the movements of American commerce may be read at a glance. We invite a reference to the extracts from the preface to the volume for 1878, by which those we make from the present volume can be more easily understood. The trade summary for the fiscal and calendar year is thus given:

The total foreign imports into the United States, including specie and bullion, in the year ending June 30, 1878, amounted in value to \$466,872,846, of which New York received \$313,179,649, or sixty-seven per cent. The total domestic exports of the United States, including specie and bullion, amounted to \$722,811,815, of which New York sent \$338,992,748, or forty-seven and a half per cent. Of the total foreign trade, imports and exports (with foreign exports added, \$20,834,738), amounting to \$1,210,519,399, New York had \$654,996,269, or fifty-five per cent.

These comparisons are brought down to the close of the official year, but we add, for further information, that the total imports of merchandise into the United States for

the calendar year 1878 amounted to \$431,812,583, against \$480,246,300 in 1877, showing a decrease in 1878 of \$48,433,717. The total exports, domestic and foreign, for 1878 amounted to \$737,155,611, against \$620,302,412 in 1877, showing an increase in 1878 of \$116,853,199. The total foreign trade of the United States, exports and imports, exclusive of specie and bullion, for 1878, amounting to \$1,168,968,194, against \$1,100,548,712 in 1877, an increase of \$68,419,482.

The total imports into the port of New York, including specie and bullion, for the calendar year 1878 amounted to \$303,186,867, against \$329,088,868 in 1877, and the total exports, \$362,522,088, against \$306,431,140 in 1877—a total of trade for 1878 of \$665,708,955, against 655,520,008 in 1877, an increase of \$10,188,947.

The balance of trade of the United States with foreign nations is also noted.

It is of importance also to note that the aggregate value of exports over imports for the calendar year 1878, exclusive of specie and bullion—in other words, the balance of trade was in favor of the United States:

Exports, calendar year 1878.....	\$737,155,611
Imports do. do. ....	431,812,583

Balance of trade, 1878..... \$305,343,028

In the subdivision, entitled coins, currency and banking, appear the following interesting paragraphs:

The resumption of specie payment gives an intense interest to the production and movement of gold and silver, on which it must solely depend, there being no possible control or check by Government or the banks, as in other specie payment countries, over the import or export of the precious metals by the increase or decrease of the price of discount, liberating or attracting money, as the turn of exchanges indicates with precise accuracy the changing centre of the balance of trade.

The Government reports show the production, as estimated by the deposits and purchases at the Mint, of gold and silver for the year ending June 30, 1878, to have been..... \$76,870,319  
Imports during same period..... 29,821,314

Total.....	\$106,691,633
Exports and re-exports during same period, deducted.....	33,740,126

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1878... \$72,951,507

The year 1877, it will be remembered, was the first year since 1861 that we were able to retain any considerable portion of the annual product of our mines. The increase in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, was shown to be..... \$65,145,241  
Add increase to June 30, 1878, as above... .. 72,951,507

Increase in fiscal years 1877-1878..... \$138,096,748

To arrive at the amount of coin in the country, we again take as the point of departure the estimate of the late Dr. Lindermann, the Director of the Mint, of the amount of gold and silver in the country in the fall of 1873, an estimate acknowledged as essentially correct, and which can be verified to within a fraction of a million by tabular statements of the movements of the metals since the estimate of Mr. Pollock, the Director of the Mint in 1861, which is also authoritative.

Stock of gold and silver in 1873—Dr. Lindermann's estimate.....	\$140,000,000
Production, 1873 to 1878.....	295,175,329
Imports of coin, 1873 to 1878.....	135,888,032

Total.....	\$571,063,361
Less exports, 1873-1878.....	305,171,182

In the country, June 30, 1878.....	\$265,892,179
Coin in country, June 30, 1877... ..	\$192,940,672
Increase 1878.....	72,951,507
	\$265,892,179

To ascertain approximately the amount of coin in the country on the 1st of July, 1879, an addition must be made for the increase of the last six months:

Amount in the country, June 30, 1878. .... \$265,892,179  
Estimated production to 1st  
January, 1879..... \$38,000,000  
Imports to January 1879..... 11,190,910

Less exports and re-exports,  
July, 1878, to July, 1879. .... \$13,288,609

Increase, July, 1878, to January, 1879..... 35,902,301

Amount of gold in country, January 1, 1879.. \$301,794,480

The correctness of these figures is verified in another manner:

Coin in the Treasury, as per statement of the  
Public Debt, December 31, 1878..... \$224,865,477  
Coin held by the National Banks, as by the  
statement of the Comptroller of the Cur-  
rency, December 31, 1878..... 41,499,757  
Estimate of coin in outside holding..... 35,429,246

Total, January 1, 1879..... \$301,794,480

This sum of three hundred millions in coin is the largest ever reported in the United States. Mr. Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury in 1854, in a table, entitled "Estimate of the amount of gold and silver in the United States at different periods," stated the amount for that year at two hundred and forty-one millions, the largest since the establishment of the Department. Mr. Pollock, the Director of the Mint, at Philadelphia, in a careful estimate made by the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, reported the amount on October 1, 1861, at from two hundred and seventy-five to three hundred millions.

It is this gradual increase in the coin reserve of the country which has made the transition from an irredeemable to a redeemable currency possible, and a continuance of this ratio of augmentation will still further strengthen the position of the Treasury.

The currency of the country may now be examined. By the official statement of the public debt, there were in circulation of old demand legal-tender notes and fractional currency, December 31, 1878..... \$367,366,755  
And by statement of the Comptroller of the  
Currency, December 31, 1878, National  
Bank notes..... 303,506,470

Total currency in circulation, Jan. 1, 1879. \$670,873,225

Every decrease of the paper circulation will strengthen the financial situation of the country. It is a marked fact, that while it is the policy of the banks to pay gold coin to all that demand it, their own reserve of metal, notwithstanding the great increase of gold in the country and the Treasury, shows no increase, but rather a decline, while as yet *but little gold passes from hand to hand*. It is questionable whether it be the true policy of either the Treasury or the banks to diminish the uses of gold by any expedient. The more thoroughly it is made to replace paper in the daily transactions of the people, the greater the reserve in the country will be in time of need. It must never be forgotten that there is no other money than the precious metals, and that the circulating medium of the country is strong as it is strong in these precious metals, and weak as it is deficient in them. A gradual judicious funding of paper by the Government will soon restore coin to general circulation, *without causing any stringency in the money market*, and gradually re-instate a safe ratio between the paper circulation of the country and the foundation upon which it rests.

While the excellent judgment and remarkable ability of the Secretary of the Treasury have taken the best advantage of favorable circumstances in the funding of the debt and the resumption of specie payment, it must be remembered that neither the legislation of Congress nor the ability of the Secretary, nor the hearty concurrence of the banks, could have effected the transition safely but

for the fact that a continuous balance of trade in favor of the United States has permitted us to retain our product of coin for two years, so completely that there is now in the vaults of the Treasury alone, without any regard to the amount held by banks or individuals, thirty millions more of coin than existed in the country a year ago.

It is our plain duty to take advantage of this opportunity to secure an absolute ground of safety, as it may not be long offered, in the rapid change which seems to be the normal condition of modern society. Moreover, a strict adherence to a policy which will replace our paper currency with gold and silver, will soon give us the control of the money market, and make the United States not only the commercial, but the financial center of the world.

To these remarks we add, that immigration also has again resumed something of its old activity, and now promises steady increase. But lately Lord Beaconsfield declared France and the United States to be at present the most prosperous countries in the world. Certain it is that this country has never been in a position so independent and satisfactory as now on the resumption of specie payments. It only needs that we be true to the recognized principles of political economy and finance to realize with a rapidity, which is difficult to measure, the most sanguine hopes of ourselves and of our friends.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 20, 1879, on the occasion of the Presentation of a Silver Medal to the Hon. Eli K. Price, President, in commemoration of the Twenty-first Anniversary of the Foundation of the Society. 8vo, pp. 16. Philadelphia, 1879.

On this occasion a medal of silver was presented to the President, bearing on the obverse his portrait, and on the reverse the seal of the Society, a copy of which is given in the text of the pamphlet. The crest is a precise copy of an Athenian owl from a coin of the Greek city. The dies for the medal were cut by William H. Key of the United States Mint. The presentation address was delivered by Dr. Daniel G. Brenton, to which fitting reply was made by Hon. Eli K. Price; and the formal proceedings closed with remarks by Mr. Charles Henry Hart. The value of medals in permanent and faithful transmission of physical individuality was strongly asserted.

ON THE DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE OF LANDS, AND THE CUSTOMS WITH RESPECT TO INHERITANCE AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS. By AD. F. BANDELIER. From the Eleventh Report of the Peabody Museum. 8vo. Printed at the Salem Press. Salem, 1878.

In this second paper, by the skillful hand which prepared that on the warlike organization

of the Mexican tribes, the results are presented of an investigation of their progress in so much of political economy as related to the tenure and distribution of the soil, accompanied, as in the preceding paper, with abundant notes from all accessible authorities. Joseph de Acosta, the Jesuit father, a learned authority of the sixteenth century, asserts that the relations and memories of the Mexicans do not go back farther than four hundred years; and Mr. Bandelier concurs in the opinion that the twelfth century is the limit of definite tradition. Behind this period it is only known that Mexico was overrun by sedentary as well as nomadic tribes of a common origin, whose earlier home lay to the north of Mexican territory. Of the sedentary tribes, the Toltecs were the most conspicuous, yet they had not reached the condition of a State; political society, based on territory or landed property, being unknown to them. Their institutions were democratic, their manner of living communal, and in no way feudal, as has been held. Savage tribes roamed over the high table-lands, living by the chase in nomadic fashion, while small groups, from the same "North" which gave them origin, gradually settled in the beautiful valley below, near the watersheds in its center. These independent groups all spoke dialects closely related to that of the Toltecs, their predecessors. In the confused history of the principal of these tribes, the Tezcucans, Tecpanecans and Chalcas, it can only be discovered that the first two had each one and the latter two head war chiefs, elected for life, assisted by councils elected by the people; while the distribution of land, far from being by feudal tenure, was ordered by the Calpulli or kinships, who dwelt under one common roof, and was communal living. Such was the tenure in the period of the greatest power of Mexico. Nowhere was the notion of public domain or governmental lands current among the tribes. The entire groups were entitled the Soil of the Tribe. Precisely similar was the tenure of lands in Peru when the Spaniards first noticed their customs.

When Cortes conquered the territory it was raised by a Bull of Pope Alexander VI., May 4, 1493, to a domain of the Spanish throne, and granted to the King of Spain as a perpetual fief. Then the old order of occupation of the soil, for the idea of ownership never entered the Indian mind, was changed for a feudatory tenure, to which they ignorantly assented. After the fall of the pueblo of Mexico, Cortes established the system of Repartimientos, a mode established in the life-time of Columbus, under a Patent of July 22, 1497, which authorized him to distribute lands among the Spanish settlers for their own use and exclusive ownership, which was later added to by an act of Columbus, on his own

authority, to the effect that the Indians should work such lands for the benefit of those to whom he had given them; the beginning of Mexican serfdom.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST UNITED STATES FLAG AND THE PATRIOTISM OF BETSY ROSS, THE IMMORTAL HEROINE THAT ORIGINATED THE FIRST FLAG OF THE UNION. Dedicated to the Ladies of the United States. By Col. J. FRANKLIN REIGART. 8vo, pp. 25. Harrisburg, Penn., 1878.

Some years since William J. Canby, the grandson of Mrs. John (Betsy) Ross of Philadelphia, read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a paper on the Centennial Anniversary of the American Flag, in which he claimed that his grandmother was the first maker of the Stars and Stripes. She lived in Arch street, and was for many years engaged in the business of flag making. In this monograph Col. Reigart asserts that her bright colored tapestry, ornamental handiwork and curtains in primary colors attracted the notice of the members of Congress, and that at the request of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Robert Morris and Col. George Ross, her brother-in-law, she designed and made the first flag of the United States, which was approved and adopted by the committee and Congress. In addition to this, Betsy Ross first gave a name to our youthful country by marking on her flags the "United States of America." In the paper we find no authority for these statements, nor yet any confirmation in the histories of the Flag by Preble and Hamilton. Nevertheless Col. Reigart insists that the "statue" of Betsy, "surrounded by a group of her daughters and nieces, cutting, sewing and making the Star-Spangled Banners, must soon grace the Capitol of our nation, and the patriotic ladies of America will design, erect and pay for it. To the account are appended sundry patriotic songs and appeals said to have been written and circulated by Mrs. Ross during the revolution from her shop in Philadelphia. On the cover of the pamphlet is a colored fac-simile of the first flag, and within a portrait of "Mrs. Betsy Ross the Author," with scissors and bunting, busy at her work.

THE HISTORY OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE. By BAXTER PERRY SMITH. 8vo, pp. 474. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. [The Riverside Press.] Cambridge, 1878.

"The germ of Dartmouth College," writes the author of this history of the famous institution, which bears upon its rolls the illustrious names of Daniel Webster and Salmon P. Chase,



"was a deep-seated and long-cherished desire of the foremost of its founders to elevate the Indian race in America." The idea was not American, nor was its practical application reserved for the eighteenth century. In 1619 an unknown hand conveyed to Sir Edwin Sandys five hundred pounds, to be used by the Virginia Company for the education of Indian youths in the English language and the Christian religion. A college was contemplated, but abandoned in consequence of the Indian massacre of 1622. In 1691 part of the estate of Robert Boyle, the Christian philosopher, was given by his executors to William and Mary's College. Boyle had been the Governor of a company incorporated for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians of New England. But the interest in the conversion of the natives was chiefly confined to their residence at college, which gave material aid and comfort to their white brethren. In 1729 George Berkley came to America and settled at Newport, Rhode Island. He had the promise of aid from the Government to a college for the education of Indian youth as missionaries. The money promised was not supplied, and he returned to England, whence he made generous donations to Yale College of books and the rental of his Rhode Island farm. In 1734 Rev. John Sergeant made a practical beginning in missionary work among the Stockbridge Indians.

Eleazer Wheelock, whom Mr. Smith styles the leading founder of Dartmouth College, was born of New England parentage at Windham in 1711. He was graduated from Yale College in 1733, and ordained pastor of the Second Congregational Society in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1735, and soon became interested in the Indians, to whom, as his paying congregation were only able to pay him half his salary, he resolved to devote one-half of his time. In 1755, with some generous friends, he established a small charity school near his residence, and in 1761 received an allowance of twelve pounds each, for the education of six children of the Six Nations, from the General Court of Massachusetts.

In 1763 Wheelock's first conception of a college is found in a letter to General Amherst, the hero of the French war, in which he proposes a plan for the establishment of a college on a tract of land, fifteen or twenty miles square, on the west side of the Susquehannah river. In March, 1764, he made an appeal to the Earl of Dartmouth, whom Whitfield named the Daniel of the Age, in behalf of the Indian charity school he was then directing with such occasional aid as he could secure. At Whitfield's suggestion he sent out Samson Occom, a Mohegan, who had been carefully trained as a schoolmaster and preacher. Occom preached in London "with acceptance," and was presented to

Lord Dartmouth and the King. While the feelings and sympathy of Lord Dartmouth were being enlisted in England, the support of Sir William Johnson, who exercised great influence over the Six Nation Confederacy, was also engaged, and through his agency Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk, was sent to Wheelock's Indian school. Sir William Johnson, no doubt for diplomatic reasons, opposed the plan of a school on the Susquehannah, and was averse to its establishment near the headquarters of the Six Nations. Governor Wentworth offered a tract in the western part of New Hampshire, a township six miles square.

In December, 1769, the incorporation was completed. As an evidence of the catholic spirit of the foundation, it need only be cited that three of the original trustees were nominally Episcopalians, and the remaining nine nominally Congregationalists, although some with Presbyterian tendencies. The name of Dartmouth was chosen by Dr. Wheelock without any conference with the distinguished nobleman. The Coos region in the township of Hanover, on the Connecticut river, was selected as the site, and here Dr. Wheelock built his log hut in the summer of 1770. Other plain buildings were put up, and in the late fall he, with his family and thirty students, English and Indians, all designed for the Indian service, were removed into the wilderness. Such were the modest beginnings of Dartmouth College.

Dr. Wheelock's narratives supply the best information as to the progress of the college in Indian culture. His chief reliance for pupils was on the Canadian tribes. The Mohawk tribes, the Oneidas excepted, were opposed to his plan. From 1773 to 1775 he had from sixteen to twenty-one Indian out of one hundred students. The war was a serious embarrassment to the President. He died in the midst of it on the 24th of April, 1779. The historian says of him, that "he was eminent as a scholar—he was eminent as an orator—he was eminent as a teacher—he was eminent in affairs—he was eminent as a patriot—but beyond and above all that religion was the mainspring of his entire life, the real source of all his success.

He was succeeded in the Presidency by his son, John Wheelock, during whose term of office occurred the great "Dartmouth Controversy." A difference of views as to the extent of interposition the State was entitled to in the affairs of the college, aggravated by opposing religious views, and widening during ten years of personal contact, ended in the removal of President Wheelock in 1815 by the Board of Trustees.

Next in order followed Rev. Francis Brown as President. His term of office was the period of contest between the college and the State. A political revolution in the State was its immediate result. In his message to the Legislature,

Governor Plumer in 1816 repudiated the report of the committee of the Legislature of the previous year, which announced that there was no ground for State interference in the college government, condemned the charter as savoring of monarchical ideas, and asserted the right of State supervision. This message was communicated to Jefferson, and approved by him as correct and republican in principle. The Legislature supported the Governor, the Trustees resisted, the State courts were appealed to, and the validity of the Act of the Legislature sustained, but an appeal being taken on a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States, the cause was again tried. Webster appeared for the college, making one of his celebrated forensic arguments, and the Judges, Chief Justice Marshall presiding, reversed the judgment of the State court.

We cannot follow the sketch through the later administrations of Presidents Dana, Tyler, Smith and Bartlett. The reader will find in them nothing that is not creditable to Dartmouth, and will gain from the perusal of this interesting volume sufficient evidence that in the turmoil of politics and the hurry of our practical American life, our institutions of learning have maintained the dignity and independence of American culture. The book is adorned with a number of excellent photographs of the college worthies.

**THE PEDIGREE AND HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY DERIVED FROM ODIN, THE FOUNDER OF SCANDINAVIA, B. C. 70.** Involving a period of eighteen centuries, and including fifty-five generations down to General George Washington, First President of the United States. By ALBERT WELLES. Royal 8vo, pp. 370. SOCIETY LIBRARY. New York, 1879.

The introduction of this inquiry was noticed in the last number of the Magazine [III. 526] from advanced sheets. The volume is now before us. In addition to the extended pedigree, the value of which must be decided by those who have made a study of this branch of historical investigation, there is an appendix, containing what the editor calls scraps of history in regard to members found in the descent from Odin.

Scattered through the volume will be found numerous items of interest connected with the personal history of the English and American Washingtons, and a great variety of illustrations, consisting of an illumination of the arms of Washington and impressions from a great variety of known plates here for the first time brought together. The book is printed in the best manner, and forms a valuable addition to Washington literature.

It was not until the year 1792 that Washington began to make inquiries as to his English ancestry. He then addressed a letter to Garter King at Arms, the reply to which has been shown to us by Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington, the widow of Lewis W. Washington. In this letter he mentions the marriage of Lawrence Washington, of Soulgrave, in the County of Northampton, Esquire, and Margaret, daughter of William Butler of Sussex, and adds that some years before an American gentleman had shown him a "Seal with the Arms of Butler engraved thereon," which he told him had been received from General Washington. The remaining information we are not at liberty to use, but it is soon to be made public by the owner of the letter in question.

#### GENEALOGY OF THE TILLEY FAMILY.

Compiled by H. HAMMETT TILLEY. 8vo., pp. 79. JOHN P. SANBORN, Newport, R. I., 1878.

This is a record of the family of William Tilley, who emigrated to America from England about the year 1660, and settled in Boston in that year. He was by occupation a rope-maker, and is said to have been the second in that trade, the business of rope-making having been set up in Boston by one John Harrison about 1641. The Tilleys were good people, even in that early day the widow of the rope-maker marrying Judge Sewall in 1718. Encouraged in his business, the rope-maker sent to England for three of his cousins, William, John and James, who came over at his call, and after a short stay in Boston, settled respectively, William in Newport, John in New York, and James in New London. The volume before us gives, first, a careful record of the descendants of William, of Newport; second, of those of the second brother John, in New York, in whose line was the Honorable Samuel Leonard Tilley, late the urbane and accomplished Lieutenant-Governor of the Dominion of Canada. Of the third brother, James, of New London, the record is brief and incomplete.

The name of Tilley is supposed to be French. It is found on the roll of the companies of William the Conqueror. A plate of the arms of the English family prefaces the genealogy.

**CHARLTON (MASS.) HISTORICAL SKETCHES.** Rev. ANSON TITUS, Jr. Reprinted from the Southbridge Journal. 8vo. pp. 28. Southbridge, 1877.

There is not much to interest the antiquary in this town sketch. The hard-working people did not leave much behind them. The earliest recorded burial is not earlier than 1744. The cemeteries which are described are nearly all of the present century.

**ON THE ART OF WAR AND MODE OF WARFARE OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS.** By AD. F. BANDELIER. Reprinted from the Tenth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum. 8vo. Cambridge, 1877.

From the pages of this excellent pamphlet we learn that although the Mexicans proper, better known as the Aztecs, were of the highest order of sedentary Indians, still warfare, and not agriculture, was their chief occupation. Spreading from their lake center, they lived upon the produce and industrial resources of subjected tribes. So completely was their time engaged in defensive, if not offensive war with their neighbors, upon whom they lived, that if there were no war they considered themselves idle. Like the Spartans, they were trained to arms from infancy, and the standing army included every able-bodied man in the tribe. Yet, strange to say, while the fear of the latent power of the tribe was equal to its domination over the conquered tribes, somewhat as the Mohawks over their neighbors, yet when Cortes made his daring seizure of Montezuma, there was no organized body of guards to protect his person. The defensive armor of the Mexicans, their aggressive weapons, the organization of their forces, and their mode of operations in the field are all carefully described, and the authorities given for every statement; the whole a model of archaeological research. The final pages narrate the manner of the battle of Otumpau, fought on the 8th July, 1520, between Cortes and the pueblo of Tlaxcallan, the day of skirmish, the ambush on the plains of Apan, from which the Spaniards cut their way with the courage of despair, and the process of dismemberment, by which Cortes overcame the Nahuatl Confederacy of the Valley of Mexico. The story closes with the siege of the pueblo of Mexico, which illustrates Indian defensive warfare in its highest stage; their resistance standing unparalleled in the history of Indian warfare, and their fortitude and tenacity demonstrating that they acted together by free common consent, and were organized after the principles of a barbarous, but free military democracy.

**A GENEALOGICAL SKETCH OF DR. ARTEMAS BULLARD, OF SUTTON, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.** By WILLIAM SUMNER BARTON, of Worcester. 8vo, pp. 22. LUCIUS P. GODDARD, Worcester, 1878.

The writer informs us that in the genealogical history of the "Descendants of several ancient Puritans," published by Rev. Abner Morse in 1857, there is an interesting account of the Bullard families in New England. Among the first

planters of New England there appear to have been four of the name, who emigrated about 1630 from England, and were of the first settlers of Watertown. Robert was unquestionably the ancestor of the Sutton family of the name, which particularly engages Mr. Barton's attention in this monograph.

**MEMORIAL ADDRESS UPON THE CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF MORTON MCMICHAEL AS EDITOR, PUBLIC OFFICER, AND CITIZEN.** By JOHN W. FORNEY. Thursday, April 17, 1879. 8vo, pp. 16. SHERMAN & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

Tacitus said of Agricola that he was happy in the occasion of his death. So it may be said of any man, the occasion of whose death calls into action the warm heart and accomplished hand of Mr. Forney to do honor his memory. McMichael was a noble character; full of generous impulses, vigorous, intelligent, in every sense a man; a leader of men. To all these characteristics full justice is rendered, and with the fervor of a friendship of nearly half a century.

**FAMILY RECORD OF SILAS BROWN, JR.** By A. C. BROWN. 8vo, pp. 38. Printed by GEORGE MACNAMARA, New York, 1879.

Silas Brown, Jr., a record of whose descendants is here given, was the eldest son of Silas Brown, Jr., who was at one time in Captain Jonathan Wate's company in Colonel Ezra Meigs' regiment, and took part in the Saratoga campaign. Silas Brown was the son of John Brown, who is surmised by the genealogist to have been the son of James Brown, of Deerfield. Nothing more is known of him than that he resided in Hatfield in 1669, married Remembrance Brooks at Springfield in 1674, removed to Deerfield about 1683, and went thence to Colchester, Connecticut.

**A RECORD OF REMARKABLE EVENTS IN MARLBOROUGH AND VICINITY.** By CYRUS FELTON. 8vo, pp. 24, No. 1. STILLMAN B. PRATT, Marlborough, Mass., 1879.

A second title informs the reader that within the limits of these pages there is presented a record of four hundred and fifty events, consisting of accidents, balls, celebrations, dedications, exhibitions, fires, gifts, holidays, incidents, jubilees, knacks, lectures, musters, necrologies, ordinations, picnics, quarrels, raisings, shows, tornadoes, undertakings, vendues, weather extremes, years, zero days, etc. These are arranged by months and days, thus: January events, February events, etc.

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## CIVIL STATUS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK

**A**MONG the questions in debate, under the colonial system of England before the American Revolution, one of the most embarrassing was that touching the relation of the various ecclesiastical bodies, existing in the colonies, to the State. That "remarkable variety and indistinctness of opinion," which prevailed both in Britain and in America, concerning the precise nature of the political bond which united the two countries, extended beyond the sphere of secular interests into that of religion. Indeed it is only within a few years that a solution for the same problem has been found in countries that have retained their connection with Great Britain to the present day. In the colonial time, and in the province of New York, it was a question surrounded with peculiar difficulties, and here, perhaps more than in any other American province, it was productive of serious trouble. Elsewhere the type of religious belief prevailing among the settlers determined the question, so far as it could be determined through the action of colonial legislatures. In Virginia and in Carolina, where the majority of the population adhered to the Church of England, that Church was established by colonial law. The Congregational order prevailed in Massachusetts and in Connecticut, and was recognized and enforced by the civil power. New York, throughout the colonial period, was distinctively a Presbyterian province. What position belonged of right to the Presbyterian churches in this province, and how actually they stood related to the State:—these are the points to be noticed in the present paper.

The period under consideration may be divided approximately into two terms of about seventy-five years each—the one term lying in the seventeenth century, and the other in the eighteenth. From the year 1623, when the permanent colonization of the province was commenced,




until the close of the seventeenth century, liberty of conscience and equal protection under the law were enjoyed by the various denominations of Protestant Christians. This age of religious toleration was introduced by the Dutch West India Company, and it continued throughout the administrations of the first five English Governors. When in 1664 England took possession of New Netherland, the Reformed Church of Holland had occupied the ground for more than forty years as the Church by law established, and the Church representing the religious belief of almost the entire population. By the articles of surrender the Dutch were secured in the enjoyment of their religious privileges, and in the possession of their ecclesiastical property, and for thirty years more these rights remained unimpaired. The laws imposed upon the province by the Duke of York, to whom the territories taken from the Dutch were conveyed by his brother, Charles II., provided for the building of churches and the induction and support of ministers, but gave no advantage to one religious body over another.

The Reformed Dutch Church, however, though no longer in connection with the State, retained a commanding importance. The English Governors themselves occasionally recognized it as a *quasi* establishment. Thus Governor Nicolls in 1665 directed the authorities of the city of New York to levy a tax for the payment of the salaries due to the Dutch ministers. His successor, Lovelace, in 1670 declared that he regarded the Dutch Church, which was "found established" by Nicolls and himself, as in Albany the parish church, entitled to support through taxation or otherwise. The Dutch Church of New York was the very first to obtain from the Governor a charter of incorporation. For generations the population of Dutch birth or descent, largely outnumbering the English both in city and in country, clung to their ancestral faith; and long after Holland had lost her possessions on these shores the flourishing congregations of New York, Albany, Kingston, Schenectady, Poughkeepsie and other places still comprised the bulk of the religious element in the province. In close connection with these churches a few congregations of Huguenot refugees sprang up, the principal one of which, the French Church in New York, was strong and wealthy, when the English-speaking congregations of that city were yet in their infancy. By the end of the century the churches in the province numbered not far from forty. Fifteen of these were Dutch, four were French, thirteen were of New England origin, one was a German Reformed congregation. All but three or four were

Presbyterian. A Lutheran Church had been founded in New York and another in Albany. A service, conducted by the chaplain of the English forces, and held in the Dutch Church in the fort for the benefit of the Governor and the garrison, was the only Anglican service observed in the province until the erection of Trinity Church in the year 1697.

The policy of toleration pursued by the early Governors of New York was approved from the very first by the Colonial Legislature of the province. In 1683 the representatives of the people met for the first time in General Assembly. The Charter of Liberties enacted by this body, and approved by the Governor and his Council, provided that all persons professing faith in God by Jesus Christ should have entire freedom of conscience. It was also expressly declared that the Christian Churches existing in the province should forever be "held and reputed as privileged churches, and enjoy all their former freedoms of their religion in Divine worship and Church discipline." This charter was confirmed by the Duke of York. Three years later the same personage, upon his accession to the throne as King James II., repealed it. The fact remains, however, that the popular branch of the provincial government had pronounced itself from the first in favor of the rights of conscience.

The period of religious freedom closed with the century. A change in the policy of the Governors had been foreshadowed some years earlier. Indications of such a change appeared in connection with a scheme for the better support of ministers in the several towns of the province. The expediency of some provision for this purpose was acknowledged, and the Assembly showed no unwillingness to take action with reference to it. But the growing disposition of the Governors to interfere in matters of religion was calculated to awaken apprehension, and there were grounds for suspecting that they designed to make way for an ecclesiastical establishment. In 1691 Governor Sloughter suggested to the Assembly the passage of an Act for the suitable maintenance of the ministry in every town. Instructions were accordingly given for the drawing up of a bill to provide for the settling of ministers and the raising of a support for them in each place consisting of forty families and upwards. The bill as prepared reflected the views of the Governor, but for some reason it failed to meet the approval of the House, and was rejected. Orders were given for the preparation of another bill, and at the subsequent session the subject came up for consideration, but no definite action was taken until the year 1693, after the



arrival of Governor Fletcher. On the 19th of September in that year a bill was introduced into the House, entitled "An Act for Settling a Ministry, and Raising a Maintenance for them, in the City of New York, County of Richmond, Westchester and Queen's County." This Act was passed on the 22d of September. Its application, as the title shows, was limited, and it contained no reference to a particular religious denomination. It applied to only four of the ten counties of the province. It provided that in each of certain specified localities in these counties—in the city of New York, on Staten Island, and in the towns of Westchester, Rye, Jamaica and Hempstead—ministers should be settled within one year after the publication of the Act; and that for the maintenance of these ministers, as well as for the relief of the poor, a tax should be laid on the respective places. The choice of ministers was left to certain officers, to be elected by the people of each place. At the same time it was declared "that all the former Agreements, made with Ministers throughout this Province," should "continue and remain in their full Force and Virtue; any Thing contained" therein "to the contrary" thereof "in any wise notwithstanding." (Laws of New York, I. 18-20.)


No departure from the course hitherto pursued in the treatment of the various religious bodies appeared in this legislation. It was in the same line of religious toleration with the rules of the Dutch Company and the laws of the Duke of York. Under the Duke's code a minister, desiring to officiate within the government, was required to produce testimonials to the Governor that he had received ordination either from some Protestant bishop *or ministers* within some part of his Majesty's dominions, or the dominions of any foreign prince of the Reformed Religion." "For the making and proportioning the Levies and Assessments for building and repairing the Churches, Provision for the poor, maintenance for the Minister, as well as for the more orderly managing of all Parochiall affairs in other cases exprest, Eight of the most able Men of each Parish" were "by the major part of the Householders of the said Parish, chosen to be Overseers, out of the which Number the Constable and the aforesaid Overseers shall yearly make choice of two of the said number to be Church-wardens."

The Ministry Act of 1693 clearly follows the earlier code in the mention of "church-wardens," and simply substitutes the term "vestrymen" for the term "overseers." Yet Governor Fletcher argued with the Assembly in 1695 against an interpretation of that Act which would allow the Vestry of New York to call a minister dissenting from

the Church of England,—“There is no Protestant Church admits of such officers as Church Wardens and Vestry-men but the Church of England.”

Assuredly nothing could have been further from the intention of the Assembly which passed the Act than the establishment of the Church of England in the province. A solitary member of the Assembly was an adherent of the Church of England; and the congregation that met on Sunday after service in the Dutch Church in the fort was the only Anglican congregation in the entire province. “The people,” said Lewis Morris, afterwards Chief Justice of the province, “were generally dissenters, and averse to the Religion of the Church of England; and when the Act was past that provided for the Maintenance of Ministers abovesaid, it was to settle an Orthodox Ministry, which words, were a Governor a Dissenter and would induct Dissenters, would be as favourable in favour of them as the Church; and the people, who ne’er could be brought to settle an Episcopal Clergy in direct terms, fancied they had made an effectual provision for Ministers of their own persuasion by this Act.” (Correspondence G. P. S.)

Yet upon this Act the claim set up afterward for the Church of England, as “by law established” in the province, was based. Colonel Fletcher, the new Governor, had entered upon his office determined to bring this result about. He endeavored to procure the insertion of a clause in the bill, before its passage, giving the Governor the right to approve and collate or induct ministers into the parishes to which they might be called; a provision which would of course have carried with this right that of refusing to approve and collate. The Assembly declined to make this amendment; the bill was passed without it, Fletcher himself signing the Act. But though disappointed with its provisions, he made effectual use of the law by an arbitrary and illegal wresting of its true purpose. For seventy years or more the Governors of the province of New York exercised the power, which the Assembly had expressly denied them, of inducting ministers into the parishes, under this Act for settling a Ministry. Four years after the passage of the bill a charter was granted, creating the parish of Trinity Church in the city of New York, and assigning to the rector of that parish and his successors all the benefit of the Act of 1693; and thenceforward, until the period of the Revolution, the inhabitants of the city were taxed for the support of the rector, precisely as though the Act had been designed for the sole advantage of his particular denomination. In 1704 Lord Cornbury succeeded in procuring the passage of an Act






"for granting sundry Privileges and Powers to the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York, of the Communion of the Church of England, as by Law established." This Act provided that the rector and his successors in office should receive the sum of one hundred pounds yearly, raised and levied upon the inhabitants of the said city, for the maintenance of a good, sufficient Protestant Minister, by virtue of an Act entitled An Act for Settling a Ministry.

Lord Bellomont, the next Governor, looked with little favor upon his predecessor's scheme for the setting up of a State Church in a part of the province. Writing to the Lords of Trade, he complained that "the late Governor" had "made advantage to divide the people by supposing a Dutch and English interest to be different here." "Under the notion," he continued, "of a Church of England, to be put in opposition to the Dutch and French churches established here," Fletcher had "supported a few rascally English, who" were "a scandall to their nation and the Protestant religion." This plain-spoken nobleman, however, was not prepared to grant the full measure of religious liberty which the people of his government craved and were disposed to claim. Short as the term of his administration was, there occurred an opportunity for Lord Bellomont to negative such a claim. His own account of the matter is briefly given in a letter to the Lords of Trade, July 22, 1699: "The House of Representatives sent up a Bill to me and the Councill for settling a Dissenting Ministry in that Province, but it being contrary to his Majesty's instructions, and besides having been credibly informed that some of those Ministers do hold strange erroneous opinions in matters of Faith and Doctrine, I would not give the Assent to that Bill, but rejected it." (N. Y. Col. Documents, IV. 325, 536.)

The precise form of the bill thus rejected—owing to an unfortunate break in the Journal of the Provincial Assembly—cannot be ascertained, but its general character may be inferred from the context of existing records. A petition of "the civil and military officers of Queen's County" was presented in April, 1699, to the Assembly, and was referred to the Committee "of Grievances," which reported April 13th as follows: "That they examined the Petition, . . . and are humbly of Opinion, That every Town or Parish within this Province, consisting of the Number of 40 Families, shall have full Power by the major Part of said Inhabitants, in each Town or Parish, to call and settle a Protestant Minister among them; and all the Inhabitants within the said Town or Parish, shall equally contribute to his Maintenance,

according to Proportion, by Way of Rate." The committee, of which Abraham Gouverneur was chairman, recommended that a bill to this effect be brought in. Such a bill was prepared, and after a second reading, April 28th, was committed to the Committee of Grievances. On the 1st of May that committee reported: "That they have . . . examined the Bill for ye settlement of ministers, &c., & have agreed to ye same, with these amendments: That a proviso be added that this Act nor any clause therein Contained, shall extend to ye hinderance of ye Dutch and French churches establisht in this Province, nor Constraine ye Citty of New York, ye Citty of Albany, ye County of Ulster or Kings county to call any other ministers unless at their pleasure." The proposed amendments were agreed to, and on the 4th of May the "Bill for the settlement and support of ministers & schoolmasters & building & repairing meeting houses within this Province" was passed and sent up for approval. (Journals of Assembly, MSS., Albany.)

The report of the Council upon the bill states very clearly the grounds upon which it was rejected. "His Excellency the Governor having been pleased," say they, "to Communicate unto us his Instructions Relating to the Settlement of Religion in this province, we are humbly of opinion that by the said Instructions your Excellency ought not to passe the said Bill. But we doe humbly offer the Reasonableness and our Readynesse to Joyn with the Representatives of this province in an Addresse to your Excellency humbly to Represent to his most Sacred Majtie the State and condition of this province, as to the matters in the said Bill conteined, and that his Majesty of his Great piety and wonted Clemency would be graciously pleased to allow, *untill some better order* can be in this province had for the Settlement of *a more orthodox Ministry*, That such Ministers of the Presbiterian and Independant Congregation as are allready settled in the several Towns of this Province may be continued and mainteined according to such agreement as hath been made by the major part of the people of such Towns, and that all the Inhabitants within the bounds of such Towns may be equally and justly Assessed according to their several Estates for and towards the payment and Support of such Ministry; and that such other Towns who are well able to maintain a Minister, and have none within this Province, may be encouraged and obliged to Establish and Ascertain a maintenance, and use their Endeavours to get Ministers, that God's word may be preached and His Ordinances practized amongst us, and that Churches, Schools and parsonage houses may be built and Repaired throughout this province." (Journal of Council.)




This language was not suited to inspire confidence with regard to the future; nevertheless the conduct of the Governors for the time being was kindly and tolerant in the main. Though disposed to meddle sometimes officiously in their affairs, they recognized in various ways the rights of ministers and congregations. Both ministers and individual members of churches—Dutch, French, German and English—brought their grievances before the Governor. Orders were issued for the payment of salaries in arrears. Permission was given to collect money for the building of churches. Peiret, the Huguenot pastor of New York, received with Vesey a pension out of the revenues of the province. The Act of 1693, as construed by the people themselves, was in operation. "Dissenting Ministers were settled" under it in various places without let or hindrance. (Doc. Hist. of N. Y., III. 198, etc.; Correspondence G. P. S.)

The second term of our colonial history begins with the eighteenth century. In 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was formed in England. One principal design of this organization—the only one indicated by its charter—was the providing of ministers for the British Colonies beyond the seas. Representations were at once made to the Society of the great destitutions of this province. There are some Calvinistic congregations on Long Island and elsewhere, but "there is no Church of England in all Long Island, nor in all that great Continent of New York Province, except at New York town." (Collections P. E. Hist. Soc., p. xiii.) Missionaries were accordingly sent over, and it became the care of the Governor to find or to make places for them within the four counties especially to which the Act for Settling a Ministry applied. Nearly all the towns named in that Act already possessed houses of worship; in several of them the inhabitants had set apart lands for glebes, and had built parsonage houses. Lord Cornbury, equally zealous with his predecessor, Fletcher, for the spread of the Church of England, assumed the right that Fletcher had claimed to induct ministers into parishes, and under the color of a law that had no existence put the missionaries of the Society in possession of churches, glebes and parsonages. This was done, or attempted, at Westchester and Eastchester, Rye and Bedford, Jamaica, Newtown and Hempstead. In Rye, only of all these towns, no church had yet been built; but a tax was levied upon the inhabitants for its erection, and meanwhile the house and lands which had been provided for a minister, and held by a succession of pastors, were taken for the missionary.

That this course was not in harmony with the avowed design of the Society at home is very certain, and we may well believe that it was not inspired by the excellent men who were most zealous for the establishment and success of that great benevolent institution. The correspondence of the Society shows that the importance of missionary work among the Indians and heathen, and in settlements where no provision existed for the religious instruction of the people, was urged upon its laborers as their chief work. Archbishop Secker at a later day repelled the charge that the Society had been diverted from this aim—"that we have unwarrantably changed our object, from the propagation of Christianity and Protestantism, to the propagation of one form of it, in opposition to other Protestants; and make the gaining of proselytes from these our Chief business, which was not designed to be any part of it: nor was attempted, they say—I want to know how truly—by our predecessors in the Society for many years after its erection." "We must be extremely cautious," he adds, "how we appoint new Missions where Presbyterians or Independents have Assemblies." (N. Y. Col. Documents, VII. 347.)

It would have been happy for the cause of religion here if such wise caution had been observed; but Lord Cornbury and his advisers were governed by no such considerations. We have the unimpeachable testimony of Colonel Morris, a member and a zealous friend of the Society, as to the methods used and their effects. "I think," he writes to the Secretary about the beginning of the year 1708, "in West Chester, East Chester, Hempstead, New Town, in [and?] Jamaica dissenting Ministers were settled. . . . and being afterwards put out of them by the Missionaries of the Society, supplying those places, made them think themselves unjustly dealt with, and very much increast their prejudices." (Correspondence G. P. S.)

The oppressive nature of these proceedings is better known in some of the cases that have been mentioned than in others. Cornbury's doings at Jamaica, perhaps more than any other occurrences of his disgraceful administration, brought infamy upon his name. Bartow, a missionary of the Society, with the Governor's approval, took summary possession of the church, ousting the Presbyterian pastor from his pulpit, and locking the door upon the people. But the minister still held the parsonage. It was the best house in the town. Cornbury, who had left the city during the prevalence of an epidemic, asked leave to occupy it. Consent was given; and, when the noble lord came to leave, his host was denied admittance, and the parsonage and



glebe were given up to the missionary. Thus by force and by treachery a congregation was deprived of house and lands, their title to which was indisputable. There were peculiar hardships in this case, yet the course pursued elsewhere was substantially the same. Wherever, by an untrue and unscrupulous interpretation of the Act for settling a ministry, it was possible to take the churches and the other ecclesiastical property for the missionaries, the attempt was made, and, thanks to Lord Cornbury, it was generally successful. The only instance of an utter failure was at Bedford, where the people made from the first so determined a resistance that the effort to alienate their church property was abandoned.

A policy so unjust and oppressive could not fail to produce dissatisfaction and trouble. The Governor might be arbitrary and overbearing, but his power was not without limit. Legislative assemblies and courts of justice could not be counted upon to sustain his interpretation of the law. The Assembly had from the first refused to acquiesce in Fletcher's usurpation of the right to collate ministers. The same body in 1695 declared that, under the Act for Settling a Ministry, a minister dissenting from the Church of England might lawfully be called and maintained as the parish minister of the city of New York. In 1705 Lord Cornbury endeavored to procure the enactment of laws that would at once confirm the Society's missionaries in the possession of the privileges claimed for them under the Act of 1693, and provide in a similar way for the support of ministers of the Church of England in places that were not included within the scope of that Act. "The Difficulties which some very worthy Ministers of the Church of England, have met with, in the getting the Maintenance settled upon them, by Act of General Assembly of this Province, passed in the Year 1693, moves me," said his lordship in a speech to the House, "to recommend to you the passing an Act, explanatory of the abovementioned Act, that those worthy good Men, who have ventured to come so far, for the Service of God and his Church, and the Good and Edification of the People, to the Salvation of their Souls; may not for the future be vexed, as some of them have been, but may enjoy in Quiet that Maintenance, which was by a Law provided for them. I further recommend to you the passing an Act, to provide for the Maintenance of some Ministers in some of the Towns at the East End of Long Island, where I do not find any Provision has been yet made for the propagating Religion."


Colonial legislatures had a quiet way of disposing of suggest-

ions like these. The House promptly passed a bill, entitled "An Act for the better explaining, and more effectual putting in Execution" the Act of 1693 for settling a Ministry. It did not meet the Governor's wishes. When submitted to the Council, the bill was amended and returned to the Assembly for its concurrence. The Assembly, however, refused to agree to the amendments; they were withdrawn by the Council, and the bill in its original shape became a law. The new Act was not any more than the old one an Act to establish the Church of England in four counties of the province. As little did it provide for the extension of the former Act to include the east end of Long Island. Five articles were embraced in the bill. The first made it the duty of the Justices of the Peace of each county to lay a tax on the places specified, in case that the persons appointed to this duty in the former Act should fail to perform it. The second provided that payments should be made to the incumbents at these places in the current money of the province, and not in country produce. The third related to the disposition of the fines, penalties and forfeitures that might arise. The fourth empowered the vestrymen and church wardens to "present" a minister in case of the death of an incumbent. The fifth was as follows: "Provided nevertheless, That neither this present Act of General Assembly, nor any Thing herein contained, shall be construed, or understood to extend to abridge, or take away the Indulgence, or Liberty of Conscience granted and allowed to any other Protestant Christians, by any Law, or Statute of the Realm of *England*, or of this Plantation; any Thing in this Act contained to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding."

An important point, however, had been yielded by the Assembly. The Act of 1705 recognized the right of the Governor—a right which the Act of 1693 did not recognize—to "induct ministers in parishes" within the counties named. (Laws of New York, Chap. CXLVI.)

Subsequent enactments of the Colonial Legislature made provision for the more effectual execution of the law, with reference to the raising of a maintenance for the ministers of the parishes. These enactments were based upon the Act of 1693. No new measure was introduced for the setting up of a State Church; but the interpretation which had been given to the original law in favor of the Anglican ministers, and particularly the rector of Trinity Church in New York, seems to have been acquiesced in by the Assembly.

The courts of justice became and long continued to be the resort of complainants. Suits at law, lasting for many years, grew out of the




seizure of the church at Jamaica. In 1727, a quarter of a century after their dispossession, the Presbyterians gained their cause, recovered the church, and had their title to the glebe lands and the parsonage confirmed. At Hempstead the right of the Anglican party to the church land was hotly disputed, and the missionary was "often threatened with an ejectionment." At Rye the Presbyterians pressed their claim from time to time, and finally, toward the middle of the century, brought a suit for the purpose of recovering at least a part of their former glebe. All this litigation, however, was insignificant compared with the strifes and contentions arising out of the attempt to collect the taxes for the support of the Anglican clergy. The vestrymen, as they were called, regarding their office as a purely secular one, refused in some instances to admit the Church of England clergymen to take part in their proceedings, and sometimes they paid over the sums raised by taxation to the Presbyterian ministers instead. (Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. 270.) The churches, built by the towns, continued to be regarded by the mass of the people as town property, and from time to time this theory of ownership was reduced to practice without recourse to the forms of law. While in some places the Presbyterians were successful in retaining or ultimately recovering their houses of worship, as at Bedford, Newtown and Jamaica, in other places they asserted their claim by an occasional or periodical occupation. Thus William Tennent preached for eighteen months in Eastchester church, and at Rye the Presbyterians at one time held possession of the church for nearly three years. Some of these buildings were at a late day secured by charter to the favored denomination, but it was long before they ceased to be regarded by the people as common or "union" houses of worship.

On the whole the scheme for the establishment of the Church of England in four counties of the province, under the provision of a law passed by the Provincial Assembly, was a mistake and a failure. A leading member of that Church spoke of it as an "artifice" (Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. 244), and the language of some who were directly concerned in the scheme is scarcely less candid. "I believe at this day," says Lewis Morris in 1711, "the Church had been in a much better position had there been no Act in her favour." (N. Y. Col. Documents, V. 323.) As well by the fraudulent construction, as by the oppressive enforcement of the law, a deep and lasting resentment was awakened against those who procured and those who profited by the abuse.

But a second and more imposing claim was advanced in the course of time in behalf of a State Church in this province. As the century

went on, it was assumed, more and more distinctly and unhesitatingly, that the ecclesiastical establishment of the mother country extended necessarily to the colonies; that wherever throughout the British Empire the authority of the Crown was exercised, there the Church of England was to be acknowledged as the Church by law established; and those who differed from that Church possessed in the colonies no other rights and immunities than such as were granted at home to Dissenters. Especially, it was held, must the claim be admitted in a province that possessed none of those rights which were peculiar to the "charter governments" of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, but was directly amenable to the Crown, and subject to the laws of England.

The missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel appear to have taken this ground from the first. But it became a more serious matter when a Governor, acting upon this theory, undertook to deal with Presbyterian ministers and congregations as Dissenters. The adoption of this course may be said to date from the time when a Presbyterian congregation was gathered in the city of New York. In the broader sense of the name, Presbyterianism, we have seen, had been represented in that city from the first by the Churches of Holland and France. But it was long before the adherents of the Church of Scotland came in any considerable numbers to settle in New York. Early in the eighteenth century we hear of religious services that were held in private houses; and we learn that the congregation of Trinity Church was in large part composed of those who preferred the Presbyterian order, but who worshipped there, "having no other place to go to." (Correspondence G. P. S.) It was not until the year 1715 that a regular church organization was effected by the Presbyterians of New York. (Bellamy Papers.) But in 1707 two Presbyterian ministers from Maryland, Francis Makemie and John Hampton, visited New York, and preached in that city and on Long Island. Lord Cornbury arrested them as strolling preachers. They were thrown into prison, and Makemie was indicted and tried upon the charge of having preached without being qualified or permitted, and of having used other rites and ceremonies than those of the Common Prayer. The trial resulted in his acquittal; and the Governor's course was generally, perhaps universally, condemned. Colonel Morris wrote home, lamenting "a procedure by no means warrantable, and that alarms all mankind here. My Lord's arbitrary conduct with respect to this man, and his example together, have so soured a great many, that subscriptions





Governor, "had frequently expressed his abhorrence of the illiberal and unjust refusal which their former applications had met." But the hopes awakened were disappointed. The petition was referred to a committee, and then quietly set aside.


A fifth application was made in the year 1766. The congregation had greatly increased in numbers. It had been found necessary to enlarge the church on Wall street, and a project was now entertained for the erection of a second house of worship. "The petition of John Rodgers and Joseph Treat, the present Ministers of the Presbyterian Church of the City of New York," dated the 18th of March, 1766, sets forth the reasons for their request. The Presbyterian subjects of the Crown, Dutch and English, in the province of New York, are a great majority of the whole number of the inhabitants. There is no general establishment of rates for the building of churches and the support of ministers. The whole charge of supporting the worship of God is defrayed by voluntary contributions. Every congregation stands in need of some property for sacred uses, and to hold such property needs to be incorporated; and the petitioners are very desirous to secure their church and the cemetery adjoining, and also to acquire a further estate for the better support of the Gospel. Inasmuch as some doubt has arisen with regard to the power of the Governor to grant a charter in such a case, they make their request directly to the King in Council. In urging the expediency of granting it, they represent that the old Statutes of Uniformity do not extend to America, and that the growth and prosperity of the King's dominions in America depend greatly on the enjoyment of liberty of conscience, and an impartial treatment for his Protestant subjects of every denomination, "especially those of the two Communions established in Great Britain."

The petition was duly presented, and was referred by the Royal Council to the Lords of Trade for consideration. Lord Dartmouth, the President of that Board, was known to be friendly to the object. To the Board itself the petitioners' request appeared "in the general and abstracted view of it . . . to be no ways improper or unreasonable." But before reporting upon the case the Lords of Trade saw fit to inquire of the provincial government why it was that the prayer for a charter had not been granted when presented at an earlier day. The answer of the Council of New York to this inquiry was delayed for some months, and failed to throw much light on the subject. They stated that about the same time with the Presbyterians, or shortly after, several other congregations—Lutheran, Dutch, and French—had made

similar requests for incorporation. In the case of the first of these, the Lutheran Church of New York, the committee to whom the petition was referred had reported favorably, advising that a charter be granted. But the Lords of Trade, to whom the petition was transmitted, had not seen it to be necessary or expedient to grant it. The Council now perceive no difference in the circumstances of the present petitioners whereon to ground any preference in their favour. As to the assertion contained in the petition, that "the old English Statutes of Uniformity do not extend to America," the question is one which to them seems "necessary to be determined on the highest authority, previous to any final resolution on the petition, lest such incorporations might be considered as repugnant to the provisions of those Statutes." (N. Y. Col. Documents, VII. 846.—Doc. History of N. Y., III. 503.)

Pending the arrival of this answer from New York, the Lords of Trade had submitted the petition of the Presbyterians to the Bishop of London, who was already informed of the project through his American correspondents. The wise and moderate Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker, was in turn consulted. Dr. Secker saw nothing very formidable in the request. It is "made only for one Church, not for the Presbyterians in general, as our American correspondents represented it." Some of these had "mentioned the application as a scheme to unite the Presbyterians of those countries with the Church of Scotland;—nothing of that sort appears in it. The connexion of the New York Presbyterians with that Church was occasioned only by their not being a Corporation, and will cease if they are made one." Upon the whole, however, thought Secker, the request might be denied without giving ground of complaint. If to grant it "will assist them to grow upon us and increase their superiority over us, of which in this very petition they boast, leaving them in the present state, which doth them no injury, is surely more prudent than raising them at all higher." (Correspondence G. P. S.)

At length, on the 10th of July, 1767, the Lords of Trade made their report. They concurred with the Council of New York in expressing the doubt whether his Majesty, consistently with his Coronation Oath, could create such an establishment as the petition requested in favor of the Presbyterian Church. But without presuming to decide upon a question of so great importance, they gave it as their opinion that it was "not expedient, upon principles of general policy, to comply with the prayer of this petition, or to give the Presbyterian Church



of New York any other privileges and immunities than it" was "intitled to by the laws of Toleration." (N. Y. Colonial Documents, VII. 943.)


The question whereon so grave a doubt was expressed in both countries at so late a day—only a few years before the period of the Revolution—seems to have been an open question from the first. Was the Church of England, to the securing of which as by law established in the Realm the King was pledged by his coronation oath, possessed of the same superior and exclusive rights in the colonies as at home? Did the Act of Uniformity, made in the thirteenth year of King Charles II., "and all and singular other Acts of Parliament" still "in force for the establishment and preservation of the Church of England," which by the same coronation oath the King was engaged to maintain, apply and extend to the provinces? The Government did not lack advisers, who were ready and anxious to give a categorical answer. "The Church of England being established in America," said Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, "the Independents and other Dissenters who went to settle in New England could only have a Toleration." (N. Y. Col. Documents, VII. 365.) The opinion was echoed by humbler voices across the water. "Those who dissent from the National Religion," wrote Dr. Chandler of Elizabeth, New Jersey, "have no natural right to any degree of civil or military power." (Appeal to the Public, 109.) "By indulging the Presbyterians with Royal Charters, they will be put upon an equality with the Established Church of the Nation," said Dr. Auchmuty of New York. "I don't envy them," wrote Wetmore of Rye some years earlier, "any benefits of the Act of Indulgence, but should be sorry to see the propagation of their doctrine and sect dignified with a Royal Charter." (Correspondence G. P. S.)

But what were the "benefits of the Act of Indulgence"? And what were the provisions of the Acts of Religious Uniformity, to the penalties of which in the earlier days of the American Colonies, before the passage of that Act, non-conformists might have been thought obnoxious even in these remote dependencies of England? Until the passage of the Toleration Act in the year 1688, persons failing to repair to the parish church were subject to a fine of one shilling for each offence; or by a later statute, to a fine of twenty pounds per month; or by a still later one, to the forfeiture of all goods and two-thirds of lands and leases. Any person above sixteen years of age frequenting conventicles, or persuading others to do so, was liable to imprisonment until he should conform himself and make submission. Administering

the sacraments in any other form than that prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, was punishable with a fine of one hundred pounds for each offence. Preachers at conventicles, and every person suffering a conventicle to be held in his house, barn, or yard, were fined twenty pounds.

The Act of Toleration in the first year of William and Mary, exempted Protestants dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of these laws; but there were other disabilities and restrictions under which they continued to suffer. Non-conformists were still by law denied a place in municipal corporations. Non-conformist schoolmasters were held incapable of keeping schools, and might be committed to the common gaol for three months for so doing. Dissenting ministers were relieved from former penalties only upon taking certain oaths. No dissenting place of worship could be opened until certified to the Bishop of the diocese. The system of tithes, with its "many and grievous mischiefs," was still in force. Church rates and other religious exactions remained. Some of these oppressive requirements have only been repealed in our own day, others still exist in England—all of them existed under the Toleration Act, and down to the time of the Revolution. (History of Church Laws in England, by E. Muscutt.)

Did the laws of religious uniformity, and all the provisions for the establishment of the Church of England, extend to America? Wise men might hesitate to answer positively in the affirmative. The founders of some of the colonies had left Great Britain to escape from the hardships felt under the pressure of those very laws. It was fairly objected to such a theory, that if a doubt had been started at the time of the original emigrations as to the autonomy and equality of all Protestant denominations in the colonies, the movement would have taken a very different shape, and "these immense possessions on the continent of America would not have been subject to the British Crown." It was not so clear to all, even in England, that the ecclesiastical system of that country was established by force of law in America. While one Bishop of London pronounced in favor of the doctrine, another was equally explicit in denying it. "My opinion has always been," wrote Bishop Gibson, Sherlock's predecessor, in 1735, "that the religious state of New England is founded in an equal liberty to all Protestants, none of whom can claim the name of a national establishment, or any kind of superiority over the rest." One of the highest legal authorities in the kingdom had already taken this position.



"Upon consideration of the several Acts of Uniformity that have passed in Great Britain," said counsellor West, afterwards Lord Chancellor in Ireland, "I am of opinion that they do not extend to New York; and consequently an Act of Toleration is of no use in that Province." The Government, from motives of policy, if from no superior considerations, seems to have acted in general upon this presumption. Even the Royal Instructions to the Governors of the province at first indicated such a course. The Instructions, it is true, were without the force of law. They were given, not by virtue of any Act of Parliament, but in that exercise of the royal prerogative by which the sovereign assumed sole jurisdiction over the colonies—a jurisdiction which at a later day Parliament alone was acknowledged to possess.

The commissioners sent by Charles II. in 1664 to the American Plantations were directed to avoid all interference with the religious faith and worship of the colonists. "Since the great and principal ends of all those who first engaged themselves in those Plantations, in which they have spent much time and money, was liberty of conscience, . . . you are to be very careful . . . that nothing be said or done from which the people there may think that there is any purpose in us to make any alteration in the church government, or to introduce any other form of worship among them than what they have chosen;" for "we could not imagine it probable that a confederate number of persons, who separated themselves from their own country and the religion established, principally if not only that they might enjoy another way of worship, declared unto them by their own consciences, could in so short a time be willing to return to that form of service they had forsaken." The Commissioners were enjoined to guard themselves against a class of persons that "pretend to have a great prejudice against the form of religion there professed, and as great a zeal for establishing the Book of Common Prayer, and it may be the Episcopacy itself, and the whole discipline of the Church of England." (N. Y. Col. Documents, III. 58, 59.)


The Instructions given to the succeeding Governors, Andros and Dongan, were of a similar tenor. They were to "permit all persons of what religion soever quietly to inhabit within the precincts of their jurisdiction, without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever, by reason of their differing opinions in matter of religion."

Other directions followed that were seemingly in conflict with this liberal policy. From Dongan's administration till that of Governor

Hunter, instructions were given, almost in a stereotype form, relative to the settlement of religion. "You shall take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your government, the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now established, read each Sunday and holyday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England." Governors were authorized to collate ministers to benefices, to remove them if scandalous, and to supply vacancies made by such removals. No minister shall be preferred to any ecclesiastical benefice without a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all countenance and encouragement shall be given to the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop, so far as it may conveniently take place. The only material change in these instructions after Dongan's time was the substitution of the name of the Bishop of London for that of the primate. (N. Y. Col. Documents, III. 372, *seq.*)

It is quite likely that these instructions may have been inspired by a spirit which was at times very powerful in the British Court. During the reign of Queen Anne the party holding extreme views with regard to the rights and the authority of the Church—the High Church party, as it then came to be called—possessed a controlling influence with the sovereign. It would have been consistent certainly with these views to affirm the establishment of the Church of England in the colonies, and to seek through the ministers of the Crown to follow those who dissented from that Church with the same repressive measures that were in force in the mother country. Thus we have seen that Lord Cornbury's lawyer referred to the Royal Instructions in justification of his treatment of Makemie, and that Lord Bellomont before him rejected a bill for the Settlement of a "Dissenting Ministry," because "contrary to his Majesty's Instructions." And thus Fletcher, still earlier, had claimed the power, which the Assembly refused to acknowledge, to collate and suspend any minister in his government, "by virtue of their Majesty's letters patent."

On the other hand, it was urged that the Royal Instructions could only relate to ministers of the Established Church who might be settled in the provinces, asserting the Bishop's jurisdiction over them, and over the congregations that observed the ritual of that Church, and committing to the Governor certain powers for the furtherance of that jurisdiction. That such was the intent of the Government seems evident now. The earlier Governors made no attempt to carry out their instructions in the broad sense which would make them apply to



non-conformist ministers and churches. "The Government itself here at home," said the Bishop of Hereford in 1718, "sovereign as it is, and invested doubtless with sufficient authority there, hath not thought fit to interpose in this matter." . . . "In truth, the whole was left to the wisdom of the first Proprietors, and to the conduct of every private man." (Sermon preached before the Society, etc.)

The language of the Commission given by George II. in 1728 to the Bishop of London, for exercising jurisdiction in the American Colonies, seems conclusive as to the meaning of the Government. The jurisdiction given was "spiritual and ecclesiastical." It extended to "all churches in the Colonies, in which Divine Service, according to the rites of the Church of England, shall have been celebrated," and to "the rectors and incumbents belonging to said churches, and to all presbyters and deacons admitted into the holy orders of the Church of England." The Bishop had power by himself or his commissaries to visit these churches, to cite ministers, to hear and determine appeals, and to pronounce judgment, according to the laws and canons of the Church of England. By the terms of this commission, the authority given is expressly limited to the clergy and the congregations of that spiritual fold. There is no intimation of a more extensive claim. There is nothing to favor the theory of an ecclesiastical establishment by law in the provinces. (N. Y. Col. Documents, V. 849.)

But the failure of the British Government to assert such a doctrine, or to act upon it, appears still more conspicuously in connection with the question of appointing Bishops for the colonies. The Church of England congregations in America were placed at an early day, as we have seen, under the care of the Bishop of London. The inconveniences arising from such an arrangement were many and serious, and the need of a colonial episcopate was manifestly urgent. This need was strongly represented to the Government, not only by the Anglican clergy in America, but also by influential persons at Court. It was supported with arguments, which to us at the present day appear most convincing. The churches of that communion in the colonies were destitute of ministrations which they regarded as vitally important; while the ministers were shut off from the counsel, oversight and discipline which their ecclesiastical system contemplated. The Bishop of London was "a cypher." His jurisdiction amounted to very little. It was confined to the clergy. As for the people, "the Dissenters of all kinds, upon the mere foot of toleration," said Bishop Sherlock, "are in a better case." (N. Y. Col. Documents.) They were deprived


of confirmation for their youth, and, except at the cost and risk of a voyage to England, of ordination for those who felt themselves called to the Holy Ministry. The disadvantages and hardships of this condition of things continued for many years to be the burthen of appeals and remonstrances addressed to the Government. But the Government turned a deaf ear to them. No Bishops were sent, nor does it appear that there was ever a settled purpose to send any.

The refusal of a request so manifestly reasonable and wise in itself, can only be understood in one way. The Government was unprepared to assume or to proclaim the establishment of the Church of England in the colonies. The colonies were violently opposed to any such action, and jealous of any indication of a design to adopt it.

The proposal to send over a bishop would "give a great alarm to the several colonies, as it did in K. Charles y<sup>e</sup> 2ds time, when there came over Petitions and addresses with all violence imaginable." (Observations of the Bishop of London regarding a Suffragan for America, Dec., 1707.—New York Col. Documents, V. 29.)

"[I] do not think that the ministry have any intention at present of sending a bishop among you," wrote William Gordon to Dr. Bellamy, in 1769. "They will scarce venture upon irritating yet more, especially if they believe a war probable, as they will want troops from the colonies to act against the French & Spaniards in America. I doubt not but they repent heartily of the steps they have taken already, tho' they are ashamed to reverse them." (Bellamy Papers, Mss.)

The appointment of bishops would infallibly be construed as the evidence of such a design. In vain it was urged that nothing of the sort was in contemplation; "nothing," the pious and prudent Archbishop Secker declared, "at which Christians of any denomination have cause to be alarmed; but merely a provision that those of our Communion in the Colonies might have that complete and easy exercise of every branch of their religion which others there have, and would complain bitterly if they had not;" that "we are for sending persons of our own order into America, not to claim the least jurisdiction over them, but merely to ordain Ministers for Episcopal Congregations, without the trouble, expense, and hazard of a voyage to England—a burthen to which if they were subjected they would think insupportable; to confirm from time to time the youth of those congregations—a practice which rightly or wrongly we hold in high esteem; and to exercise such discipline in those congregations only, as they exercise by ordained Presbyters or lay Elders;—which discipline of ours would no more





hurt them than theirs hurts us. To these representations they will pay more regard if we are careful not to give them unnecessary offence in any thing." (N. Y. Col. Documents, VII. 348, 349.)

This was sound reasoning and excellent counsel. But neither the argument nor the advice of the good Archbishop seems to have been greatly heeded in the colonies. The advocates of the plan for bringing bishops to America were hardly judicious in their choice of methods to promote that plan. Their language was often such as to justify the impression that in seeking an American episcopate they were aiming at an ecclesiastical establishment. Changes were rung more loudly than ever upon "Conformity" and "Dissent." Incautious admissions were made. There were hints that the bishops might, without hardship, be supported by "a general Tax laid upon the Country;" and that the government might "see fit hereafter to invest them with some Degree of civil Power worthy of their Acceptance." (Appeal to the Public, 107, 110.)

The application of the Presbyterians of New York for a charter continued to be strenuously opposed; and the opposition was grounded upon the paramount right of the Church of England in the province. Even the excellent Archbishop Secker objected to the request: "That any of the powers and privileges they ask should be greater than the Episcopal churches enjoy, is evidently unreasonable. That any should be equal is derogatory from the just pre-eminence of the established religion." (Correspondence G. P. S.) "By the granting of the petition," wrote a leading clergyman of New York, "the National Religion in this province would have received a most fatal blow." The government was held to be in duty bound to show special favor to the Anglican Communion. Representations were made of the "importance of having good Governors, well attached to the Church, and well disposed to espouse her interest and that of true religion, upon all occasions," sent out to the provinces. Complaint was made of Governor Belcher, of New Jersey, that he had "not shown all that countenance to the Church she had a right to expect, while the Dissenting Meetings there have been highly favored;" and a successor was recommended, a "heartly friend to the establishment of our nation both in Church and State."


The correspondence of some of these advocates for the scheme of bishops places their views before us in a clearer light perhaps than that in which they were beheld at the time. But the sentiments thus expressed were doubtless betrayed in other ways; or if not, they were shrewdly surmised. Hence the opposition which the scheme awak-

ened; an opposition which at first sight seems unaccountable. The Presbyterian ministry were forward in this opposition. "Our fears would not be so much alarmed," said they, "could any rational method be devised for sending over bishops among us, stripped of every degree of civil power, and confined in the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions to their own society; and could we have sufficient security that the British Parliament that would send them over, thus limited, to gain a peaceable settlement here, would never be induced by their complaints for the want of power, to enlarge it at any future period. But it is very evident that it is not that harmless and inoffensive bishop which is designed for us, or which the missionaries among us request; and therefore we cannot but be apprehensive of danger from the proposed episcopate, however plausible the scheme may be represented."

"There 's a general apprehension among our brethren, that the government will send over some Bishops to settle in America. If it is only in the Episcopal colonies, I can't see that the dissenters will have any right to blame, tho' they will have cause to fear, for when once Episcopacy has got a footing, there's no knowing where it will stop. It will be well, should it not prove a wen to our American territories which tho' at first it may be inconsiderable, & may continue so for many years, may at length increase so fast as to be not only very noxious to the sight but dangerous to the body politick, & render it necessary to attempt cutting it off, though at the hazard of the State." (Rev. William Gordon to Dr. Bellamy; London, 21 Aug., 1764.—Bellamy Papers, Mss.)

Others beside the Presbyterian clergy shared these fears. "A general and just apprehension" existed, said John Adams, "that Bishops, and dioceses, and churches, and priests, and tithes, were to be imposed upon us by Parliament. If Parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and tithes, and prohibit all other Churches as conventicles and schism-shops." In the light of history, however, these apprehensions certainly appear to have been exaggerated. The British government showed no zeal for the scheme. The attention of the ministry could not be gained to it. (Bancroft, IV. 427; Life of Dr. S. Johnson, 297, 325.) The friends of the cause complained loudly of the indifference with which it was treated by statesmen.

Yet the right of Parliament to exercise its universal and unlimited power over the colonies, in this direction as in any other, was asserted. The Stamp Act for America, passed in 1765, made mention, among



struggle, which, while it rendered the congregation less solicitous about obtaining a charter, attracted and fixed their attention on other subjects."

But the problem so beset with difficulties, to the minds of British sovereigns and statesmen, was viewed in a very different light by the colonial Governors of New York. "To me," said Governor Tryon, the last of these worthies, "it appears clear . . . that the National Church of England is established within this Colony [and] that the provision by the Ministry Acts . . . was intended and can only be applied for the support of the Clergy of that Church." (Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. 336.) It is a significant fact that some of the worst of the colonial Governors were the most pronounced and unfaltering supporters of the theory of a Church Establishment in the province. The insolence of a Fletcher, a Cornbury, a Tryon, found natural expression in words and acts contemning the religious convictions and rights of the people under their misrule. And undoubtedly the sense of injustice that rankled in the public mind, in view of the perversion of law and abuse of power with reference to liberty of conscience, contributed greatly to the growing dissatisfaction, throughout a large part of the century preceding the Revolution.


Meanwhile, during the quarter of a century immediately preceding the Revolution, a discussion of the whole subject of religious rights, important for its effect upon the popular mind, as well as for the ability displayed in its prosecution, was conducted through the public press by the leading men of the Presbyterian Church in New York. Three of these were eminent lawyers. A fourth was the young pastor of the Wall Street Church, Alexander Cumming, whose spirited appeals and cogent arguments contributed not a little to the force and weight of the pamphlet and newspaper publications of the day. But the names of his parishioners, William Smith, William Livingston, John Morin Scott, are better known in connection with this debate. The battle for religious liberty was well fought, at a time when the great struggle for civil freedom was beginning, by "the Presbyterian lawyers" of New York; and not only for their own religious communion, but equally for other Christian bodies. It is certainly to the credit of these advocates of the rights of conscience, that representing a Church which in Great Britain was a Church by law established—one of "the two Communions" in alliance with the State, the National Church of Scotland—they pleaded the common cause of the Protestant denominations not conforming to the Church of England. By the prominent part they took in this con-

trovery, as well as by their activity in the political discussions of the day, Livingston and his associates incurred suspicion and odium as dangerous men. But their arguments and appeals carried the judgment and the sympathies of the people. The partisans of a Church Establishment were no match for the men who stood forth in defence of the rights of conscience and the freedom of the land from an oppressive ecclesiastical rule. "The Presbyterians in America," wrote one of their opponents in 1766, "have ever been an encroaching and restless sect, and there is great reason to think they ever will be so. Since my first settling in this City, which is now upwards of seventeen years, they have at times been extremely troublesome, and have exerted all their cunning and interest to prevent the increase and prosperity of the Established Church." "The Province is unhappily ruled," wrote another, "by a set of lawyers of that persuasion who take every opportunity of doing the Church all the mischief in their power." (Correspondence G. P. S.)

It was at a late day in the colonial period that the Provincial Legislature of New York sought to provide by law for the redress of the grievances which had arisen out of a misconstruction of earlier laws, and to assert the principle, now fearlessly proclaimed by the Liberal party, of entire freedom and equality in matters of religion. Persistent efforts in this direction were made in the year 1769 and the two following years by the General Assembly of the province; but each measure, emanating from the popular branch of the Government, was either rejected in the Council, or defeated as effectually by the refusal of the Council to act upon it.

The discussion of this subject in the Assembly appears to have been introduced on the 6th of April, 1769, by Colonel Morris, in a speech thus reported in the proceedings of that body:

"Mr. Speaker: As the preservation of religious liberty is essential to the growth and tranquility of this colony; and a taxation of protestants of all denominations indiscriminately, for the support of the ministers of any one sect in particular, is most palpably partial and unjust; and great discontents have long been occasioned by the ministry acts in the counties of Westchester, New York, Queens and Richmond, in consequence whereof the Episcopal ministers are maintained by taxes upon other persuasions, not even excepting their clergy: I therefore move for leave to bring in a bill to exempt protestants of all denominations in the said counties from the payment of any taxes raised for the support of ministers of a religious persuasion to which they do not belong."



The discussion of this subject was cut short by the Revolution. Time, however, has vindicated the position taken by the Presbyterians of New York. The conclusions they reached have been fully recognized under the British government itself in the colonies that have remained attached to the mother country. The separation of Church and State is as complete to-day in Canada and Australia as in the United States. At one time or another the Church of England had been established by law in each of those dependencies of the British crown. But this establishment was by virtue of special laws enacted in the colonial legislatures; and by the same authority the connection between the Church and the provincial government has been terminated. In New York, as we have seen, no such legislation ever occurred.

Already, before the outbreak of the Revolution, the great principle for which the Presbyterian lawyers of this province contended had received the highest legal authority of the day. Among the laws of the mother country not extending to English plantations in the colonies, said Sir William Blackstone, those relating to "the mode of maintenance for the established clergy, the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, and a multitude of other provisions, are neither necessary nor convenient for them, and therefore are not in force." (Commentaries, I. 107.) And the Revolution had scarcely begun when that principle was embodied in the first Constitution of the State of New York, prepared in the year 1777. After confirming such parts of the English Common Law, the Statutes, and the Colonial Acts, as together formed the law of the province on the 19th of April, 1775, the 35th section of that constitution provides: "That all such parts of the Common Law, and all such of the said Statutes, and Acts aforesaid, or parts thereof, as *may be construed* to establish any particular denomination of Christians or their ministers, . . . be, and they hereby are, abrogated and *rejected*."

CHARLES W. BAIRD

## APPENDIX

### CHURCHES IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK BY THE YEAR 1700:

**DUTCH REFORMED CHURCHES.**—New York (1628), Albany (1642), Bushwick (1654), Flatbush (1654), Flatlands (1654), Gravesend (1655), Kingston (1659), Brooklyn (1660), Harlem (1660), New Utrecht (1677), Schenectady (1681), Staten Island (1690), Tappan (1694), Fordham (1696), Tarrytown (1697). In all, fifteen. (*Discourse on the Character and Development of the Reformed Church in the Colonial Period*, by Edward T. Corwin, D.D., p. 64.)

**FRENCH REFORMED CHURCHES.**—Staten Island (1665), New York (1683), New Paltz (1683), New Rochelle (1688). In all, four.

**GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.**—Livingston Manor (1700). (Rev. Dr. Corwin's *Discourse*, u. s.)

**ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.**—Southold, L. I. (1641); Southampton, L. I. (1641); Hempstead, L. I. (1645); Easthampton, L. I. (1652); Newtown, L. I. (1660); Huntington, L. I. (1665); Bridgehampton, L. I. (1670); Setauket, L. I. (1671); Jamaica, L. I. (1672); Rye (1677); Bedford (1680); Westchester (1685); Eastchester (1685). In all, thirteen. (Thompson's *History of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, L. I.*; Bolton's *History of Westchester County, N. Y.*, etc.)

**GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCHES.**—New York (1671), Albany (1673). (Brodhead's *History of New York*, II., 174; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, II., 617.)

**CHURCH OF ENGLAND.**—Service in the Dutch Church in the Fort, New York (1664); Trinity Church, New York (1697). (Brodhead's *History of New York*, II., 44; *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, III., 409.)

**DUTCH AND FRENCH PRESBYTERIANS.**—The name *Presbyterian* belongs in every sense as much to the Reformed Churches of Holland, France, Switzerland and Germany as to those churches in the British islands that have adhered to the Calvinistic system of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity. Indeed no better exemplification of that system has ever been given than that which was given in France, until broken

up, under Louis XIV., by the laws that interdicted its Colloquies and Synods, or that which was maintained in Holland until the early part of the present century. It is therefore difficult to refer seriously to the plea set up by certain partisan writers in the last century, that the Reformed Dutch Church was not properly Presbyterian, and though "not Episcopal exactly," yet had many points of sympathy with the ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England. Such an impression may have been due in a measure to the fact that there were in the colonial time some features in the *condition* of the Dutch and Anglican Churches in this province that were not unlike. In the case of each of these churches, the governing power was out of sight. The Dutch congregations in America were ruled by the Classis of Amsterdam, even as the Church of England congregations were subject to the Bishop of London. Candidates for the ministry, in the one church as in the other, were obliged to go to the mother country for ordination. It is not altogether strange that the friends of prelacy should have seen a modified episcopate in the State Church of Holland. The members of Classis seemed at this great distance to be a separate order of clergy, clothed with powers of ordination and government that were denied to ordinary ministers, such as those that were sent to officiate here. (*The American Whig*, etc., printed by John Holt; 1768, p. 159.) The *deputatus synodi* especially, it was thought, must certainly be a kind of bishop. This impression may have been aided by the liturgical character of the Reformed worship as practised by all the continental churches; and by the *prestige* surrounding a National Church established in Holland, like the National Church in England, by law. Nevertheless it was Presbyterianism, pure and simple, that the Dutch settlers brought to this land.

"The Reformed Churches of Holland, France, Germany and Geneva were all as really Presbyterian as that of Scotland." (Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D.)

The Heidelberg Catechism was approved at an early day by the Church of Scotland, and a place was given to it among the symbolical books of that Church. (Dunlop's *Confessions of the Church of Scotland*; Rev. Dr. Schaff's *Creds of Christendom*, I., 682, 697.)

"In point of age the (Reformed Dutch) Church is the oldest on the American continent of all the Presbyterian or Reformed Churches. This fact is recognized by the Europeans who are familiar with the history of American Churches. We accept their designation, 'the Oldest Presbyterian Church in America,' with a full understanding of the responsibility and duties involved in it." (Rev. Philip Peltz, D.D., in *The Catholic Presbyterian*, April, 1879.)

In 1744 the deputies of North and South Holland wrote to the Synod of Philadelphia, requesting information about the Dutch and German churches of Pennsylvania, and asking whether the Synod would be willing to take those churches under its care.

Many facts illustrating the oneness of the system represented by the Church of Scotland and the continental churches might readily be cited. It is enough to say, that a comparison of their standards of doctrine and discipline will make this clear, and will correct a misapprehension shared with the pamphleteers of the last century by some of the most accurate historians of our own day.

As for the English congregations gathered on Long Island and Westchester county prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were known from the first as "Presbyterian," though as yet no Presbytery had been constituted in this country. Their founders came from Connecticut, a colony of which the principal friends and patrons, and many of the planters, were Presbyterians. All these churches came under the care of Presbyteries, when this became practicable. (Gillett's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, I., 33 seq.)

CORNURY'S AMENDMENTS. — The amendments to the Assembly's bill, offered by Lord Cornbury's Council, 7th July, 1705, are significant. They will be found in N. Y. Colonial Mss., Office of the Secretary of State, Vol. L.,

pp. 118, 161. The fourth section of the proposed Act provided that upon the death of the incumbent in each place designated, the vestrymen and church-wardens of that place should be empowered to call and present a good, sufficient Protestant minister within one year, "*which Ministers shall respectively be instituted and inducted to the said Churches.*" This language, while recognizing the Governor's right to induct—a right which had not been accorded by the Act of 1693—made it obligatory upon him to induct the minister so presented. The Council's amendment substituted for the words above quoted the following words: "*in order to be instituted and inducted,*" etc. So amended, the Act could have been interpreted as leaving it to the Governor's discretion whether to induct or to refuse induction.

Another amendment consisted in the addition of a clause to the sixth section of the bill, extending the operation of the Act of 1693 to the tract of land in Westchester county known as the Mile Square—a tract exempted out of the Yonkers patent, and therefore not embraced in the parish limits described by the earlier Act. The extension was inconsiderable, but the Assembly was perhaps unwilling to enlarge in any direction the scope of the law which the present bill was intended to explain.

A third change proposed by the Council was the substitution of the word "*Toleration*" for the word "*Indulgence*" in the fifth section of the bill, which has been quoted in the text. The proposal was characteristic. Cornbury was strenuous on the subject of *Toleration*; his conception of which took shape in the treatment of Francis Makemie. See also his Commission to "Mr. Francis Goodhue," Licensing and *Tollerating* him "to be Minister of the Presbyterian Congregation at Jamaica, . . . & to have & to Exercise the free Liberty of" his "Religion . . . during so Long Time as to me shall seem meet." (Doc. Hist. of N. Y., III., 210.)

PRESBYTERIAN SERVICES IN THE CITY HALL. — "For near three years after Mr. Anderson's settlement in New York, he and his infant congregation assembled for public worship in the City Hall, the use of which was liberally granted

them for that purpose by the corporation of the city." *Memoir of the Rev. John Rodgers, D.D.*, by Samuel Miller, D.D.)

I examined the Records of the Common Council with little expectation of finding any reference to this fact. I was gratified by the discovery of the following minute, now published, I believe, for the first time, an illustration of the accuracy of Dr. Miller's memoir:

"City of } Att a Common Council held at the  
New York. } Ss City Hall of the said City, on Wens-  
day the 16th day of Aprill Anno Dom 1718 \* \* \*

"The Petition of Messrs Gilbert Livingston, Thomas Grant, Patrick Macknight and John Nicols in Behalf of themselves & the Congregation of Disenting Protestants within this City Called Presbyterians was Read Setting forth that they have purchased a piece of Ground within this City Contiguous to the City Hall or near thereunto, with Design Speedily to Erect thereupon a Convenient Meeting house for the said Congregation for the Publick Worship and Service of Almighty God & praying that this Corporation will grant unto the said Congregation the use and Liberty of the City Hall in this City therein to Assemble and Meet together for the Publick Worship and Service of Almighty God untill their Meeting house aforesaid be built and finished.

"It is therefore Order'd by this Court that the Prayer of the said Petition be and is hereby Granted, Provided they do not Interfere with or Obstruct the Publick Courts of Justice to be held from time to time in the Said City Hall."

(*Minutes of the Common Council*, Vol. 3, from 24th Feb., 1702, to 9th March, 1722. Library of the Common Council, City Hall, New York.)

The only allusion to the Church in the subsequent transactions of the Common Council, so far as examined, is the following:

Oct. 11, 1720.—"Resolved that the Wall Street from the City Hall to the Broadway be of the same breadth contained in a Draft thereof this day produced to this Court by Mr. Samuel Bayard, by which Draft the said Street is to be forty-one foot wide from the fence of the Meeting house to the Corner of New Street." (*Id.*, p. 474.)

BISHOPS FOR AMERICA.—The scheme of Arch bishop Laud for sending a Bishop to New England, with power to enforce the decrees of the Star Chamber, is not to be forgotten. But neither that plan, nor the plan devised in the reign of Charles II. for establishing a Bishop in Virginia, seems greatly to have occupied the attention of Government. (*Anderson's History of the Church of England in the Colonies*, Vol. I., pp. 400-403; Vol. II., p. 358.)

As early as the year 1662 the report came from England to Massachusetts that "a Bishop, with a suffragan," had been appointed for the colonies. (*Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, I., 225, note.) Dr. Hawks conjectures (*Collections of the Prot. Episc. Hist. Society*, Vol. I., p. 139) that the date given by Hutchinson may have been written by mistake for the year 1672. But the statement is confirmed by the letters of the Dutch West India Company, acquainting Governor Stuyvesant in 1664 with the rumor then afloat that the King of England was about to send commissioners to install bishops in New England, "the same as in Old England." The Dutch hoped to reap some advantage from this measure. "We believe that the English, who mostly left England" to escape from the government of bishops, "will not give us henceforth so much trouble." Stuyvesant himself, better informed, suspected that the expedition might have a more purely secular design, and that the frigates about to sail from England might be destined for Long Island "and these further conquests," as the event proved. (*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, Vol. II., pp. 235, 409.)

In 1672, or the year following, "a resolution was taken by the King in council to send a bishop to Virginia." (*Collections of the Prot. Episc. Hist. Society*, u. s.) The project was abandoned, owing, as we learn at a later day, to the "great alarm" manifested by the people of "the several colonies" upon hearing of it. (*Observations of the Bishop of London regarding a Suffragan for America*, Dec., 1707.—*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, Vol. V., p. 29.)

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was alive from the first to the importance of this scheme; and in the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne its endeavors



to secure an American Episcopate seemed to have the promise of success. The Queen favored the measure. The Society in 1712 purchased a house at Burlington, New Jersey, for the residence of a bishop. Governor Hunter, through whom the purchase was effected, wrote to his friend Dean Swift, whose hopes had finally centered on a "Virginian bishoprick," informing him of the arrangements made, and expressing the wish that he might have "so good a friend" with him. (*Works of Rev. Jona. Swift, D.D.*, New York, 1813. Vol. XV., pp. 70, 81, 261.) It was for Parliament, however, to establish bishoprics in the colonies. The Queen had ordered the drawing up of a bill, to be submitted to Parliament, with this purpose in view, when her sudden death, 1st August, 1714, destroyed the hopes of those who advocated the measure. (*Collections of Prot. Episc. Hist. Society*, I., 141. —N. Y. Colonial Mss., Vol. LVIII., pp. 68, 69, Office of the Secretary of State, Albany.—*History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey*,

by the Rev. G. M. Hills, D.D., Trenton, N. J., 1876, pp. 105, 106.)

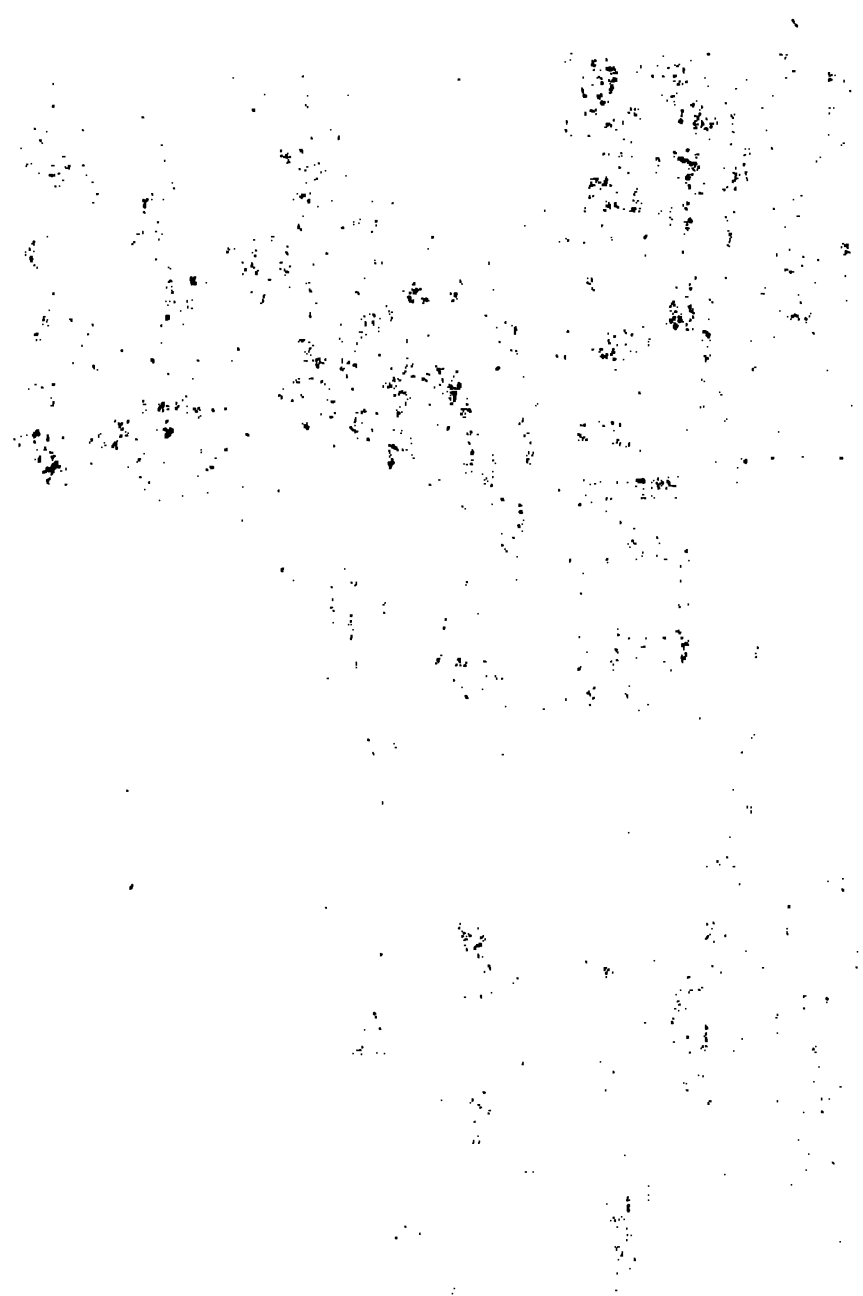
CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CANADA.—"Since the alienation of the Clergy Reserve (in 1854), the Church in Canada is precisely in the same position, as to its legal and civil status, as in the United States, and has no privileges beyond those of the religious bodies around it. . . . It is thoroughly and unqualifiedly disestablished. Its government is purely local, each diocese making its own canons; and under a Metropolitan, the Provincial Synod, composed of a House of Bishops and Lower House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, is the highest court of authority and appeal known to its system. Except advisory, as in the United States, no connection with the Church of England, as the Church of the Empire, is recognized." (Extract from a letter from a clergyman of the Church of England in Canada, kindly communicated by the Rev. B. F. De Costa.)

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OLD FORT VAN RENSSELAER CANAJOHATIE, N. Y.






## OLD FORT VAN RENSSELAER

This fort, situated at Canajoharie, N. Y., formed during the war of the revolution an important link in the chain of fortifications designed for the protection of the Mohawk Valley. After the repeated visitations of the enemy upon the settlements of this region, in the year 1780, numerous block-houses were erected for the assistance of the adjoining neighborhoods. The following year twenty-four of these strongholds were established between Schenectady and Fort Stanwix, mainly at the expense of the landed proprietors, to whom belonged the buildings palisaded. At Fort Plain and Fort Rensselaer many of the closing scenes of the revolution were enacted.

In 1780, the year preceding the appropriation of Fort Van Rensselaer by the government, the Indians under the famous chieftain, Brant, had devastated this section while the troops stationed at Fort Plain were on an expedition to Fort Stanwix, leaving the vicinity destitute of military aid. Washington, recognizing the necessity of a competent leader at this point, decided upon Colonel Marinus Willet as one peculiarly fitted to the trust. In a letter to Washington, bearing date July 16th, 1781, Willet stated that Fort Rensselaer, at Canajoharie, would be his headquarters, owing to its central location. In describing the stirring events which succeeded Willet's occupation of this fort, historians have, in one or two instances, fallen into the error of confounding Fort Rensselaer with Fort Plain. The explanation of this seems to be found in the fact that, situated as they were but four miles apart, Colonel Willet commanding at both, frequently directed important movements almost simultaneously from each fortress. No revolutionary soldier with whom Mr. J. R. Simms, the distinguished historian of the Mohawk Country, had conversed, could account for this confounding of these forts on the part of one or two writers.

The building which constituted the main portion of Fort Van Rensselaer yet stands on the east side of the Canajoharie or Schremling Kill, within the limits of the village of Canajoharie. It is a commodious stone structure with a gambrel roof, somewhat shelving at the eaves, beneath which can be seen the outlets of several port holes. It was erected by a Hollander named Martin Janse Van Alstyn, who removed from Half Moon to Canajoharie about the year 1730. It was occupied



by him as early as 1740. After his death it became, in turn, the property of his son Gosen, and grandson Philip Van Alstyn, and is still owned by a descendant of the family. This, together with the Johannes Rueff (anglicised Roof) and John Frey buildings, remained standing after the eruption of the Indians and Tories upon Canajoharie in the year 1780. The Frey dwelling still stands in a state of excellent repair. Its present owner, Ludlow Frey, is a descendant of Major John Frey. The Rueff homestead was destroyed in 1840. John Rueff, Jr., eldest son of its former owner, lived until the year 1847; and to him we are indebted for much of interest in the way of local revolutionary history.

During the year 1779, the army of General James Clinton, while awaiting a junction with the forces of General Sullivan at Lake Otsego, was encamped for several weeks on the lands of Johannes Rueff, on the site of the present village of Canajoharie. The General and staff found quarters with Philip Van Alstyn and Johannes Rueff. The residence of the former was the Fort Van Rensselaer of two years later. A fact which greatly adds to our interest in this historic building is, that during the years 1781 and 1782, while this fort was the headquarters of Colonel Willet, it was frequently visited by Continental officers of note. Among their number were Generals Washington, Lafayette and Schuyler.

We find earlier mention of this building in the Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, revolutionary papers, as follows: "A meeting of the Tryon County Committee of Safety was held, June 11th, 1775, at the house of Gosen Van Alstyn." "It was a common place of assembling of the committee and is still standing at Canajoharie (N. Y.)"—(J. R. Simms.) It was afterwards named Fort Van Rensselaer. One or two further historical references, showing the identity of the Van Alstyn place and Fort Rensselaer, are given in conclusion. From Simms' Schoharie County and Border Wars of N. Y., edition 1845, alluding to Fort Rensselaer: "This fort, erected early in 1781, was at Canajoharie, N. Y., where a stone house owned by Philip Van Alstyn was inclosed. This ancient dwelling is still standing, and was for a time the headquarters of Colonel Willet." From Friend's Gazetteer of N. Y.: "In the year 1781 the house of Philip Van Alstyn was palisaded and named Fort Van Rensselaer. It is still standing." Stone's Life of Brant, Vol. II., page 154 and subsequently, contains the most detailed account of the movements of Colonel Willet while quartered at this fort, to which work the interested reader is referred.

F. H. ROOF

## EARLY AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

BEAUMARCHAIS' OPINION OF SILAS DEANE  
AND ARTHUR LEE

Communicated By George C. Genet

*A Secret Memoir for the Ministers of the  
King alone.*

By character and by ambition Mr. Arthur Lee was at first jealous of Mr. Deane. He finished by becoming his enemy, which always happens to small minds more occupied in supplanting their rivals than with surpassing them in merit.

The connexions of Mr. Lee in England, and two brothers whom he has in Congress, have made him recently an important and dangerous man. His plan has always been to prefer between France and England, the power which would most surely bring him to fortune. England has some advantages for him. He has often explained himself on the subject in his libertine suppers.

But to succeed it was necessary at starting to get rid of a colleague so formidable by his patriotism as Mr. Deane. This he has accomplished by causing him to be suspected in several points of view by Congress.

Having learned that the American Army regarded foreign officers coming to demand military grades with displeasure, he threw poison into the zeal of his associate who sent them. At the same time the conduct of some French who escaped from our Islands, justifying perhaps the repugnance they felt for our officers in America, Mr. Lee profited by these dispositions to affirm to Congress that Mr. Deane had on his own motion and against good advice, sent

these officers who were as expensive, as useless to the Republic. And as the first powers of Mr. Deane only related to matters of commerce they seized that loophole to disavow all that he had done in that regard, and it is one of the causes of his recall to-day.

A second motive for his recall is the officious care that Mr. Lee has taken to write incessantly to Congress, that all that the house of Hortalez had sent whether of merchandize or munitions from Europe were a present from France to America, *that he had been told so by Mr. Hortalez himself*; so that they could only see with great suspicion, commissions and other things arriving for them to do, attested by the signature of Mr. Deane as having been made by a commercial house, and under rigorous conditions of the most speedy returns.

Nothing was easier then for the politic Lee than to envenom the conduct of Mr. Deane, by giving it more the effect of secret menaces tending to favor certain demands for money of which he afterwards received a share of the profits; all of which explains very clearly the astonishing silence that Congress has kept upon more than ten of my letters which were full of detail. This silence is what has determined me to send an honest and discreet man who can penetrate the foundation of this intrigue.

To-day Mr. Deane loaded with grief finds himself suddenly and harshly recalled. He is ordered to go to give an account of his conduct and to justify himself from many faults which they do not designate.

He had resolved in his resentment not to go until Congress had sent him



the charges and griefs imputed to him, not wishing he said to go to deliver himself into the hands of his personal enemies without carrying with him justifications which would confound them; but I induced him to change this determination.

To understand fully the recall of Mr. Deane at so critical a moment it is necessary while I allow myself to speak with great frankness that others should be persuaded like me that England has a very large share in the doings of Mr. Lee. It is necessary to know that he caused his brother, the Alderman, to come here from London, that it is through him that he holds his secret correspondence, and that after I had broken down an accumulation of suspicions as to the means that England employed to be instructed at the point named of all that is done in France relative to America, I am the more strongly convinced that Mr. Lee is a lance with two heads; for this reason, that four days after the arrival of the letters of recall of Mr. Deane and which named Mr. John Adams in his place, Mr. Lee sent his valet de chambre very secretly to London. What is the object of this mysterious message? Why do they always know at London so exactly what is passing at Versailles? How were they informed at the very moment that a plan of treaty between France and America was existing? And why did they make such great efforts to corrupt me and to induce me to speak at the price of gold, if not to incompass me by insidious advice into the disgrace of Mr. Deane, and to ruin me at Versailles, while they ruined him in America? That valet sent to London upon the

arrival of the recall of Mr. Deane was the key to the whole thing.

Thus it is proved for me, that while England was sending Commissioners to America and the relations and friends of Mr. Lee lent themselves to favor a reconciliation of the two people in Congress, they sought at the same time to undermine by calumny the influence or credit of the two men whom they knew to be most attached to the plan of an alliance between France and America, Mr. Deane and myself.

That honest American who, until his arrival in France, had never experienced the calumnies with which politics make sport, is troubled; he has lost his balance and far from going to America to face the storm armed with his innocence, he wants to remain in France here to await the charges and to justify himself from them.

While that intrigue was successful in America, Mr. Lee, having need of some one in France who could serve his double purpose of destroying both Mr. Deane and myself at the same time, if he could, found that person exactly in the Count de Lauragais, a man whose resentment against me he could very easily excite to the point of doing me harm. To alieviate my friend entirely it was only necessary to show him my letters in cypher in which I recommended him, Lee, to be very careful not to *speack of political subjects to Mr. Lee, because it was expressly prohibited for me to do so.* Not that any one should distrust the French heart of M. de Lauragais, but because any sensible man must fear his indiscretion, his political tattling, and what is useless in serious affairs is always *de trop*.

Armed with all of Mr. Lee's secrets M. de Lauragais believed that he had more than the requisite right to come to gossip with me, and above all to borrow from me a hundred thousand francs of which he had great need. Upon my refusal to converse and the impossibility of a loan M. de Lauragais quitted me rudely, and from that moment the two politicians have acted so that M. de Lauragais, who like a child, always triumphs too soon, stupidly spread a rumor in Paris that I was lost, that they did not hold any communication with me at Versailles, that I was even then suspected of treason and they had placed spies on my track. On his side Mr. Lee did not fail to entrust to his English friends that the lover of America, it is this they call me, was disgraced and there was no longer anything to fear from me.

This is a faithful history of the intrigue which has produced the disgrace of Mr. Deane, has laid the way for them to announce my own and has brought us to the present moment.

The end of the thread once found the rest is easy to unravel.

Truly all this appears very contemptible, but since it is always contemptible things that injure great ones, everyone is obliged to notice in order to guard against them, so that far from regarding the unexpected disgrace of Mr. Deane as a misfortune, and far from strengthening his determination to remain in France until the charges against him arrive, I regard the project of his departure as a piece of good fortune which everything should be brought to bear to accomplish.

Your entire justification I have said to him is in my portfolio; Lee accuses you of having on your own authority sent officers to America, and I have in my own hands a letter in cypher from the politic Lee who presses me warmly to send some *engineers* and *officers* to the aid of America, and that letter was written before your arrival in France. Mr. Lee pretends to have received from me the assurance that all my consignments to the continent were presents from France, and that all the rest is a romance of your cupidity, but in the same portfolio I have the bargain in cypher between Lee and myself which proves that my correspondences were established by this very Lee on the basis and in the tone of an active and reciprocal trade and not otherwise. Then you did not imagine on your own motion that America had need of officers. Then upon your arrival in France by following the errors begun by Lee you cannot be guilty in the eyes of Congress, for having regarded as an honorable commerce what was established under that form and has never taken any other name in the mouth of your perfidious accuser except to injure you—and this is what I propose to establish beyond question.

It was with such arguments that I succeeded in inspiring courage in my desolated friend. I determined him to brave these storms of a day and I promised him a memoir for Congress in which I will establish his active, honest and patriotic conduct with so much clearness, the evidence accompanying, that his enemies will regret their imprudence.



But the prompt departure of that American agent appears to me as pressing as it is effectual; for the bearer of our conventions having been forced to return to Brest fifteen days after his departure from Bordeaux has lost more than two months. The Commissioners from England, if they arrive before him, will have divided, reduced or gained over Congress, if some clever and energetic man is not there to counterbalance the force of the British intrigue by the advantage of our offers, and what man is better suited to this work than Mr. Deane? Convinced that he owes his disgrace to the enemies of France, he will sustain what he wants with more good faith, since it will be from her alone that he will now go to maintain his justification and his consideration in America.

I will dare then to propose, that while I establish the first solidly, that an honorable attestation of wisdom and good conduct granted by the minister shall insure the second.

I would even wish that some particular favor as a portrait of the king or some other marked present might assure his countrymen that he was not only an honorable and faithful agent but that his person, his prudence and his labors, have always been agreeable to the Minister of France.

Mr. Deane believes, and it is his firm conviction that France should not now lose a single moment of time to show herself unmistakably on the side of America. In consequence if he concludes to depart, he believes that he is not making an extraordinary demand in asking and proposing that a royal fleet

shall take him to Boston, so that this public effort of France may aid him effectually to overturn the project of pacification with England, and to render vain the seductions of her Commissioners and the intrigues of the friends of Lee.

Without this effort he believes that all is lost for your alliance.

I think with him that this decided act will upset all the obstacles to the treaty—but since many things may suspend still further the resolution of any public step on the part of France—whatever may be superior to the disposition of the government I think it should not hesitate to take advantage of the departure of Mr. Deane to hasten to send to America, and charged also with personal honors a man so useful to our interests.

Once justified in the mind of Congress his opinion will become of immense weight and of respectable authority. He will attract all suffrages and the force of his representations will be so much the less resisted as his enemies freshly confounded will be still troubled, dumbfounded and mortified at their want of success.

If the Minister does not grant the fleet which he wishes, he must at least have a royal frigate; M. de Sartines can provide it. He must have a good apologetic and justificatory memoir and of that his friend Beaumarchais will take charge with pleasure. He must have an honorable attestation upon his conduct, and that important piece is the work of the Count de Vergennes. Finally I think he should have some distinguished favor which will prove the satisfaction that has been had with his

person, and that favor it appears to me, should emanate from the hand of the Count de Maurepas in the name of the King. But there is not a moment to lose. The English have not spoken of pacification until they have recently become satisfied by secret information that France had sent a Treaty to America. Since the news of the recall of Mr. Deane, why that valet de chambre of Lee, who ran over to London, if it is not to hasten the departure of the Commissioners so that they may have finished their affair before ours would have begun?

It appears to me important then that Mr. Deane armed with every necessary proof, but with the air and tone of a man overwhelmed, who is borne down by his disgrace and departs without consolation should embark for America. It is necessary that all that reanimates his courage shall be kept a secret from all others, so that his enemies and ours believing themselves sure of their triumph will go to sleep over all precautions. I even propose to quit Paris, if it is desired, at the same time, as a persecuted man who abandons everything. My lawsuit at Aix will serve me marvelously well. But I propose also that a reliable man shall accompany Mr. Deane to bring back by the same frigate which will be directed to wait for him the effect of Mr. Deane's efforts on Congress.

Then the ruse of our adversaries will fall back on themselves and their efforts to defeat our designs will be the cause of our success being hastened.

If these views appear to be reasonable and are approved, as soon as I am

assured of it, I will quit everything else, and not rest a moment until I have solidly established Mr. Deane's justification.

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

#### LETTER OF COUNT DE VERGENNES TO SILAS DEANE

Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort

*Translated for the Magazine*

Versailles, the 26 March, 1778.

As I shall not, Sir, have the honor to see you before your departure, I pray you to receive the expression of my hope that your voyage may be rapid and prosperous, and you may find in your own country the same sentiments of regard you have inspired in France. You need not ask for more, Sir, than those I entertain for you, and shall preserve for you as long as I shall live; they are the guarantee of the true interest I shall never cease on every occasion to take in your happiness, as well as in the prosperity of your country.

The King, desirous of giving to you a personal testimony of his satisfaction with your conduct, has charged me to inform M., the President of the United Congress, of it; this is the object of the letters which M. Gerard will deliver to you for Mr. Hancock; he will also deliver to you a box with the portrait of the King; you will surely not refuse to take with you to your country the likeness of its most zealous friend. Deeds are the proof of it.

I have the honor to be, with very sincere consideration, Sir,

Your very humble and

very obedient Servant.

DE VERGENNES.

M. Deane.

## NOTES

TORY BALLADS OF THE REVOLUTION. There is or was a branch of American poetic folks-lore, now dropping into oblivion, some curious and perhaps interesting fragments of which may possibly still be recovered ; and I would recommend the Editor of the Magazine of American History to invite its readers to contribute any relics of it which may be in possession or within reach of any of them. All that may be sent may not be worth reproduction, but of that the Editor will be a better judge generally than the contributor.

I refer to the old Tory ballads of our Revolutionary era. Most of us, had we been readers sixty years ago, would have patriotically scorned to look at such productions, and some of them were no doubt of a kind which we would turn from with disgust even now ; but there may be others extant which would awaken in us now as little ire as the best old Jacobite songs do in the breast of an English loyalist.

In the Carolinas, when Toryism was stronger and more of an armed power than in the other colonies, its unsubdued spirit survived longest, and there, I am told, numerous ballads of this kind long continued current and were occasionally sung in circles where it might be done safely. The following incident shows how tenaciously some of the wrong side supporters clung to the "lost cause" of their day. A fighting Tory of the Revolution, though an illiterate man and a hunter by occupation, had no little poetical and musical capacity, as well as a voice of great power and melody.

During his guerilla days he composed a royalist war song, which, long after the contest was over, he would now and then sing in crowds where the demonstration involved danger. One of those displays at length brought on between the singer and a Whig listener an indecisive fight, followed by a feud, which ended in the killing of the Whig by the Tory bard, who in consequence was found guilty of murder and executed. He died game, and on the scaffold sang in tones of stentorian harmony the song which led to his death, and, as it was to be his last show of defiance, his audience listened to him patiently.

The only American Tory song which I have met with was republished in the New York *Evening Post* about six years ago, but it could hardly be classed among those which I have assimilated to the unirritating Jacobite ballads. The occasion which drew it forth was the arrival of Washington at Cambridge to take command of the army. The highest leaders who had thus far figured at the head of that improvised host had been generals of State militia, and the arrival of a Continental commander-in-chief, the germ of regular force and higher than State authority, signaled the conversion of local insurrection into national uprising. It was an event which might well awaken the wrathful irony of the Tory bard who designates the Virginia magnate as

"Great Washington all newly clad  
In power and leather breeches."

The song evinces a good use of language and capacity for versification, but is of tone so sarcastic towards the Father of

his country, that many of us might not yet relish it even as a literary curiosity. The only stanza which I remember fully, thus describes an element in the crowd which the sensation of the time drew together :

"The country bumpkins made a tramp  
In homespun stripes and Kearsays  
To see the greatest rebel scamp  
That ever crossed the Jerseys."

Some of the native loyalist corps did gallant service for the crown, and if there be any true soldier songs which celebrate those exploits, they would be more acceptable than versified effusions of mere party bitterness, but I would be willing to read even those, for it is now edifying to see what fools these pestilent Tories made of themselves. The exhibition has its moral, which is: "Go, and don't do like wise." R. M. P.

A POSITIVE DENIAL.—To All People, Nations and Languages on Earth; this is to let you know, that I have no Wife, neither have I ever had any in these parts that I was lawfully married to, there is one that formerly lived with Col. Andrew Bostwick, named Martha Stead, that some persons looked upon as my Wife, but it is an absolute falsehood, as I was never married to her; therefore I desire no person whatever to trust her on my account, as I am fully determined not to pay any debts of her contracting after the date hereof David Wool. Fish-Kill. Aug 12. 1782.—*N. Y. Packet*, April 17, 1783. PETERSFIELD.

JUDGE JONES AND COLONEL MEIGS.—It is due to the memory of Col. Return Jonathan Meigs, an excellent officer of the Connecticut Line in the Revolution-

ary Army, to state that the gross aspersion upon his character contained in the newly published history of New York, by Judge Jones, is entirely misplaced. It was not R. J. Meigs, but quite another man named Felix Meigs, whom the Judge describes in Vol. I. as a counterfeiter and condemned felon. The Revolutionary Colonel's private character was above reproach. At another opportunity it is proposed to present the true record in the case, and possibly to expose some other glaring blunders, not noticed by the careful editor of the work, which somewhat impair its claim to be considered as an authority.

H. P. J.

A CENTENARIAN. — Monday last Peter Brewer of Allentown died being upwards of 100 years of age.—*The New Jersey Gazette*, September, 1779.

IULUS.

LOUIS NOEL ANGIBAU. Extract from French Gazette, 1780.—We desire to acquaint Louis Noel Angibau, enlisted in the King's service under the name of Brin D'Amour, in the legion of Damas, in the year 1768, then in garrison at Brest; and who ever since that time has given no intelligence of his person; that William Angibau his father deceased in November, 1778, who left him a successor. If any person knowing the said Louis Noel Angibau should be acquainted with either his death or the place of his residence, they are requested to give notice of it to the Sieur Angibau, his brother, living at Mr. Grand Jean, painter, in the street of Faubourg St. Martin, Paris.—*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 28, 1780.

EDITOR.

## QUERIES

THE THEATRE IN NEWPORT, 1761.—Newport, Sept. 15th. On Monday the Company of the Provoked Wife or a Journey to London was acted at the theatre by a company of Commediants in this town for the benefit of the poor; when the sum of one thousand and thirty pounds, old tenor, was raised for that purpose; the money was yesterday paid by Mr. Douglass in behalf of the Company, into the hands of Mr George Gibbs who has generously undertaken to lay it out in corn, which he will store till the winter and then deal it out to such of the poor as shall be judged worthy to receive it. Notice will be given in this paper when the corn is ready and such as deserve the charity will then be informed how they shall be supplied."

In quoting this extract the editor of the "Rhode Island Republican" says that by tradition it is understood that the plays performed by this company were the first in the English colonies north of Virginia. The company closed their performances with the tragedy of Douglass, also for the benefit of the poor. The play-house was a temporary structure, and stood on a lot in the north part of the town called Easton's Point near Dyers' Gate.

Is the statement correct that the first plays performed north of the Potomac were at Newport by this company?

Newport.

J. E. M.

BRADY'S LEAP. — A great deal has been written about this fable. Can any of your readers give reliable information

as to the greatest distance a man can run and jump? The distance alleged to have been jumped by Brady is variously stated; one says 32 feet! another, 27 feet, 8 inches; a third, 27 feet, 6 inches; and the others only claim 22 feet. I do not believe that a man can, by merely running, leap 22 feet.

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

THE ANDRE PLOT.—While examining Joshua Hett Smith's Narrative of the Death of Major André, I was struck by the fact that Smith, at whose house André had staid, and who piloted him through the American lines, was arrested after the discovery, by a French officer, one Colonel Gouvion. Why was this service entrusted to a foreigner? Did Washington distrust his own officers in the Continental service?

TAPPAAN.

PICKPACK.—Giving an account of the falling of a man in "Swoun," Sewall says in his diary that he was "carried *pickpack* to bed." Was this an Americanism, or is there English warrant for the word?

ETYMOLOGIST.

AN ARMY DUEL.—The Pittsburgh Gazette of April 20th, 1793, contains a long account of a duel between Lieut. Daniel of St. Thomas Jeniffer and Ensign Wm. Pitt Gassaway at Legionville, in which the latter received a wound from which he died the same day. Singularly enough, no allusion is made to the cause of the duel. Can any of your readers inform me if this was the same Jenifer who was Minister to Aus-

tria 1841-5, and who died at Port Tobacco, Md., Dec. 18, 1855? What was the cause of the duel? I. C.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

# REPLIES

AN HISTORICAL MEDAL.—(III, 313.) The author of this query would not have made it if he had correctly read the words of the inscription. *CONJUGIS*, and not *CONINGIS*. The inscription signifies, "This medal has been struck from a pious regard for the memory of a just man and by the love of his wife," and the words "*SENATUS PRINCEPS*" indicate that M. de Nesmond was a "President à Mortier." He died in 1693.

PIERRE MARGRY

*Paris, June, 1879.*

The explanation given by Mr. Margry of the probable purport of the inscription is no doubt correct. A careful examination of the photograph of the medal, from which the drawing was made for the Magazine, shows uncertainty in the lettering; but he by no means answers the query of Mr. Robertson, who was the William de Nesmond that died in 1693? We commend this query to the attention of Mr. Margry. No one is more competent to answer it than he.

The family of de Nesmond, according to La Rousse, was celebrated in the "noblesse de robe." The Hotel de Nesmond, built in the reign of Henri IV., stood until recently, and is perhaps still standing at 55 Quai de la Tour-nelle, Paris.

The most distinguished of the family, as far as judgment can be made from authorities at hand, was Henri de Nesmond, Bishop of Montauban. According to the *Biographie Universelle*, edition of Paris, 1822, he was of a noble family of Angoumois; by the *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*, of a family of Irish origin. He was son of a President at the Parliament of Bordeaux. The *Biographie* of 1822 says of him that "he early made a name in the pulpit, while his brother, the Chevalier de Nesmond, illustrated his in the navy."

According to Charlevoix, the "Marquis de Nesmond" left Brest with his ships about the 26th April, 1697, but from various causes did not reach Placentia till July 24th, when a council of war determining that it was too late in the season to move to advantage, he was compelled to return to France without firing a gun. Parkman mentions also a *Mémoire sur l'entreprise* par M. le Marquis de Nesmond, printed at Versailles, 21st April, 1697. This, no doubt, is the same person as the Chevalier mentioned in the *Biographie*, but nowhere is his Christian name given.

From the above facts the conclusion seems natural the William de Nesmond of the medal, President of the Parliament, was the father of the Bishop of Montauban, and of the Chevalier, later Marquis de Nesmond; that the latter brought the medal with him as a pious reminder of his father, and that, lost by or stolen from him, or perhaps given as a friendly token to some Indian chief, it found its way to its resting place beneath the village of the Miamis, in the heart of the continent.



The title given by Mr. Margry "President à Mortier," is hardly in general use. It is a technical term for a "President of Parliament;" the *mortier* is the cap used by these officers.

EDITOR.

the last survivors of the Revolutionary pensioners, taken from the records of the Commissioner of Pensions at Washington. "Inquirer" will find all the information he seeks by referring to that article. C. A. C.

MONONGAHELA.—(III, 516.) A Shawnee Indian from the Indian Territory lately informed me that the name of this river has its origin in the Algonkin dialect of the Delaware or Lenni-Lenape, but cannot be explained through the Shawnee. In Delaware it is pronounced Menangehéli, and means "caving in." But the tribal name of the Munsees or Muncies, a portion of the Delawares, can be interpreted by means of the Shawnee language. In Shawnee a Munsee Indian is Humenthí, the Munsee people Humenthige, *hu* being a predication prefix; *menthi* is the Shawnee *menethi*, *m'nethi*, *island*, and hence this name signifies, "those living on an island," or "the people living near the island."

A. S. G.

—In Wm. C. Richel's "Names which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to Rivers, Streams, and Localities within the States in Pennsylvania, &c., from the Ms. of John Heckeweldn," &c. this word Monongahela is given as "corrupted from *Menaungehilla*, a word implying *high banks or bluffs, breaking off & falling down at places.*

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS.—(III, 263-380.) In the "American Historical Record" for December, 1873, pp. 531-534, may be found a full account of

ROBBINS' REGICIDES.—(III, 514.) C. Robbins' Regicides in New England was one of the lectures by members of the Mass. Hist. Soc., delivered before Lowell Institute in Boston, 1869.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Harvard College Library.

GENERAL FRASER'S BURIAL PLACE.—(III, 452.) If H. C. M. will turn to Appendix No. VI. in Stone's Burgoyne Campaign, published by Munsell, Albany, N. Y., he will find an answer to his query. The name is Fraser, not Frazer. W. L. S.

HOWARDS OF MARYLAND.—(III, 248.) William Howard (M. D.?) married Rebecca Ann Key, *cousin* to Francis Scott Key, being the daughter of Philip Barton Key, whose brother, John Ross Key, was father of Frank. T. H. M.

ROCHAMBEAU.—(III, 583.) To obtain a reply to the query as to whether the heirs of Rochambeau ever made application to the United States for a pension, a note was addressed to the authorities, and answer received June 25, 1879, from Mr. J. A. Bentley, Commissioner of Pensions, "that the records fail to show that the heirs of Count de Rochambeau ever applied for a pension by reason of service during the War of the Revolution." EDITOR.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1875.  
Publication Fund Series, VIII. 8vo, pp. 553.  
Printed for the Society. New York, 1876.

I. OFFICIAL LETTERS OF MAJOR-GENERAL  
JAMES PATTISON.

II. LETTERS TO GENERAL LEWIS MORRIS.

The conditions of this important fund, not yet entirely complete, and well worthy of subscription from historical students throughout the land, only permit of the use of its interest in publication. Hence the delay in the issues of the last years. The volume for 1875 has been recently published, and is not only one of extreme local importance to citizens of New York, but of general value to all who are interested in the revolutionary period. It contains: I. The official letter of Major-General James Pattison, first as Commandant of the Royal Artillery in North America, and secondly as Commandant of the City of New York. The copy from which this correspondence is printed was conveyed to the Society by Captain Francis Duncan, of her Majesty's Royal Artillery, to whom American students have been repeatedly indebted for valuable material.

I. begins with a letter to Lord Viscount Townshend, dated, New York, January 10, 1779, and closes with a communication to the Board of Ordnance, written at Bath, 11th January, 1781, on the quality of the powder used by the British during the siege of Charleston, in which General Pattison takes occasion to say that the case referred to was the "single instance that had come to his knowledge, since he had the honor to command the Artillery in North America, of the Government powder proving bad on any service that was carried on there." Whatever the peculations committed during the course of this long war, in which it is recently charged that the British failed because of malversation and incompetency of officials, civil and military, here is evidence that at least they "kept their powder dry." Among these documents will be found important letters from the British camps at Stony Point, 9th June, 1779, one to Sir Henry Clinton, announcing that a deserter from West Point had given an exact description of the American works at that place, and a second of same date to Lord Viscount Townshend, with a concise account of the capture of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point at that time. After completing the works of defence and every cautionary step for the fullest security of the post, General Pattison returned to New York, to the command of the garrison and city of which he was, on the 5th of July, ap-

pointed by Sir Henry Clinton, succeeding Lieutenant-General Jones in the post, which he terms, the 10th July, "a very desirable and pleasant command." The fortunes of war did not permit him long to enjoy the delightful sea breezes which made old New York about the Battery the most delightful summer residence on the continent. By the very next homeward mail, the 26th July, he had the mortification to report the surprise of Stony Point by "Mad Anthony Wayne." In his report, like a true soldier, he gives the Continental commander and all the troops credit for having shown no instance of inhumanity to any of their British captives. On the 22d August he had again the mortification to report the surprise of the British post at Powles' Hook, a success of which the Americans did not take full advantage.

The garrison of New York, at the time he assumed command, consisted of "Six battalions—two of the Guards, the 54th, and 3 Hessian Regiments under Brig.-Gen. Hackenbourg." The letters continue to give details of military movements. On the 21st and 22d February, 1780, he sends an account of the great frost which rendered the "passage of the North River to Paulus Hook practicable for the heaviest cannon." In July, 1780, he writes Lord George Germain of the aid rendered him by the Tories of New York in the defence of the lines. They threw up a redoubt, which in their honor he named the *Citizens' Redoubt*, a position which some local antiquary, perhaps our good friend Colonel Thomas F. DeVoe, may accurately locate.

The second part opens with a letter of the 10th of July, 1779, to the Chamber of Commerce of New York, requesting them to meet and advise with him concerning the internal management of the affairs of the city. This body, organized in 1768, included the principal merchants of the city; their meetings had been suspended since the spring of 1775, when the opening of hostilities at Lexington brought to an instant close all commercial operations. The Tory members who had remained in the city now reorganized, and until the close of the war, under the wise provisions of General Pattison, essentially had the civil government of New York. The last letter in this part of the collection is addressed to James Thompson, and is dated 18 August, 1780.

II. The second part of the volume contains a number of letters to General Lewis Morris, from the family papers of Henry M. Morris, the late proprietor of the Old Manor House of Morrisania. The first of these is a letter from Washington,

dated at the camp at Cambridge, August 4, 1775, and in the collection follow interesting communications from Jay, Burr, Greene, Steuben; the majority, however, being from Lewis Morris, Jr., Lieutenant-Colonel in the Continental army, which are full of information about the operations of the American forces.

The value of the book is greatly increased by an admirable and copious index, the work of the accomplished and precise Assistant Librarian of the New York Historical Society, William Kelby, who is confessedly the first authority on all that concerns the local detail of New York history—the willing, disinterested assistant of every writer who has her fame at heart.

#### COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK

HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1876.

Publication Fund Series IX. 8vo, pp. 495.

Printed for the Society. New York, 1877.

THE COLDEN LETTER BOOKS. Vol. I., 1760, 1765.

The publication fund of the Society not being complete, and its conditions only permitting of the use of the interest of it, this volume has also been necessarily delayed. It is the first volume of the Colden Papers, 1760-1765, which is probably the most valuable and important of the manuscripts belonging to the Society, and contains the first part of the official letter books of Cadwalader Colden, on whom the administration of the Province of New York devolved upon the death of Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey in 1760, the Mss. continuing until the year 1765.

The papers begin with a notification by Colden to General Amherst, under date of August 4, 1760, of the death of his predecessor, and a circular letter to the several Governors of the Colonies on the occasion, and close with a letter, under date of April 27, 1765, to John Pownall, Esq., Secretary of the Board of Trade.

The importance of the correspondence of this one-sided and arbitrary officer is invaluable as showing the nature of British rule, and the measures which irritated New York to exasperation, and finally drove her to independence.

#### SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PAPERS. Vol. VII., No. 8. August, 1879.

Edited by Rev. T. WILLIAM JONES. Richmond, Va.

Repeated attention has been called in these pages to the extreme value of the well selected and carefully edited series of papers published by the learned Secretary of the Southern Historical Society, under their authority and direction. They are too numerous for special mention. In the latest, the August number, how-

ever, we notice the authentic publication of a letter which appeared not long since in one of the New York dailies. It is dated August 1, 1875, and was written by the Hon. James Lyons, of Virginia, to Col. Allen B. Magruder, of Baltimore, and contains some statements which the word extraordinary can hardly characterize. Mr. Seward's name is mentioned in a manner which can hardly fail to challenge immediate comment and reply. With this we shall not deal, but invite attention to the statement made that Count Mercier, then French Minister to the United States, in May or June, 1862, visited Richmond by permission of the Northern Government, and while there made known to Mr. Lyons the plans of the United States War Department, and informed him, from the official statements of the War Department, of the number of troops enlisted, and the direction they had been ordered to take. The further conversation is of little consequence now, but it is a matter of importance to know whether the French Minister committed such a breach of good faith. It seems incredible that he could have been supplied with any such information, monstrous that he could betray it. We well remember the indignation with which Mr. Chase denounced Mr. Mercier in a private conversation as an enemy of the United States, and his diplomacy as unfriendly.

If the statements of Mr. Lyons can be substantiated, he was worse than inimical; he was treacherous. Well may the American rejoice that the imperial government which instigated or approved such diplomacy has been driven from the country which it not only ruined, but disgraced.

#### RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS.

No. 4. WILLIAM CODDINGTON IN RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL AFFAIRS. An Historical Inquiry. By Dr. HENRY E. TURNER. 4to, pp. 60. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1878.

In a fourth of the dainty little quartos, to which the enterprising publisher treats the historical inquirer, Dr. Turner takes up the Magistrature of William Coddington, the founder of a distinguished family, whose home was at Newport for more than a century; though it is no longer borne in Rhode Island, at least by any of the descendants of the Governor. In the dispute as to the character of the Governor, Dr. Turner takes the adverse side, although attributing his faults to weakness rather than wrong intent. He considers that he was the willing instrument in the hands of the Massachusetts Government to defeat the union of the four towns of the Providence Plantations, who hoped to throw off their oppressive allegiance.

Mr. Rider announces that he expects to in-

corporate in the same series a view more favorable to Coddington's memory, prepared by Dr. David King, President of the Newport Historical Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER, APRIL 24, 1878. No. 71, pp. 110. CHARLES HAMILTON. Worcester, 1878.

While in entire accord with the conclusions of the report of the Council, that "in the materialistic tendency of the age whenever attention is drawn from what is chiefly selfish, the horizon of the mind is enlarged and the dignity of life added to," we utterly protest against the argument upon which it is based. We deny that "our age is in a condition of general bankruptcy;" that it is "bankrupt in religion, bankrupt in morals, bankrupt in politics, as well as in finance." We utterly deny the assertion. The world is not degenerate; never were the moral forces more active; never was religion more liberal and catholic, more tolerant and Christian in the true spirit of the founder; never have the educational and charitable institutions received more general support, private as well as public, than they do now, and never have the social distinctions between sects and social classes been so entirely lost in a general brotherhood of humanity. Even the beast now receives a better treatment than was given to the poor of human kind not half a century ago.

The volume includes a paper on Massachusetts and Maine, their union and separation, by P. Emory Aldrich; one on the decrease of the relative number of college-educated men in Massachusetts during the present century, by Edward Hitchcock, which shows the decrease during the last seventy-five years to be nearly three-eighths of the original ratio. A paper on a terra cotta figure from Isla Mujeres, Yucatan, by Stephen Salisbury, Jr., with photographic illustrations. An appendix contains a translation, by the same hand, of Valentini's valuable lecture on the Mexican Calendar Stone, with a fine heliotype plate of this curious relic.

#### RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS.

No. 5. MEMOIR CONCERNING THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND. By ELISHA R. POTTER. 4to, pp. 138. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1879.

By the edict of Nantes, so called from the place of its signature, Henry IV. in 1598 guaranteed religious toleration. Reaffirmed on several occasions as the policy of the Kingdom, or

the law of the land, it was repealed in 1685 by Louis XIV. The result was an immediate emigration to Protestant countries, and among them to America, settlements being made at New Rochelle, on the James river in Virginia, on the Santee river and at Charleston, South Carolina. About thirty families settled at Oxford in Massachusetts, but in 1696 the little colony was dispersed by the attacks of the Indians and of their white neighbors, who no doubt as Englishmen had drank in hatred of a Frenchman with their mother's milk. At Oxford they had a church of their own, and they later built one at Boston, when they were driven in from the outer settlement.

In 1686 the Proprietors of the Narragansett country made an agreement with some French emigrants for the settlement of a plantation on their territory. The names of the signers, forty-eight in number, are given; chief among them in the later history of the colony is that of Ayrault. They built a church in the settlement, which took the name of Frenchtown, and established their minister, Ezechiel Carré. But little is known of their subsequent history. Their names have been corrupted as usual till hardly a trace of their origin remains; as, Le Moine into Mawney, Targé into Tourgee, Daillé into Daly. The documents here printed are in the British State Paper Office, London.

A note is appended on the Narragansett purchases by the Massachusetts Bay proprietors, in which the action of the authorities of the older colony are severely condemned. Their attempt to convert the Indians to "Massachusetts Christianity" is particularly censured. The tract closes with a chapter of genealogical notes, and some records of the families of Mawney, Bowen, Ayrault, Bernon, Tourtellot, Helme, Carpenter, Ganeau, Marchant, Targé, Lucks, Jerauld and Ginnado, and a note upon others bearing French names.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER, OCTOBER 21, 1878. No. 72, pp. 131. CHARLES HAMILTON. Worcester, 1879.

The report of the Council, submitted in their behalf by Edward E. Hale, is of unusual interest. It includes a warm affectionate tribute to its recent deceased members, chief among whom was Judge Thomas, whose serene, well-balanced mind, warm heart and varied accomplishments were the admiration and delight of all whose happy fortune it was to be brought into contact with him, either in his private or social life or in the more general field of his active usefulness. A fitting tribute is paid also to the

earnest, laborious and excellent scholar, Dr. Berendt, whose services in geographical and archæologic investigation in Central America have greatly added to the existing information upon this almost novel field of exploration. There are also two excellent papers on the Archæology of Yucatan, by Augustus Le Plongeon and Madame Le Plongeon, his wife, both of which are amply illustrated.

The volume is deserving of highest praise.

#### SELECTED SPEECHES AND REPORTS

OF FINANCE AND TAXATION, FROM 1859 TO 1878. By JOHN SHERMAN. 8vo, pp. 647. D. APPLETON & Co. New York, 1879.

The distinguished Secretary, whose name will be indissolubly connected with the successful accomplishment of the resumption of specie payments, and the no less remarkable completion of the funding of the public debt of the United States, in the preface to the volume before us announces that the purpose of this selection from his speeches on finance and taxation, from that on the Morrill tariff in 1860 to his annual report to Congress at the close of 1878 as Secretary of the Treasury, will have been accomplished, if it shall contribute in any way to throw light upon the important problem of securing a *stable currency of paper money, redeemable in coin*. In this phrase may be found a distinct open avowal of the kind of currency he prefers for this country—to-wit, a paper currency. And here we venture to take direct issue with the Secretary, and with the more confidence that the opinions of the most celebrated financiers of Europe and the experience of both continents sustain our views. We believe that it is not only the interest, but the only safety for this country to have a circulating medium, essentially of gold and silver, in true proportions, and that the paper currency should be merely supplementary. The experience of France has shown the advantage of a very large preponderance of coin over paper, five to two. The experience of England has shown that the ratio of two and one-half of coin to one of paper is too small to insure convertibility. That of the United States, before the suspension of 1860, showed that the ratio of three to two was too small here also, and that suspension immediately followed any great drainage of coin—beyond our annual production. Why should we expect to be exempt from the economic law which governs the relations of paper to the base on which it rests?

The easy resumption of specie payments was not the result of any financial scheme alone. Without any plan whatever, gold would have fallen to par. The enormous balance in trade of the last two years has not only enabled us in

return for our products to draw from Europe an enormous amount of our own bonds, but to retain at home the whole of our annual product of gold and silver, for the first time in many years. This has raised the stock of gold in the country to three hundred millions, and further additions will no doubt be made to it this year; and yet no gold passes from hand to hand. In a recent speech on the Delaware river excursion Mr. Sherman plumed himself on the fact, that since the resumption Act went into effect only seven millions of gold had been drawn from the Treasury for notes and greenbacks. What is still more significant is that the National banks had less gold and silver on the 1st January 1879, than on the 1st January, 1878. No one wants any gold; the people have forgotten its use, the banks do not care to be burthened with the load, and the Treasury has it all to itself. A wise financial policy would at once take in every note under ten dollars, and forbid their issue by the National banks as well. Gold pieces of five dollars and two dollars and one-half would immediately take their place, and the currency be just so much strengthened. The balances of trade will not forever be in our favor. In the first turn of the exchanges against this country, the same causes which have caused alarm will cause it again. Then the Secretary of the Treasury will find that *every* body wants coin, and we will have another panic like that of 1857, which was exclusively a money panic. Why not accept what the experience of the world has demonstrated, that the only safety is in a circulating medium largely composed of the precious metals? If we secure it, we shall be safe from a money panic for half a century. If we neglect it, we may repent our folly within a decade.

ANNUAL RECORD OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY FOR 1878. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD. With the assistance of eminent men of science. 8vo, pp. 715. HARPER & BROS. New York, 1879.

This is the eighth of a series commenced in 1871, which took up the record of scientific and industrial progress where it was left off by the Annual of Scientific Discovery, which it succeeded. The original plan of arrangement was modified in the volume for 1877, and the change has been adhered to in the present volume. A table of contents supplies an analysis of the several articles on each branch of science, all of which are by eminent specialists, and a minute alphabetical index permits easy reference to any particular record of facts. The subject divisions are Astronomy, Physics of the Globe, Physics, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Hydro-

graphy, Geography, Microscopy, Anthropology, Zoology, Vertebrate Zoology, Botany, Agriculture and Rural Economy, Engineering, Technology, Industrial Statistics, Necrology and Bibliography. The last division supplies a thorough list of all the scientific publications, serial and others, of the year. The work is indispensable to every general library.

**STEIGER'S EDUCATIONAL DIRECTORY FOR 1878.** 8vo, pp. 321. E. STEIGER. New York, 1878.

This, the first attempt at a complete Educational Directory, is a companion volume in the same field of publications already partially occupied by the *Cyclopædia of Education* and the *Year-book of Education*, the author of which was honored by the award of a medal at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. In the volume before us American educational institutions and American publications occupy the largest space, and it will be the most complete existing practical guide to books intended for teachers.

In its contents we find a list of educational institutions in the United States, British Dominions, Germany and Austria—France being omitted we regret to see; a catalogue of publications on educational and general philology, a list of books and other articles of interest to educators generally, a subject index to books, and some special notices of private educational institutions.

**ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1878.** 8vo, pp. 6. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE. Washington, 1879.

This great collection, under the admirable care of its intelligent and industrious custodian, continues to increase with gratifying rapidity. The accession during the year 1878 were of books, 21,537; pamphlets, 11,689—the library now containing 352,655 volumes and 120,000 pamphlets. The printing of the new general catalogue has now advanced to the letter B. The urgent need of increased accommodation is again forcibly stated.

**REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS UPON THE AMERICAN ARCHIVES, OR DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.** 8vo, pp. 4. (May 15, 1879.)

This is in answer to the inquiry of the Joint Committee on the Library upon the manuscript material collected by the late Peter Force for the documentary history of the United States. An

account of the monumental labor of Mr. Force, and his difficulty in securing for it the attention of Congress, appeared in the April [1878] number of the Magazine [II. 221] over the signature of Professor G. W. Greene. The collection was purchased by Congress in 1867, the New York Historical Society narrowly missing an acquisition, which might have proved to them what is popularly termed "an elephant." The possession of such a colossal treasure brings with it duties and responsibilities of corresponding magnitude.

Congress had authorized the beginning of publication in 1833. Nine folio volumes were published between 1837 and 1844, when the appropriation was discontinued. Later, as we have said, Congress purchased the collection. Mr. Spofford estimates that to complete the period from 1776 to 1789 would require thirty folio volumes of eight hundred pages each. There is no reason why there should be any haste in this work—but an appropriation of five thousand dollars a year would enable the librarian to issue one volume a year with due care. This is the correct method.

**THE LIBRARIES OF CALIFORNIA; CONTAINING DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES THROUGHOUT THE STATE.** By FLORA HAINES APONY. 8vo, pp. 304. A. L. BANCROFT & Co., San Francisco, 1879.

But few persons are aware of the extent of the collections of art and literature in the Golden State. For years a steady stream of books of all kinds has been flowing westward, and even copies of the rarest of European imprints, old as well as new, daily take this direction. In this beautifully printed volume there is an account of a few of the largest of these collections. The cultivated lady, whose love of books has tempted her to the task, condemns with scorn the vulgarity of many of the rich parvenus of the cosmopolitan city, which has a certain future of wonderful development to look forward to, but offsets their ignorant assumption with the real refinement and culture to be found by those who seek or appreciate it. Of the public libraries she says that, after a brave battle with adversity, they are on solid ground at last, and she justly looks upon them as the hope of the community.

Among the collections noticed, special mention may be made of that of Hubert H. Bancroft, which contains twenty thousand volumes, and numerous manuscripts, covering the western portion of North America, and a vast amount of invaluable material for history. The northern territories and Alaska, as well as Mexico have all place among these. A smaller, but rare

library, rich in Spanish works, is the property of Messrs. Molera and Cebrian, two gentleman of that race.

The State Library at Sacramento numbers upwards of forty-eight thousand volumes; the University, of California, over sixteen thousand; the Mercantile Library has in its reading room files of four hundred newspapers, and a reference collection of two thousand volumes. The other public libraries are those of the Mechanic's Institute, the Odd Fellows, the Law, of eighteen thousand volumes, the third in extent in the United States. The Academy of Science has sixteen thousand; La Ligue Nationale Française, over two thousand, half French; the Society of California Pioneers, three thousand, the specialty being the early history of the Pacific coast; the Microscopic Society, four hundred on this subject alone; and the Young Men's Christian Association, over five thousand. In addition a table of the private law libraries shows over fifty-six thousand volumes.

If the motto, *qui legit regit*, be true, California has a sure empire. The work has been published by subscription, in an edition limited to five hundred copies. The author may be addressed at 14 Hampton Place, San Francisco.

We make an exception to the rule of the Magazine in this case, and add that the price of the volume is three and one-half dollars.

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EDWARD CHAPMAN, OF IPSWICH, MASS., IN 1644, AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS. Compiled by Rev. JACOB CHAPMAN and Dr. W. B. LAPHAM. 8vo, pp. 34. B. THURSTON & Co., Portland, 1878.

Several persons bearing the name of Chapman came early to America, but it does not appear that they were related in any way. The name is common in England, and also in the United States. The genealogies of the Connecticut families of this name were compiled by the late Rev. F. W. Chapman. The present paper gives an account of the family of Robert, a grantor of Ipswich in 1644, who is said to have emigrated from a place near Hull, Yorkshire, England.

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MAP OF ELIZABETH TOWN, N. J., AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1775-1783. Showing that part of the Borough and Town of Elizabeth which is now the site of the City of Elizabeth. (36x24 inches, colored). By ERNEST L. MEYER, C. E., Elizabeth, N. J., 1879.

No more valuable contribution has been of late made to topographical and local history than this

admirably prepared and carefully executed chart of the old New Jersey town, celebrated in our history. It is the result of many years of research, by an accomplished and thorough surveyor, among the old records and deeds of the borough which supplied the old farm lines. It shows all the roads, water courses, property lines, and location of houses, woods, and orchards, the names of their owners, with well placed historical notes. In addition, and of great value in the centennial of the year of 1780, famous in Jersey annals, it gives the position held by the British forces at Elizabethtown Point from June 7th to 23d of that year. We commend it heartily to our readers. No historical library should be without it. The mechanical execution is beyond praise.

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PAINE FAMILY RECORDS. Edited by H. D. PAINE, M. D. No. I., November, 1878; No. II., February, 1879; No. III., May, 1879. 8vo, pp. 76. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1878-9.

This is a serial publication, designed to collect and preserve the records of the family whose name it bears, and whose representatives, under the orthographic varieties of Payne, Paine, Payn, etc., are to be found in every State and territory in the Union. The first of the New England branch it is supposed was Thomas Paine, whose name appears as Deputy from Yarmouth to the First General Court of Plymouth Colony. Next comes William, who emigrated from England with his wife and children in 1635, and settled at Watertown. In these numbers are given the Southold, Ipswich, Worcester and Woodstock branches.

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THE LADY OF THE AROOSTOOK. By W. D. HOWELLS. 12mo, pp. 326. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1879.

This story of Mr. Howells' is in his own peculiar vein. It bears the stamp of the Atlantic Monthly, and its atmosphere is cool as the breezes of Boston Bay. The dainty Lady of the Aroostook is thoroughly a type of interior New England, and her somewhat priggish admirers and companions in her sea voyage excellent specimens of the special variety of generous manhood, English indifference, and general self-satisfaction—bumptiousness, is the approved word—which old Harvard delights to graduate from its ancient halls. We have not much sympathy with Lady Lydia, little or none with Staniford, none whatever with Dunham, who play the parts of phone and antiphone as in a Greek chorus. The color is reserved for poor Hicks, who alone is allowed

to arouse a positive interest by his half-drunken vagaries. Excellent summer reading, however, and not enough excitement of narrative to prevent full enjoyment of the numerous passages of light, aromatic satire, in which Mr. Howells is a master. Even in the mannerisms of expression, such as "ethnic susceptibility to silver," applied to the black cook's greed, there is originality. There are descriptions, too, in neat mosaic of choice word painting, which show the clever adjustment of a thorough philologist. "Women," Mr. Howells says in one of his concluding axioms, which we much question, "are never blinded by romance, however much they like it in the abstract." This Lady of the Aroostook kept her eyes open and brought her bark to safe harbor, but all women do not reach Corinth, or leave it either, without mistaking fiction for truth, and losing their way in the glamorous seas of romance.

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CENTENNIAL GATHERING OF THE HAYWARD FAMILY. With address by GEORGE W. HAYWARD, and poem by ALMIRA L. HAYWARD. Easton, August 14th, 1878. 8vo, pp. 35. JOHN S. SAMPSON, Taunton, Mass., 1879.

The centennial anniversary of the building of the Hayward Family Mansion was observed on the 14th August, 1878, by a grand gathering on the grounds of Captain George Washington Hayward (then in his seventy-second year), in the southerly part of Easton, Mass. A company of seven or eight hundred persons was present. The family of Hayward descends from Thomas Hayward and Susanna his wife, who emigrated from Aylsford, Kent County, England, and settled in Dunbury in 1635.

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GENEALOGY OF THE FIELDS, OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND. As traced by Mrs. HARRIET A. BROWNELL, of Providence, R. I., mainly from records and papers in Rhode Island. Printed for private distribution. 8vo, pp. 65. J. A. and R. A. REID, Providence, 1878.

An account is here given of the descendants of William and John Field, who emigrated to this country in 1636, and settled in Providence soon after. It is still a mooted question whether or not these two men were related; the general belief being that they were brothers. There is also a record of the family of Zachariah Field, who lived in Providence in 1637, traced separately. Cyrus W. Field traces his descent from him.

THE DOGS OF GREAT BRITAIN, AMERICA, AND OTHER COUNTRIES; THEIR BREEDING, TRAINING, AND MANAGEMENT IN HEALTH AND DISEASE. Comprising all the essential parts of the two standard works on the dog by Stonehenge, together with chapters by American writers. With over one hundred illustrations. 12mo, pp. 383. ORANGE JUDD CO., New York, 1879.

Who does not love a dog; and yet how little is known of his training, care, and treatment—in a word of his education. J. H. Walsh, better known by his nom de plume, Stonehenge, is the accepted English authority on this subject. His two works are included in this volume. The immense interest shown in the subject by the splendid dog conferences or bench shows, as the annual exhibitions are termed, and the vast throngs who have visited them annually since their inception in 1877, prompted this volume, to which Messrs. David W. Judd, Henry Stewart, and F. R. Ryer, thorough experts in all that pertains to this branch of humanity (the word is used advisedly), have contributed additional information, the whole forming, without exception, the best book on the dog ever printed in America. The plates are admirable. By them alone the merest tyro may know what manner of dog he has to deal with. No one who owns a dog should be without it. That the brute creation are at last receiving some little attention is one of the most promising signs of our progressing civilization.

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DETMOLD. A Romance. By W. H. BISHOP. 32mo, pp. 286. The Riverside Press. Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1879.

Messrs. Henry James, Jr., and Howells must look to their laurels. Nothing has ever come from the pen of either more perfect in style, more exquisite in finish, more tender in sentiment, than Detmold. It can hardly be called a novel, the field and characters which occupy it being limited, but rather a tale, in the manner of James's *Passionate Pilgrim*, or Howells' *Chance Acquaintance*, each the best effort of its writer. There is a flavor of Taine also in the minuteness of the descriptions. The scene is laid in Verona, and the incidents of the romance are pleasantly relieved by a running account of the wonderful Lombard irrigation, admirably interwoven by its natural connection with the studies of a young gentleman, who proposes the introduction of the system into one of the arid valleys of California.

This class of literature is extremely fascinating, and although not in the least exciting or dramatic,



affords room for drawings of nature and an analysis of the most delicate traits of human character; and Detmold is delightful.

**LIFE OF COLONEL AARON BURR,**  
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.  
With Portrait, autograph and hitherto unpublished letters; also sketches of his father, etc.  
By CHARLES BURR TODD. Reprinted from the author's history of the Burr family. 8vo, pp. 139. Appendix, pp. 8. S. W. GREEN, New York, 1879.

A better, or more succinct account of Burr, his father, and his daughter Theodosia, could hardly be found than this brief sketch. His military, political, and professional career are each treated in turn. Of course the pamphlet is a defence of the man who for years was in the front rank of observation, but it is modestly and discreetly written.

**NOTES ON THE MANUFACTURE OF POTTERY AMONG SAVAGE RACES.** By Lt. FRED. HARTT, late Chief of the Geological Commission of Brazil. From the American Naturalists for February, 1879. pp. 78-93.

According to the writer the use of pottery is unknown to many savage people; as for instance, the Esquimaux, the Northern Indians of North America. Among the Algonkin tribes of Canada and the northeastern United States, cooking was often in vessels of bark. The various systems of clay baking or pottery are here intelligently described, and the pamphlet is an excellent hand-book for the antiquary engaged in this line of research.

**CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF BATTLES AND ENGAGEMENTS OF THE WESTERN ARMIES OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES, INCLUDING SUMMARY OF LIEUT.-GEN. JOSEPH WHEELER'S CAVALRY ENGAGEMENTS.** By EDWIN L. DRAKE, Lieut.-Col., C. S. A. 8vo, pp. 99. TAVEL, EASTMAN & HOWELL, Nashville, 1879.

In a brief preface Dr. Drake, who is known as the editor of the Annals of the army of Tennessee, expresses the difficulty of reaching any true statement of losses, owing to the want of anything like full systematic printed records from the Confederate States. He requests specific information, in tabular form if convenient, of every affair in the west.

**A STORY OR TWO FROM AN OLD DUTCH TOWN.** By ROBERT LOWELL. 16mo, pp. 322. ROBERTS BROTHERS, Boston, 1878.

The scene of this simple story is laid in the town of Westervliet, which may mean Schenectady or any other of the old Dutch settlements of the State of New York where the names of Van Zandt, Schermerhorn, Bleeker, Van Cortlandt, and others are still to be found in abundance, but not in the numbers that they were fifty years ago, when the action of the narrative begins. The quiet drowsiness of the period seems to have thoroughly permeated the author, and subdued his hand to that it worked in.

**THE PAST AND THE PRESENT. NARRAGANSETT SEA AND SHORE.** An illustrated guide to Providence, Newport, Narragansett Pier, Block Island, Watch Hill, Rocky Point, Silver Spring and all the famous sea-side resorts of Rhode Island. With a Map of Narragansett Bay. By FREDERIC DENISON. 8vo, pp. 88. J. A. & R. A. REID, Providence, 1879.

The summer tourist who would enjoy the manifold pleasures which Narragansett supplies to the outer and inner man, will find excellent advice in this cheap and convenient hand-book, which is appropriately entitled, Picturesque Narragansett Sea and Shore. It abounds in illustrations, and records the romance as well as the history of the location.

**ON CHAMPLAIN'S ASTROLABE, LOST ON THE 7TH JUNE, 1613, AND FOUND IN AUGUST, 1867.** Considered in solution of an obscurity in his Journal of his first voyage up the Ottawa, and the great antiquity of astrolabes and origin of their graduation. By A. J. RUSSELL. 8vo, pp. 24. DAWSON BROS., Montreal, 1879.

In the March number of the Magazine (III., 179), an account was given by Mr. O. H. Marshall of Buffalo, of the astrolabe found at Ross Renfrew County, Ontario, Canada, in the summer of 1867, and accompanying it a view of the instrument, which it is supposed was lost by Champlain in 1613. In this treatise the same subject is discussed and the same conclusions arrived at. It contains also a photographic picture of the astrolabe, and a map showing Champlain's route through Muskrat Province in the year named. The history of astrolabes, as instruments of science, is valuable.

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## BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS OF THE UPPER ALLEGHENY

1779

A CENTURY has elapsed since the council fire of the Six Nations was extinguished, and their Long House destroyed. The firmness and tact of this little confederacy, enabled it for more than an hundred years, to maintain its ancient seats along the rivers and lakes of central New York against powerful neighbors. With the French close on one side, and the English upon the other, a less vigorous people would have been crushed as between two mill stones. Although these Indians were of a barbarous race, and few in numbers, their story will not be soon forgotten. Their military enterprise and conquests justly gained for them the title of "Romans of the West," and their practical wisdom enabled them to frame a perfect Representative Federal Republic, which a trial during a period longer than the existence of our own Republic, has proved to have been as efficient in practice as it was perfect in theory; an achievement that had long baffled the skill of enlightened statesmen, and which is alone sufficient to render the name of the Iroquois illustrious. This rare piece of Indian workmanship affords remarkable evidence of their political sagacity, and presents the paradox, that unlettered men, by simple methods, can effect results that cultivated minds accomplish only after great effort. These achievements, the eloquence of their orators, and the prominent part they filled in the early history of this country, will prevent the name of this people from soon fading into oblivion.

At the commencement of the revolution, the Six Nations held friendly relations with all their white neighbors, whether adherents to Congress or the Crown. But the wanton massacre of Logan's family, and other enormities committed by the whites during Cresaps' war, had weakened their friendship for the colonies. The authority that Colonel



Guy and Sir John Johnson, and Colonel Daniel Claus, who succeeded to the power that Sir William Johnson possessed with the Indians, and the influence of Colonel John Butler and his son Walter, influential citizens of the Mohawk Valley, were exerted to attach the Confederacy to the King. Joseph Brant and his sister Molly, strived also to embitter the Mohawks against the colonies. On the other hand, the patriots of Tryon County, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland and the Oneida Chief, Shenandoah, endeavored to persuade the Indians to pursue a neutral policy. The Indians for some time hesitated. Councils were held with them by patriots and by loyalists, with the result that the Oneidas, a large portion of the Tuscaroras, a portion of the Onondagas, and a few of the Mohawks, favored the Americans. But the greater number, of whom the Senecas and Mohawks were foremost, under the lead of Brant and the Seneca chiefs, became their bitter and active foes.


The first hostilities of which we learn, were committed in May, 1776, by Brant and the Mohawks, at the Battle of the Cedars, which occurred about forty miles above Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence. The hostile Indians next joined the forces of St. Leger, participated in the siege of Fort Stanwix, and in the desperate battle of Oriskany. Then followed the massacre of Wyoming, and raids into the Mohawk Valley; and finally, November, 1778, occurred the burning and massacre of Cherry Valley. The barbarities committed in these bloody forays have been in some instances exaggerated. Too much, perhaps, has been charged upon the Indians, and too little upon the Tories and refugees who accompanied them. The inhabitants on the border, however, suffered so greatly from these incursions, that the States became aroused to the necessity of waging a more decisive war on the frontier, and Congress, on the 25th of February, 1779, by a resolution, directed Washington to take the most effective measures to protect the settlers and chastise the Indians. Accordingly he planned two expeditions; one to proceed from the east, penetrate into the Seneca country, and devastate the fields of the Indians, destroy their villages, and drive their inhabitants into the woods; the other to advance up the Allegheny River, and in like manner destroy the Indian towns and fields there, and ultimately join the expedition from the east in a combined attack upon Fort Niagara.

The expedition from the east moved in two divisions. One under the immediate command of General Sullivan, left Wyoming, ascended the Susquehanna, and arrived at Tioga, August 11th, 1779. The other, under General James Clinton, marched from Canajoharie on the

Mohawk, passed over Otsego Lake, descended the Susquehanna, and joined General Sullivan August 22d. A part of Clinton's force, under Colonel Van Schaick, had previously destroyed the fields and towns of the Onondagas. The two divisions, consisting in the aggregate of five thousand men, under the command of Sullivan, moved forward from Tioga up the Chemung River. They defeated the British and Indians at Elmira on the 29th of August, in the battle of Newton, and immediately pushed forward into the heart of the Indian country. They advanced to the head of Seneca Lake, and thence along its shores, destroying the Indian towns on the way, including the large Indian village of Kanadaseagea at its outlet. They then proceeded to the Genesee River, and destroyed the large villages and extensive cornfields there. The original design of advancing on Fort Niagara having been abandoned, Sullivan commenced his return march. On his way he caused the towns and fields of the Cayugas, which were situated on the eastern and southwestern shore of Cayuga Lake, to be destroyed. He arrived at Tioga on the 30th of September, and at Easton, Pennsylvania, on the 15th of October, having destroyed forty Indian towns, and one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of Indian corn, besides a large amount of other property.

As a less full history has been written of the expedition moving from the south, it is the design of this article to supply some account of it. First, however, a brief description should be given of the Indian settlements along the Allegheny River.

When the Iroquois first became known to Europeans, their villages and hunting grounds were confined to central New York. The fierce wars which they subsequently waged, and by which kindred nations—the Hurons, Neutrals, Eries and Andastes—were successively vanquished, secured to them an extensive territory to the west and south of their domains, including the mountainous region of New York and Pennsylvania which was traversed by the Allegheny River. Their enterprise soon led them to new hunting grounds, and finally to establish villages in this conquered territory. The Senecas, who dwelt at the western limits of the Confederacy, were its most numerous and warlike nation. The greater number of their villages were situated along the Genesee. They ultimately became the chief colonizers of the Confederacy. They did not extend their settlements directly westward, or along the shore of Lake Erie, until near the close of the revolution, excepting only in the immediate vicinity of Fort Niagara. They seemed to prefer the rivers and their tributaries, and the shores of the




smaller lakes. They extended their towns up the Genesee to Canadea. A broad Indian trail joined this settlement with the Upper Allegheny at Olean, in New York. They then planted their villages along the Allegheny and its tributaries to its mouth, and thence down the Ohio. The Seneca villages were the most numerous along the Upper Allegheny. As early as 1724, the Munsey or Wolf tribe of the Delawares, who had previously dwelt in northeastern Pennsylvania, but had been crowded out by the encroachments of the whites, were allowed by the Six Nations to settle along the Lower Allegheny; and between 1724 and 1728, the Shawnees, a restless and warlike people, located along the Lower Allegheny and Upper Ohio. The Indians of these different tribes were often found strangely mingled, living peaceably together in one village, at the same time observing different customs, and obeying different laws.

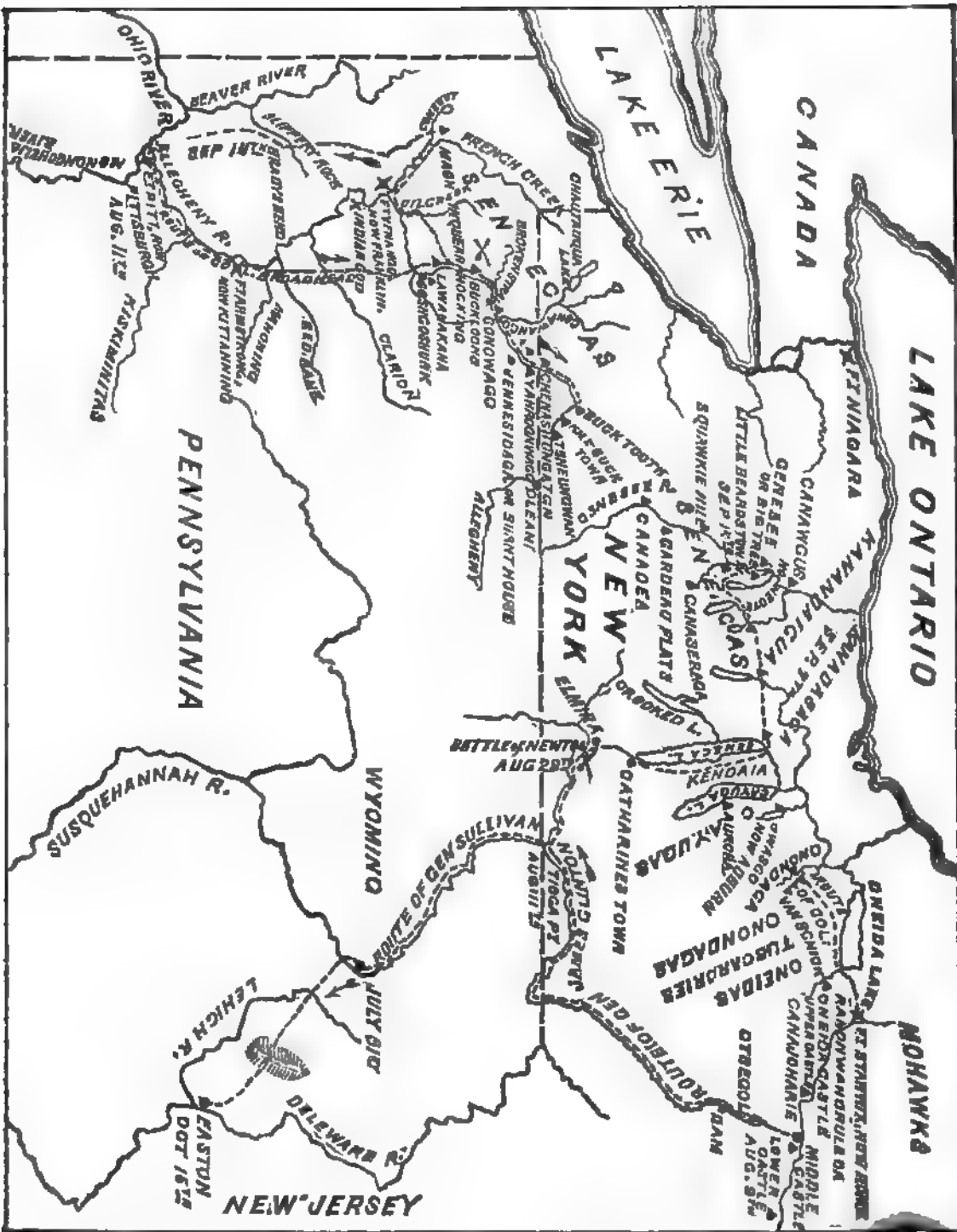
The first accurate knowledge acquired by Europeans concerning the Indian settlements along the Allegheny, was obtained during the expedition under Captain Bienville De Céleron, which was sent in the summer of 1749, by the Governor of Canada, to take formal possession, in the name of France, of the territory lying west of the Allegheny Mountains. From the records kept by the expedition, we learn that it ascended the St. Lawrence, coasted along the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, and arrived at "Chatakouin" portage the 16th of June, 1749. It passed over the portage to the head of Chautauqua, then a secluded but, as now, beautiful sheet of water, buried in the depths of the forest. Having traversed this lake, the expedition descended its outlet and the Conawango Creek in canoes, and entered the Allegheny ten miles south of the boundary line between the States of New York and Pennsylvania, just above the village of Warren. On the south bank of the Allegheny, opposite the mouth of the Conawango, Céleron buried a leaden plate, inscribed with the date and place of deposit, as a token of his possession of the country in the name of the King of France. On the right bank of the Allegheny, occupying the site of the present village of Warren, there was then an Indian village called "Kanaougon." It was inhabited by Senecas and Loups, or Munseys. This village was called Conawago by Colonel Brodhead when he visited the place just thirty years later. Céleron descended the river, and on its right bank, about six miles below this town, on a beautiful prairie now owned by Dr. William A. Irvine, and just below the mouth of the Broken Straw Creek, he found a Seneca village which he called *Paille Coupée*, or Cut Straw. Its Seneca name was De-ga-syo-ush-dy-ah-goh, meaning Broken Straw;

referring, it is said by Alden, to the accumulation of straw and drift wood in the waters of the creek; but more likely, as we are informed by General Callender Irvine, who preemted the land at the confluence of the Broken Straw and the Allegheny in 1795, and was familiar with the Indians and early traditions of that region, to the broken straws and drooping plumes of the tall wild grass that stood thickly on the meadows there, after the storms of autumn had swept over them. This Indian village was called Buck a loons by Colonel Brodhead. Four French leagues below this town the expedition came to a village of ten houses on the left bank of the river, inhabited by Delawares and Renards. Four or five leagues further down they passed a village of six houses on the right bank of the river. This may have been situated near the present site of Hickory Town, in Venango Co., and identical with the Indian village familiar to the Moravians as Lawanakana, meaning Middle Branch or Stream, or where the waters meet. They next passed a village of ten houses, probably the same that was afterwards known to the Moravians as Gosh-gosh-unk, or Place of Hogs. The expedition then came to an Indian village of ten houses, subsequently called Venango by the English, a corruption of the Indian word In-nun-gah, alluding to a rude and indecent figure that the Senecas found carved upon a tree when they first came to this region. This town was situated near the site of the present enterprising town of Franklin, at the mouth of the *Rivière Aux Boeufs*, now called French Creek. Nine miles below Franklin there still remains, close to the water's edge, on the eastern side of the river, a large rock, covered with curious Indian carvings, which has excited the interest of passers by from the earliest French and English explorers to the raftsmen of the present day. It is called the "Indian God," and near it Céleron buried his second leaden plate. Passing a river having on its upper waters some villages of Loups and Iroquois, the expedition came to Attique, a large village of twenty-two houses, situated on or near the Kiskiminitas River. Below this town they passed an old Shawneese village, upon the right bank of the river, and came finally to a village of Delawares, the finest seen, and which is supposed to have been situated at or near the present site of Pittsburg. From this place, the expedition proceeded on its way down the Ohio. There had undoubtedly occurred some changes in the situation and population of the Indian towns along this river during the thirty years that elapsed between Céleron's and Brodhead's expeditions.

When Washington in November, 1753, on his journey to French



Creek, arrived at the junction of the Allegheny with the Monongahela, where Pittsburg is situated, no white man was living there. During the succeeding February the English commenced to lay the foundation of a fort there, which was taken from them by the French the April following. The French held Pittsburg, then called Du Quesne, until 1758, when it was retaken by the English under General Forbes. It remained in their possession until the Revolution, when a party of Virginians under Captain Neville took possession, and held it until they were superseded by the Continentals under Brigadier-General Hand. Hand was in turn succeeded by Brigadier-Generals Lochlan and McIntosh, and he by Colonel Daniel Brodhead,' whom we find in command early in 1779. It was during this year, while Brodhead was in command of the Western Department, with his headquarters at Fort Pitt, that the campaign was planned and prosecuted against the Indians of the Upper Allegheny. General Washington, as it has been stated, desired that the expedition sent north from Pittsburg should coöperate with the expedition from the east under Sullivan. With this object in view, he directed Colonel Rawlings to march with three companies from Fort Frederick in Maryland to Pittsburg. He also directed Colonel Brodhead, upon his arrival there, to increase Rawlings' force to one hundred men, and send them up the river to Kittanning, and there throw up a stockade fort for the security of convoys; and when completed, to leave a small garrison, proceed still further up the river to Venango, and there establish another post for the same purpose; and to direct Colonel Gibson,' of the Seventh Virginia Regiment, who was stationed at Tuscarawas, to hold himself in readiness to join the forces at Pittsburg. Also to prepare water craft and engage good guides, "who know the way from the head of navigation of the Allegheny to the nearest Indian towns, and to Niagara." Also to report by express "when he would be ready to begin his movement; when he would be at Kittanning, Venango, and the head of navigation, and how far it would be to the nearest Indian towns, and to Niagara;" and to keep all a profound secret until the proper time should arrive. He also gave Colonel Brodhead careful directions how in the meantime to pacify the Western Indians, so that they would not interfere with his success. Notwithstanding these careful plans, further consideration induced Washington a month later to relinquish the idea of concert of action between the two expeditions. The difficulty of providing supplies in time, want of information of the route and country up the Allegheny, and between that river and the Indian settlements



ROUTE OF REDBANK'S EXPEDITION



on the Genesee, and consequently the uncertainty of cooperation to advantage, were his principal reasons for abandoning the original plan. He, however, directed Colonel Brodhead to make preparation, and, as soon as it was in his power, to chastise the Indians by an expedition into their country ; also to make inquiries with a view to an attempt against Detroit. An enterprise against that post, whence marauding parties of British and Indians had proceeded against the extreme western settlements, had been a favorite scheme with Colonel Brodhead's predecessor, Colonel McIntosh, as it afterwards became with Brodhead himself.

The Government had been able to place at the disposal of Colonel Brodhead only a dispersed and feeble force, by which to protect the wide borders of Pennsylvania against the cruelties of the Indians. On the 15th of April his regiment, the Eighth Pennsylvania, was much scattered. Besides a portion at Fort Pitt, there were one hundred men at Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawa, twenty-five at Wheeling, Virginia, twenty-five at Holliday's Cove, some at Fort McIntosh in Beaver County, some employed as artificers, and some as boatmen and wagoners. Colonel Brodhead was energetic, active, and ambitious to serve his country, but he found his duties arduous and disagreeable. The population of this thinly settled frontier, from which he was to draw recruits and obtain supplies, harassed by incursions of the Indians, and wearied by the long continuance of the war, were in a destitute condition ; and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could keep his soldiers clad and fed. Yet during the summer of 1779 he made vigorous preparations to strike a blow that would prove a diversion in favor of General Sullivan. Profiting by the suggestions of Washington, made when cooperation between the two expeditions was contemplated, he commenced constructing canoes and batteaux at Fort Pitt and at other posts. He had as many as one hundred and fifty boat-builders employed at one time. On the 31st of July he had about sixty boats nearly finished. Some of the canoes made of poplar would carry two tons. About the middle of June Lieutenant-Colonel Bayard, by his command, commenced the construction of a fort at Kittanning, which was completed during the last of July, and called Fort Armstrong, in commemoration of the exploit of Colonel John Armstrong in September, 1756, when he surprised and burned the old Indian town of Cattauyan, which then stood there, killing thirty or forty of its Indian defenders, including their resolute chief, Captain Jacobs. Hugh Mercer, afterwards a distinguished American General, who fell at the

battle of Princeton, accompanied Armstrong on this expedition. Colonel Brodhead exerted himself also to secure the friendship of the Delawares, and to excite them to war against the Six Nations. He secured the adhesion of Killbuck and other warriors, and also that of the young Delaware Chief Nanoland, who subsequently distinguished himself on several occasions. While making preparations for the campaign, early in the summer, he received private intelligence that Butler and two hundred Rangers and a number of Indians designed making an attack upon the frontier, west of Laurel Hills, when the strawberries should become ripe; and during all the spring and summer prowling parties of Indians committed murders in Western Pennsylvania. These dangers required constant vigilance upon the part of Colonel Brodhead, and obliged him to keep parties of Rangers traversing the wilderness to protect the inhabitants. In June Lieutenant Hardian, a brave partizan officer, who had often distinguished himself, was sent with eleven men, skilled in the warfare of the border, towards the Seneca country. Lieutenant Peterson and Ensigns Morrison and Wood led other parties towards the Indian towns. In June three men, who had been sent to reconnoitre in the Seneca country, returning from Venango, were pursued by a party of Indian warriors some distance below Kittanning, and narrowly escaped. These Indians proceeded to the Sewickly settlement, on their way killed a soldier, and upon their arrival there, a woman and four children, and took two others captives. Captain Brady, who, with twenty men and the young Delaware Chief Nanoland, was on his way towards the Seneca country, fell in with seven of these Indians about fifteen miles above Kittanning, at a point on the river now well known as Brady's Bend. Brady attacked them at the break of day, killed their captain and mortally wounded the most of them, but the Indians staunched their wounds so that they could not be traced, and the greater number succeeded in escaping into a remarkable thicket lying at hand. In the language of Colonel Brodhead in a letter to Washington, "Brady retook six horses, two prisoners, the scalps, and all the plunder, which was considerable; and took six guns, and every thing else the Indians had, except their breech clouts." The young Delaware Chief Nanoland greatly distinguished himself on this occasion.

Brodhead fixed the early part of August as the time for his movement against the Indians, for the reason that it would then be between harvest and seeding, when he could expect volunteers from the country. It would also be before the corn of the Indians could ripen and be car-

trated, and was traversed by the Red Bank, the Clarion, or some dark rolling tributary. At Goshgoshunk the path crossed the Allegheny. Here had been three Munsey villages, where Rev. David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary, commenced in 1767 to teach the Indians. He and his coadjutor, Br. Gotlob Senseman, daily preached the Gospel to their red hearers, who came with faces painted black and vermillion, and with heads decorated with fox-tails and feathers, in great numbers to listen. The missionaries brought with them several Moravian families, built a block-house, and established a regular mission there. Among the Indians, the magicians and old women violently opposed the Moravians. "They avered that the corn was blasted; the deer and game began to retire from the woods; no chestnuts and bilberrys would grow, because the missionaries preached a strange doctrine, and the Indians were changing in their way of life;" and Ziesberger was compelled to remove, fifteen miles farther up the river, to Lawanakana, near Hickory Town, where he gathered around him a little settlement, built a chapel, and placed in it a bell, the first ever heard in Venango county; and he here for two years prosecuted his holy purpose.

The expedition of Brodhead crossed the river at Goshgoshunk, and pursued its march along the western shore. High hills—spurs of the Allegheny mountains—bordered one side of the way, and the clear waters of the river flowed on the other. Yet the route at this place was even more difficult and perilous than that through the forests of Clarion county. Beetling cliffs pressed close to the river's side, leaving a passage much of the way no wider than an Indian trail, through which he was compelled to march. It was in one of these dangerous defiles that his advanced guard, consisting of fifteen white men and eight Delaware Indians, under Lieutenant Hardian, saw thirty or forty Indian warriors descending the river in seven canoes. The Indians at the same time discovered the troops, and immediately landed, stripped off their shirts, and prepared for action. Lieutenant Hardian disposed his men in a semi-circular form, and they, with tomahawk in hand, began the attack with such courage and vigor that the Indians soon gave way and fled; part, plunging into the water, escaped across the river, and the remainder, favored by the thick bushes, secured safety on land. The main body of the troops, with the exception of one column and flankers, were at the time in a narrow pass between the river and a high precipice. The troops had great confidence in Colonel Brodhead, and he was consequently able to quickly prepare his men for

action, which being done, he passed to the front in season to see the Indians retreating across the river. Of the Indians in this engagement, six or seven were killed, their bodies left upon the field; several also were wounded. The canoes of the Indians and their contents, which included clothing and guns, fell into the hands of Colonel Brodhead. Of his force, three men only were slightly wounded, one of whom was the Delaware Indian, Nanoland. The celebrated scout, Jonathan Zane,<sup>4</sup> was also one of the wounded. This encounter probably occurred near Thompson's Island in Warren county, five miles below the mouth of the Broken Straw. Colonel Thomas Proctor in 1791 journeyed from Philadelphia upon a mission to the Western Indians to persuade them to peace. On his way he visited the Allegheny River, and was there joined by Cornplanter with a fleet of thirty canoes. On the 11th of April they arrived at an old Indian settlement called Hogstown (undoubtedly Goshgoshunk), and afterwards proceeded up the river to Hickory Town (Lawanakana). On the 13th of April they set out from Hickory Town, and ascended the Allegheny ten miles to Log Trap Creek. Colonel Proctor states in his journal that he, the next day, the 14th, "Proceeded up the river to-day, took up our encampment near the mouth of Casyouidang Creek, it being the place where Colonel Brodhead in 1779 had fought against the savages, and in which action Joseph Nicholson, his interpreter, was wounded."

The day after this affair Brodhead resumed his march, and arrived in the morning at the Indian town of Buckaloons, just below the mouth of the Broken Straw. The Indians were driven from the village, and retreated to the hills in its rear.<sup>4</sup> A breastwork of felled timber and fascines was thrown up. The remains of this stockade were plainly to be seen a few years ago. It was situated about one-half mile above the mouth of the Broken Straw, on the west side of the road from Irvinton to Warren, upon a high bluff by the Allegheny, and commanded an extensive view up and down the river. A captain and garrison of forty men were left to guard the baggage and stores, and the troops immediately marched to Conawago, the Seneca town that stood where the thriving village of Warren is now situated. Conawago they found had been deserted for about eighteen months. Brodhead, it is said, sent a force several miles up the Conawago, and found deserted villages there.

The country around the headwaters of the Allegheny, and much of western New York, was then a region unexplored by white men. Undoubtedly there were with this expedition most experienced hunters

attracted to the inflammable oil issuing from the bottom and sides of its channels, and from the adjacent springs, which they thought resembled British oil. The Massachusetts Magazine, published in the succeeding year, 1780, referring to this expedition, states that, in the northern part of Pennsylvania, "there is a Creek called Oil Creek which empties into the Allegheny River. It issues from a spring, on the top of which floats an oil similar to that called Barbadoes tar, and from which one may gather several gallons a day. The troops sent to guard the Western posts halted at this spring, collected some of this oil, and bathed their joints with it. This gave them great relief from the rheumatism with which they were afflicted. The water, of which the troops drank freely, operated as a gentle purge."

Leaving Oil Creek, they arrived at French Creek, formerly known as *Riviere Aux Boeufs*. The French first built a fort below its mouth, which they named *Machault*, after the French Minister of Marine. There Washington, when on his journey to *Le Boeuf*, in December, 1753, had an interview with the celebrated Captain Jancaire. The English afterward built a fort a little higher up, which was called Fort Venango. About eight years after Brodhead's expedition a fort was built by the United States upon the south bank of the creek, about one-half mile from its mouth, which was called Franklin, and from which the present town derives its name. Leaving Venango, Brodhead ascended French Creek. The Indian path extended up its eastern side to the site of Meadville, where it crossed the stream. General Washington had followed it twenty-six years before, when on his journey to *Le Boeuf*. About twenty miles from Venango, as estimated by Brodhead, he came to the Indian village of Maghinquechahocking, which was composed of thirty-five large houses. This town he burned. The distance from Venango indicated by Brodhead, would fix its site not far from the mouth of Coneant Creek, the outlet of Coneant Lake, and about seven miles below Meadville, upon the rich and level lands at the confluence of the two streams; owing to the difficulty of accurately determining distances in the wilderness, Brodhead's estimate may not perhaps be reliable. Of these fertile flats, and of those about Meadville, a portion was undoubtedly devoted by the Indians to the raising of corn; but substantial evidences of the precise location of this village have long since disappeared. Yet when the canal, at the point where it leaves the aqueduct over French Creek, near Meadville, was being constructed, there was found an Indian burial ground, and various Indian implements, among which very much corroded cooking utensils of brass. In

the graves, besides human bones, were also found corroded copper ornaments, and it may be, that at or near where these relics were found, this ill-starred Indian village stood. With the destruction of Maghinquechahocking, the objects of this expedition were accomplished, and Brodhead resumed his return march through the wilderness. It is related, that on this march, a young man named John Ward, was badly injured in Butler County, by a horse falling upon a rock in a creek; hence the name, Slippery Rock, in that county. This was probably the most serious injury received by any one of the force during the expedition. Colonel Brodhead arrived at Fort Pitt on the 14th of September.

The campaign thus terminated was successful throughout. It was prosecuted with promptness and dispatch; and completely and thoroughly accomplished all of its objects, without the slightest mishap. In thirty-three days over three hundred miles were traversed, many Indian towns destroyed, and fields devastated, without the loss of a single man or beast; one hundred and sixty-five cabins were destroyed, one hundred and thirty of which were deserted upon the approach of the troops; the most of them were sufficiently large to accommodate three or four Indian families. The extensive mountain region, and the tangled forests which had to be traversed in order to reach the villages of the hostile Indians, had been regarded by them as impenetrable, and as a sufficient barrier for their protection.

The enterprise and resolution of Colonel Brodhead, and the enthusiasm, perseverance and endurance of his officers and men, enabled him to overcome all obstacles. Considering the small force engaged in this expedition, and its considerable results, it was more beneficial than the costly expedition that proceeded from the east under Sullivan. The conduct of all engaged in Colonel Brodhead's campaign was evidently regarded as most creditable. The thanks of Congress was voted to him for executing the expedition; and by General Washington, as appears by the following extract from General Orders, issued from his headquarters at More's House, October 18, 1779, to his army at West Point: "The activity, perseverance, and firmness, which marked the conduct of Colonel Brodhead, and that of all the officers and men of every description in this expedition, do them great honor, and their services entitle them to the thanks, and to this testimonial of the General's Acknowledgement."

Brodhead believed that the destruction of the towns and fields of the Indians would fill them with consternation, and promote the safety

of the frontier. It had that immediate effect, to some extent, for on his return to Pittsburg, he found distant tribes ready to form friendly treaties with him. The chiefs of the Delawares were there. The principal chiefs of the Hurons and Wyandots were also there; and soon after came the King of the Maquichee branch of the Shawneese. They had been less hostile towards the United States than the remainder of that nation. On the 17th of September, a council was held with them. Doonyoutat, the Wyandot Chief, delivered a formal speech, presenting many belts of wampum, according to the Indian style. He professed friendship towards the United States, and promised to deliver up the prisoners that were in the hands of his nation; and he promised that his people would assist the English no more. The Delawares (with the exception of the Munceys) were at peace with the United States, and several of their warriors had accompanied Colonel Brodhead in his recent expedition. They on this occasion pleaded the cause of the Maquichee clan of the Shawneese, whom they called their grandchildren. Kelleleman, Killbuck, and another Delaware chief, were the speakers. The speeches of these orators have been preserved, and are fair specimens of Indian oratory. Colonel Brodhead replied to their addresses according to the Indian form, but expressed himself with great independence. He plainly told them that fair promises would not do; that they must give a practical exhibition of their friendship; that they must deliver up their prisoners; kill, scalp, and take as many English, or their Indian allies, as they had before Americans; and on all occasions join the latter against their enemies. Peace was made on this basis. Hostages were, however, required from the Wyandots, to insure the faithful performance of its terms.

The consequences which followed these expeditions were most disastrous to the Six Nations. They were superior to all the other Indian nations. None but they had what might be called a government. The people of this confederacy was advanced in civilization far beyond what had been generally understood. They lived by the cultivation of the soil, as well as the chase. They resided in permanent villages composed of comfortable houses, some of which were painted and even well furnished. At Kanandaigua, General Sullivan "found twenty-three elegant houses, mostly framed, and in general large." "The town of Genesee contained one hundred and twenty-eight houses, mostly large and very elegant. It was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a clear flat, extending a number of miles; over which extensive fields of corn were waving, together with every kind of vegetable that

could be conceived." Besides gardens and cultivated fields they had extensive orchards of apples, pears, and even peaches. One destroyed by Sullivan contained one thousand five hundred trees. As this people had learned to enjoy the comforts and conveniences of civilization, the calamity which had now befallen them seemed the greater. The winter of 1779 and 1780, was remarkably long and bitter. The cold was the most intense ever known in this country. Washington's army suffered at Morristown as severely as it suffered at Valley Forge two winters previously. New York harbor was frozen so firmly that the heaviest cannon were wheeled over from Staten Island on the ice. In western New York the snow fell to a depth of five feet. The game, upon which the Indians partly subsisted, perished in great numbers, and when the snow, in the spring, disappeared, multitudes of deer and other animals were found dead in the woods. Even in the latitude of Pittsburg the winter was very severe. Colonel Brodhead, in a letter from Pittsburg, dated February 11th, 1780, wrote to General Washington: "Such a deep snow, and such ice has not been known at this place in the memory of the eldest natives; deer and turkies die by hundreds for want of food. The snow on the Allegheny and Laurel Hills is four feet deep."

Their villages and the products of their fields having been destroyed as the harvests were ripening, and the previous year's crops exhausted, the Indians were without shelter and food. Great numbers of them perished during the winter from starvation and cold. These calamities fell heaviest upon the women and children. To escape general destruction the Indians fled to Fort Niagara for shelter and relief. There, to add to their desolation, a fatal disease, induced by the unusual exposure they had suffered, swept them off in great numbers. The Delaware chief Killbuck wrote to Colonel Brodhead from Salem on the Muskingham, June 7th, 1780, that, "some days ago one man and an old woman came from Niagara who acquaint me that last winter three hundred Indians died at that place of the flux."

As the Indians had freely shed their blood during the war, and now had suffered almost annihilation for their faithful adherence to the cause of the King, the British authorities could not without gross ingratitude omit to provide for their relief. Large numbers had gathered around the Fort and along the River Niagara, and during the winter fed from the British stores. To relieve themselves of this burden, the British Government encouraged the Indians to establish themselves at convenient places, and obtain support by cultivating land. In May or June,




1780, they first permanently established themselves upon Buffalo Creek, near Buffalo, and in 1780 and 1781 a portion made the first settlement upon the Tonawanda and Cattaraugus Creeks, while others settled along the Genesee and Allegheny Rivers.

The British officers also incited the Indian warriors, who, exasperated and smarting under the chastisement administered by Sullivan and Brodhead, were assembled at Niagara in great numbers, to make warlike excursions along the borders. Seldom less than five hundred warriors were on service at one time. Guy Johnson wrote to Lord Germain from Niagara, July 26th, 1780, that "the Oneidas have joined the British, and that the remainder of the Indians with the Rebels will soon join the British, and thereby lay open the Rebel frontier near the Mohawk River." "The number of killed and prisoners (Americans) amounted early in June to one hundred and fifty-six, and is now enlarged." "The number of men of the Six Nations (exclusive of their people southward) is about one thousand six hundred; above one thousand two hundred are warriors, and of the latter eight hundred and thirty-five are now on the service on the frontier." Accompanied by British officers, these warriors committed cruelties along the frontier until the close of the war. They destroyed the towns of the friendly Oneidas. They invaded and overrun the valley of the Mohawk, and made frequent descents upon the settlements along the borders of New York and Pennsylvania.

The English Government, in the Treaty of Peace that closed the Revolution, required no stipulation in favor of the Indians, to the great indignation and disappointment of these allies. Yet a portion of them, including Brandt and Red Jacket, subservient to British interests, favored confederating with the North Western Indians in the war against the United States that afterwards followed. Cornplanter, and other influential chiefs, saw, however, the folly of contending against the growing States, and gave wiser counsels in favor of peace. In a treaty held at Fort Stanwix, in October, 1784, peace was made with the United States. About this time the British Government granted to the Mohawks a tract of beautiful land along the Ouise or Grand River, in Upper Canada. The other nations of the Confederacy afterwards resided upon lands set apart for them in the State of New York, portions of which, at different times, they subsequently ceded to that State, until there only remained to them the present diminished reservation. Allegheny, the name of the river upon which their remaining lands mostly lie, has the same signification in the Delaware tongue that Ohio has

in the Seneca, and means Fair or Beautiful Water. The Allegheny is indeed a beautiful river; its waters, supplied by mountain streams, are remarkably pure and limpid. They flow uninterrupted by falls over a bed of polished pebbles, free from rocks, in winding course, through scenery of most varied character; at times rough and rugged, but more often picturesque and beautiful. Above Warren the bordering hills along its course rise in wild confusion, and are covered with dense forests. The dark green of the pines and hemlocks contrasts strikingly with the light verdure of the maples. The smooth flowing current of the river now glides along the shadow of a lofty headland, now washes the pebbles of some gently sloping shore, and wild flowers bloom everywhere along the banks. In this romantic region the Indian towns are situated for thirty miles along the river. Commencing just above the northern boundary of Pennsylvania lies their principal reservation. The Seneca-Abeel, the clan who were under the immediate control of the able and just Cornplanter, settled in Pennsylvania a little south of its northern boundary, in the very region invaded by Colonel Brodhead. Cornplanter made his residence, at the close of his life, four miles below the State line, and five miles above Kinjua, near the center of a Seneca village, built upon the site of the upper Indian towns destroyed by Brodhead, which he called Jennesedaga, meaning Burnt Houses. Another tract of land, consisting of about five hundred acres, which includes the celebrated Oil Springs at the mouth of Oil Creek, was granted to Cornplanter by the State of Pennsylvania about 1792.

With the Independence of the States the prestige of the Six Nations departed. Their government was as perfect a Federal Republic as human ingenuity could devise. The independence of each State was absolute, and yet they were bound together as a Confederacy by the strongest of bonds. Each of these States, or little nations, was divided into tribes; a near family relationship was supposed to exist between the people of a tribe of one nation and those of the corresponding tribe of others having the same name; and thus the strong tie by which consanguinity links man together, was adroitly used to bind these nations into one. No maxim of enlightened statecraft was ever more skillfully used to attach a people to their country than was this device by them. But the obliteration of political and territorial lines, the mingling and scattering of tribes, extinguished the life of the Confederacy. The breaking up of their ancient seats along the romantic waters of central New York, broke also the haughty spirit of this nation. May we not regret the necessity



that compelled the overthrow of a people so vigorous, barbarians though they were? King Hendricks, Brandt, Schenandoah, Logan, Farmer's Brother, Cornplanter and Red Jacket were nearly cotemporaneous personages. What civilized community can point to such a measure of intellectual force and physical energy as these forest statesmen present, even with all their savage obliquities and barbarous instincts?

### OBED EDSON

<sup>1</sup> DANIEL BRODHEAD was born at Marbletown, Ulster County, New York, in 1736. His great-grandfather, Daniel Brodhead, was a royalist, and Captain of Grenadiers in the reign of Charles II. He came with the expedition under Colonel Nichols in 1664, that captured the Netherlands (now New York) from the Dutch, and settled in Marbletown in 1665. His grandfather, Richard Brodhead, and his father, Daniel Brodhead, both resided in Marbletown. The latter, in 1736, removed to a place called Dansville, on Brodhead's Creek, near Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pennsylvania. His sons became famous for their courage in conflicts with the Indians on the border. At the breaking out of the Revolution, Daniel Brodhead was elected a Lieutenant-Colonel, and subsequently became Colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, which was first mustered for pay at King's Bridge, September 5th, 1776. He participated in the battle of Long Island, and in other battles in which Washington's army was engaged. He was next given in command on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. March 5th, 1778, Washington appointed him to the command of the Western Department, which extended over the whole west from Detroit to Louisiana. While in command there, several important expeditions were planned and executed against the Indians. He held the office of Surveyor-General from November 3d, 1779, until April 23d, 1780. He was twice married; first to Elizabeth Depui, and subsequently to Mrs. Mifflin, widow of Governor Mifflin. He died at Milford, Pike County, Pennsylvania, November 15th, 1809, aged seventy-three years. His descendants and kinsmen are numerous, and among them are many who have filled honorable positions in civil life and in the army. Among them was John Romeyn Brodhead, the historian. Feeling a just pride in the good name of their gallant relative, they, in 1872, erected at Milford an appropriate monument to his memory. (See Turner's History of the Holland Purchasers, page 661.)

<sup>2</sup> Colonel John Gibson was born at Lancaster, Pa., in 1740. He entered the army at eighteen, after having obtained a good classical education. He served in the campaign against Fort Du Quesne, under General Forbes. He was subsequently captured by the Indians, and remained with them several years, becoming familiar with their language and customs. To him Logan addressed his celebrated speech. It is said that when murderously assaulted by Little Eagle, a chief of the Delawares, with one blow of his sword Colonel Gibson severed his head from his body, and became afterwards known as the Long Knife warrior. Gibson was in active service during the Revolution, in the east and west. He was second in command in Brodhead's expedition, and commanded at Pittsburg after Brodhead. He had at one time an unfortunate controversy with that officer. After the war he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County in that State, and Secretary of the Territory of Indiana. He died at Braddock's Field in 1822. He was a brave soldier and an honest man.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Samuel Brady was born at Shippensburg, Pa., in 1758. He was at the siege of Boston, and a Lieutenant at the massacre of Paoli. He lost both his father and brother by the hands of the Indians; and took an oath of vengeance against the race. Having been ordered to Pittsburg with the rest of his regiment under Colonel Brodhead, he had an opportunity to fulfill his vow. He was generally placed in command of the scouting parties sent into the Indian coun-

try from Fort Pitt; and being an athletic, active, and courageous man, familiar with the woods and with Indian warfare, became the hero of many bold exploits in the northeastern part of the valley of the Ohio, and a serious trouble to his Indian foes. An account of his daring adventures and hair-breadth escapes would fill a volume, and has given his name permanently to many localities in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Zane was born in Berkley County, Va. He was an experienced hunter; a man of activity and resolution. He was familiar with the western wilderness, and acted as a pilot and scout in many expeditions against the Indians. He and John Sloven were appointed guides in Colonel Crawford's disastrous expedition. He was one of the best marksmen on the border. His skill with the rifle he displayed against the Indians with fatal effect in several instances.

<sup>5</sup> Several days afterwards, Major Morrison, who subsequently became a distinguished citizen of Lexington, Ky., returned to this place to reconnoitre; as he stooped to drink at the mouth of the creek, a rifle ball splashed the water in his face. The fact was long afterwards confirmed to Dr. William A. Irvine, by one of Cornplanter's men.

<sup>6</sup> The first notice we have of the oil springs, is contained in a letter written by the Franciscan Missionary, *Joseph de la Roche d'Allion*, in 1629; He gives the Indian name of the place, which he explains to mean, "There is plenty here." In view of the vast wealth extracted from the earth in this region during the later years, the name would seem to have been prophetic. His letter was printed in Sagard's "*Histoire du Canada*." Peter Kalm, in his "Travels in North America," published in 1772, refers to the oil springs; and on a map in his book their exact location is given.

<sup>7</sup> Besides the principal towns, small settlements, saved from destruction by their insignificance, were also abandoned. At Bemus Point, a beautiful cape extending into Chautauqua Lake, the earliest white settlers found remains of habitations, and traces of cultivation; cleared fields where wild plum trees were growing; ancient corn-hills, and even potatoes of the lady finger variety that had been naturally propagated from year to year. At other points upon that lake, and along the Conawango, and in Western New York, that had been possessed by the Six Nations, were seen melancholy traces of the ruin which had befallen them.

## APPENDIX

### I

#### COLONEL BRODHEAD'S REPORT OF HIS EXPEDITION

From the Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser,  
Philadelphia, Tuesday, October 19, 1779

Pittsburgh, September 23, 1779.

Sir,

I am honored with your favour of the 30th of last month.

I take the liberty to inclose you the copy of a letter herewith sent to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, containing an account of the expedition I lately made against the Seneca and Muncy nations, and wish the relation may give you pleasure.

I likewise send a return of the officers of the 8th P. Reg. with their respective claims to promotion, and beg you to be pleased to send their

commissions accordingly, and the arrangement of the Pennsylvania line.

I also inclose the Talks of the Delawares, Wyondats, and the Maquichees tribe of the Shawnese, and I flatter myself that there is a great share of sincerity in their present professions.

Since my last this frontier has enjoyed perfect tranquility, but the new settlement at Kentucke has suffered greatly.

I have the honor to be, with the highest regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DANIEL BRODHEAD,

Col. Commanding W. D.

Hon. Timothy Pickering,

President of the Board of War.

Pittsburgh, Sept. 16, 1779.

Sir

I returned from the expedition against the Senecas and Muncy nations the 14th inst., and now do myself the honor to inform you how far I have succeeded in prosecuting it.

I left this place the 11th of last month with 605, rank and file, including the militia and volunteers, and one month's provisions (our all), which, except the live cattle, was transported by water, under the escort of 100 men, to a place called Mahoning, about fifteen miles above Fort Armstrong, where, after four days detention by excessive rains and the straying of some of the cattle, the stores were loaded on pack horses, and the troops proceeded on the march for Conowago on the path leading to Cushcushing. At ten miles this side the town, one of the advance guards, consisting of 15 white men (including the spies) and 8 Delaware Indians, under the command of Lieutenant Harding, of the eighth Pennsylvania regiment (whom I have before recommended to your Excellency for his great bravery and skill as a partizan), discovered between 30 or 40 warriors coming down the Alleghany river in seven canoes.

These warriors having likewise discovered some of the troops, immediately landed, stripped of their shirts and prepared for action, and the advanced guard immediately began the attack. All the troops, except one column and flankers being in the narrows between the river and an high hill, were immediately prepared to receive the enemy. Which being done, I went forward to discover the enemy, and saw six of them retreating over the river without arms; at the same time the rest ran away, leaving their canoes, blankets, shirts, provision and eight guns, besides five dead, and, by the signs of blood, several went off wounded; only two of our men and one of the Delaware Indians (Nanowland) were wounded, and so slightly that they are already recovered and fit for action.

The next morning the troops proceeded to Buckloons, where I ordered a small breastwork to be thrown up of felled timber and fascines. A Captain and 40 men were left to secure our baggage and stores, and the troops marched immediately to Conowago, which I found had been deserted about eighteen months past.

Here the troops seemed much mortified, because we had no person to serve as a guide to the upper towns, but I ordered them to proceed on a path which appeared to have been travelled on by the enemy some time past, and we continued marching on it about twenty miles before any discoveries were made, except a few tracks of their spies, but immediately after ascending a high hill we discovered the Alleghany river and a number of corn-fields, and descending, several towns which the enemy had deserted on the approach of the troops; some of them fled just before the advance guard reached the town, and left several packs of deer skins.

At the upper Seneca town we found a painted image or war-post, cloathed in dog-skin, and John Montour informed me this town was called Yoghroonwago. Besides this, we found several other towns, consisting on the whole of 130 houses, some of which were large enough for the accommodation of three or four Indian families. The troops remained on the ground three whole days, destroying the towns and corn-fields. I never saw finer corn, although it was planted much thicker than is common with our farmers.

The quantity of corn and other vegetables destroyed at the several towns, from the best accounts I can collect from the officers employed to destroy it, must certainly exceed 500 acres, which is the lowest estimate, and the plunder taken is estimated at 3000 dollars. I have directed a sale to be made of it for the benefit of the troops, and hope it will meet your approbation. On my return I preferred the Venango road. The old towns of Conowago, Buckloons and Maghinquechahocking, about 20 miles above Venango, on French Creek, consisting of 35 large houses, were likewise burnt.

The greatest part of the Indian houses were greater than common, and were built of square and round logs and frame work. From the great quantity of corn in the ground, and the number of new houses built and building, it appears that the whole of the Seneca and Muncy nations intended to collect to this settlement, which extends about 8 miles on the Alleghany river between 170 and 200 miles from hence; the river at the upper town is little if any larger

than Kiskamanetes creek. It is remarkable that neither man nor beast has fallen into the enemy's hands on this expedition. I have a happy presage that the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford and Northumberland, if not the whole western frontiers, will experience the good effect of it.

Too much praise cannot be given to both officers and soldiers of every corps during the whole expedition; their perseverance and zeal during the whole march (through a country too inaccessible to be described) can scarcely be equalled in history.

On my return I found here the Chiefs of the Delawares, the principal Chief of the Hurons, and now King of the Maquichees tribe of Shawanese is likewise come to treat with me.

The Wyandots and the Maquichees tribe of the Shawanese promise very fair, and I have promised them peace provided they take as many prisoners and scalps from the enemy as they have done from us, and on every occasion

join us against the enemies of America, which they have engaged to do.

The bearer, Capt. McIntire, has some private as well as public business to transact at Philadelphia. I have therefore directed him to proceed to Head Quarters, and he will have the honor to wait on you with this letter.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And humble servant,

DANIEL BROADHEAD.

P. S. The Delaware Chiefs have just now called on me to build some block houses at Coochoking for the protection of their women and children whilst they are out against the English and Mingoes, and I have agreed to send a detachment for that purpose, agreeable to the articles of Confederation.

His Excellency General Washington.

*Published by order of Congress.*

*Charles Thomas, Secretary.*

## II

### LIST OF JOURNALS, NARRATIVES, ETC., OF THE WESTERN EXPEDITION—1779

*Communicated by the Rev. David Craft, of Wyalusing, Bradford County, Penn.*

The following journals are those of officers who took part in the campaign. No period of the Revolutionary War was so fully described by contemporaneous writers:

- I.—Anonymous. Stops with September 12. Printed in Hill's New Hampshire Patriot, at Portsmouth, September 16, 1843.
- II.—Barton, William, Lieutenant in the Jersey Brigade. Covers the whole expedition. Published in the Transactions of the New Jersey Historical Society, Vol. II.
- III.—Beatty, Erkuries, Major in Clinton's Brigade. Covers the whole campaign. Original manuscript in the possession of New York Historical Society.
- IV.—Blake, Thomas, Lieutenant First New Hampshire Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. Published in Ridder's History of the First New Hampshire Regiment.
- V.—Campfield, Jabez, Surgeon in Spencer's Fifth New Jersey Regiment. Covers the whole campaign. Published in the Wyoming County (Pa.) Democrat, December, 1873 and January, 1874.

## ARNOLD AT THE COURT OF GEORGE III

On the 19th of October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis, with his entire army of near 10,000 men, surrendered to General Washington. When intelligence of this event reached the British Cabinet, the firmness of Lord North, the Minister, gave way, and he exclaimed, "All is lost!" This success caused most men to conclude that the subjugation of the colonies was impossible, and led to the acknowledgement of the independence of our country.

In the December following, Arnold, with his family, sailed for England. In the expeditions which he commanded against Virginia and into Connecticut, he had accomplished all that was expected of him, had displayed energy and executive ability, had received the thanks of Sir Henry Clinton, but no opportunity had occurred for the exhibition of those brilliant exploits and feats of personal heroism, for which his career in the patriot army had been so distinguished. Independently of the reproach brought upon him by the affair at New London, he had not added anything to his military reputation. Indeed, he was so heavily handicapped while in the service of the King, as to make it very difficult for him to achieve anything great. It is not unlikely some distrust may have been felt towards him in some quarters among his new friends, though I discover no indication of it in the treatment of him by the British commander. Even if there had been no blot upon his record as an officer, as a colonist he would have labored under great disadvantage.

Besides, it was well known at the British Headquarters that he was constantly exposed to dangers far greater and of a different character from those of any other officer. Hundreds of riflemen and sharpshooters were on the watch to take his life. Heavy rewards for his capture, for his abduction had been offered, and if taken his execution would have been summary. He was therefore sent to England to confer with the Ministers upon the conduct of the war; and he prepared to leave with little or no probability of ever returning. He was now to become an exile from his native land, probably forever.

How painful this exile, with what shattered hopes, nay, almost despair, he left his home, the land of his glory, and of his disgrace, it is difficult to conceive. One must remember his ambition, his passionate

nature; how he had struggled for fame; how, when ill-treated, and deeply injured, carried away by his passions, he had listened to British emissaries, and yielding to their specious arguments and persuasions, had at last staked every thing on the success of his treason, to appreciate the bitter feelings of self-reproach with which he sailed away from his home. It has been said, that the hardships he had endured and his exposure and wounds in battle, were the result, not of patriotism, but of ambition only; but "Greater love hath no man than this: that a man lay down his life for his friend;" and it would be difficult to find stronger evidence of love of country than he had exhibited up to the time of his treason.

Yet few, if any, among those he left behind would now remember,

" That this poor victim of self-will  
Patriot no more, had once been patriot all."

It was impossible for him not to recall the day when, brought home from Saratoga, still weak and a cripple from unhealed wounds so honorably received, his native State went out to meet, welcome and honor him. He could not fail to remember when, returning to Philadelphia after having, by a heroism never surpassed, driven Tryon back to his ships, Congress replaced the horse riddled with bullets under him, with another completely caparisoned, and gave him the promotion so long and so unjustly withheld. Nor did he fail to recall how often he had been honored by Washington, and that the Commander-in-Chief had offered him the second place in his own army, and had he been true to that chief, it might have been into his hands that the sword of Lord Cornwallis would have been surrendered. Musing upon all these recollections and all his old campaigns, from Ticonderoga and the Wilderness of Maine to the assault upon Quebec and the long Canadian winter, when "in the path of duty" he "knew no fear," he paced the deck of the packet and saw his native land disappear forever in the distance. He might now be compared to a melancholy *flotsom*, thrown up by the waves of a stormy sea, the wreck of a once noble career, now the wretched relic of an abortive and guilty enterprise.

He had staked all—and lost all. Execrated and cursed by his own countrymen and their army, and regarded coldly by the other side, he must have felt uncertain of his reception by the government to which he was fleeing. He could not fail to speculate on what might have been his position, as the brilliant second of Washington, in establishing the independence of his country. He was now going empty-handed of



success, to meet strangers, without a country or a home. Truly, his treason was not only a crime, but a sad and terrible blunder. No wonder that he struggled against despair!

But his devoted wife, in this hour of deep depression, was ever at his side to soothe and sustain him. To her Arnold was still a hero. It was hard for her to leave father, family, home and friends, but with all of woman's devotion, she clung to her husband, and made his life endurable.

Sir Henry Clinton gave to Arnold letters to Lord George Germain and others, bearing generous testimony "to his spirited and meritorious conduct since he had joined the British army," and "earnestly commending him to his Lordship's countenance and protection."

Lord Cornwallis was a fellow passenger with Arnold and his family across the ocean to England. His lordship, after his surrender at Yorktown, had been exchanged for Henry Laurens, late President of Congress, who had been captured at sea, and confined in the Tower of London. The kindness of Cornwallis towards the family of Arnold, manifested on various occasions, and especially some years afterwards, in aiding to place his sons at the military school, may be attributed, in part at least, to the friendly relations created by this voyage together. In the protracted passage across the Atlantic, then made by sail, these two gentlemen had abundant time to discuss the probabilities of future success of the war. Cornwallis had nearly given up all hope, while Arnold professed to be still sanguine.

"Arnold," it is said in a private letter from a gentleman who was in Europe when he arrived there, and whose acquaintance in diplomatic circles placed him in a position to be well informed, "was received with open arms by the King, caressed by the ministers, and all imaginable attention shown him by all people on that side of the question."

Leaning on the arm of Sir Guy Carleton, he was presented at Court by Sir Walter Stirling.

He was much consulted by Lord Germain and the Cabinet, and regarded as a very sensible man, familiar with American affairs. "He had many private conferences with the King, and was seen walking with the Prince of Wales and the King's Brother in the public gardens."

It must have been a suggestive spectacle to have seen General Arnold in the parks of London, leaning on the arm of the Prince of Wales, seeking his aid under a lameness arising from wounds received in fighting against the Crown.

From the letter above quoted and other sources, I learn that the King, who had a passionate desire to retain the colonies, regarded him as a man whose opinions were entitled to great consideration. All of Arnold's future after his treason, for obvious reasons, depended upon a reconciliation between the colonies and the Crown, and he was as reluctant as King George himself to see their independence established; hence, notwithstanding the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, his hopeful temperament at times still cherished the belief that a re-union was possible. Not long after his presentation at Court, at the personal request of the King, he prepared a paper, dated 1782, entitled, "Thoughts on the American War."

It contains a carefully considered plan for a reconciliation and re-union between the Crown and the Colonies. The grandson of General Arnold has placed the original draft of the paper, which is in the handwriting of General Arnold, in my hands. So far as I know it has never been printed. It is a curious and interesting document, and seems to me to exhibit some political sagacity. Arnold had already in his address to his countrymen declared that he had devoted his life to the "re-union of the British Empire, as the best and only means to dry up the streams of misery that have deluged the country."

He had expressed the conviction that it was the intention of Great Britain to leave the rights and privileges of the Colonies unimpaired, including "their perpetual exemption from taxation."

On his arrival in London Arnold learned that while the King had no thought of yielding, the British people were getting tired of the war, and hopeless of success.

In the paper referred to he enters into an elaborate argument to show that a majority of the Americans were opposed to a separation; he earnestly recommends a change in the conduct of the war, commenting cautiously on the delicate subject of "the inactivity and misdirection of the King's arms in the past."

He calls attention to the great mistake, as he regarded it, that no attempt had been made to set up "the civil authority in any part of America," and asserts that until this was done "the loyalists will not, nor indeed can they, give any special assistance to the royal cause."

The reason for this he explains at some length, saying:

"I have said they *will not*, Because they are *Englishmen*. Nay, an American Husbandman will no sooner quit his farm and Family, to become a common Soldier at six Pence a day Wages, with rations, than an English Gentleman of £500 a year in the Funds. He will not lend his hand to erect a military Misrule

over himself and his Friends, and put all his Property at the Discretion of an Arbitrary Police, that has cut the Throat of the King's Interest wherever it has been set up.

He has, however, no objection to serve in the Militia *within* his own Colony, under officers who are *of it*, and to assist in supporting its Government and defending himself *in it*, and may perhaps pursue the Rebel out of it, or meet him on a menaced Invasion near the Borders.

But for this Purpose the Civil Authority of the Crown must first be set up; and without it Great Britain (the American being what he is) can neither be benefitted by his Councils, his Purse, nor his arms. He will be passive while under the Power of the Usurpers, and when they are flying before the King's Troops, continue if he can at home, giving aid to neither Party, and certainly not oppose the royal army, if he finds it possible to avoid it; and, in short, behave in the manner Lord Cornwallis experienced, distrusting both the strength of his Army to give protection, and what is worse, to afford the Protection of the *Laws of the Land*."

After speaking of the feeble and exhausted condition of the Colonies, the great depreciation of their paper currency, and the small number of Continental soldiers in the field, he alludes to the discontented condition of Vermont, and suggests measures for detaching her from the Union; and he concludes this topic by saying:

"By the complete Detachment of Vermont from the Rebel Interest, and the Reduction of the Highland Forts *early in the spring*, much may be expected in the next Campaign, especially since the New Yorkers in general, and a very great proportion of the Country between them and Connecticut River are known to be very favourably inclined to the Re-union."

He then recommended "a new peace commission to the Colonies," saying, "a new peace Commission is indispensably necessary."

"Perplexed as the Congress must be under the growing uneasiness of the People, neither affection to the French, nor a republican Attachment, nor even the Aims of Ambition would prevent them from listening to Overtures *that were decisive and irreversible*, if themselves could be secured from the vindictive rage of the Multitude they have misled, oppressed and ruined, as well as from the resentment of the Crown. \* \* \* \* \*

It can scarcely be necessary to add, that the new Peace Commissioners should have every Power of the Crown for the appointment to offices, from Governors downwards, that when they return to England they may have the Government established upon such a Plan, as all things considered, may appear to be expedient, nor that the success of the Commission will depend much upon their being persons of Rank, *and rather Statesmen than Soldiers*, and of Characters

in such estimation for the Fullness of their powers as to influence the Executive Instruments, both of the army and navy, to a *faithful, spirited*, and harmonious Conduct."

"All these things," says he, "are suggested on the supposition that Great Britain has such an interest in her Colonies as is worth fostering for the common good."

He expresses the conviction that "the war was now nearly at an end," unless Britain despairs of success.

Had the policy towards the Colonies, both civil and military, pointed out in this paper been pursued by the British Government early in the war, independence would have been a far more difficult achievement.

It is apparent that Arnold hoped to have been appointed one of the New Peace Commissioners in the plan of settlement proposed by him, and it is probable that he anticipated that by contributing towards peace, and securing for the Colonies substantial self-government, he might mitigate to some extent the hatred felt towards him in America. Although the paper was read with great satisfaction by the King, and added to Arnold's influence at Court, it came too late; the British nation was tired of the war, the paper led to no action, and it soon became very clear that American independence was a fact accomplished, and nothing was left to England but to accept the inevitable.

The fascination which Mrs. Arnold, by her beauty, her goodness and her grace, exercised over all, was not less marked in England than in America. Tarleton and other officers, who met her in Philadelphia and New York, were enthusiastic in their expressions of admiration, and, as has been stated, declared her the most "beautiful woman in England." However this may have been, the letter before quoted says, "the queen was so interested in favor of Mrs. Arnold as to desire the ladies of the court to pay much attention to her."

At the same time Arnold was most severely assailed by the Whig newspapers, and received many mortifying indignities from persons in the opposition. He received for his alleged losses, in consequence of his joining the British, the sum of £6,315, £5,000 of which he invested in four per cent. consols, realizing therefrom £7,000 in stocks.

Mrs. Arnold, some time after her arrival in England, received a pension of £500 per annum, and each of her children £100 per annum, from the British Government.<sup>1</sup>

In Rhode Island upon an old gravestone, erected to the memory of Oliver Arnold, who died in 1770, are carved the arms of the family.<sup>2</sup> The crest was a demi-tiger, etc., and the motto, "*Gloria mihi cessum.*"

These arms, or something very similar, had been sometimes used on his seal by Benedict Arnold in America.

It is a significant fact that after his arrival in England General Arnold changed the motto to "*Nil desperandum*." It seems to me this change is full of pathos, and it is not the least expressive among the very few indications his proud spirit ever gave of the suffering against which he struggled. In all the correspondence of his future life, and that of his family, I find hardly an allusion to his career in America; no complaint; whatever his regret and feelings, he gave no sign, but this change in the motto on his seal—from "*Mihi gloria cessum*," to "*Nil desperandum*" ("Never despair")—tells the story of his sufferings, and how he struggled against despair.

The kindness shown to the exile and his family by the King and Queen was honorable to them, especially to King George, who, whatever Arnold's faults, seems to have been touched by his reverses of fortune, caused by what was treason to his country, but which the King regarded as a return to his allegiance. However Arnold's conduct might look to others, and however justly and severely it might be condemned by his countrymen and the world, perhaps it was not unnatural for the King to see in it a sincere and honest change of opinion, and a return of personal loyalty to himself. He took Arnold at his word, and always treated him and his family as though he believed he had sincerely and honestly and from good motives returned to his allegiance. Hence the favor with which he was received at Court; hence the pension to Mrs. Arnold and her children, and the King's active aid in placing Arnold's sons in the way of obtaining a military education preparatory to commissions in the British army, as will be hereafter more fully detailed.

The sad fate of Major André had created a profound sensation in England, and when, soon after Arnold's arrival there, it was suggested to the King to erect a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, Arnold took a warm interest in the movement, and both he and his wife watched its progress to completion with the deepest sympathy.

An American loyalist, an exile in England for his opinions, mentions in his diary the incident of seeing General Arnold and his wife in Westminster Abbey, reading the inscription on André's monument and conversing together.

"Many a citizen of the great Western Republic," as Dean Stanley says, "has paused before the sight of this sad story," but never any with hearts more deeply touched than were those of Arnold and his wife.

Had the loyalist who recorded the above incident been behind some contiguous monument, he would probably have heard a sad dialogue between these exiles, lamenting the pitiable fate of poor André. He would have heard Mrs. Arnold recall the bright days of her girlhood, when André, the gayest of the gay, was the frequent guest of her father, and the brilliant favorite of the social circle in which she moved. He would have heard Arnold recall his parting from André on the banks of the Hudson, and he might have heard the exiled General, when looking back upon the terrible fate of André and his own still unhappy life, exclaim:

"Would that I had died in battle at Quebec, or on the bloody deck of my ship on Lake Champlain, or at Saratoga, rather than this terrible drama! Then André might have been alive to-day, and you happy at your father's fire-side."

"Do not reproach yourself," interrupted his wife. "My own life can never be unhappy while you and our children are with me."

After a pause Arnold continued:

"Yonder," pointing towards the chapel of Henry VII., "yonder, among England's kings, lie the remains of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, whose part in England's history I was to re-enact in America, *as they told me*," said Arnold with a smile of bitter irony upon himself. "If I had succeeded, as I hoped," said he, "in re-uniting the Empire, I too might have found a place and a monument here—as they promised me."

As he lingered, sadly leaning on André's monument, among the graves of so many who have made the greatness and the glory of England, he realized that,

"No nation's eyes would on *his* tomb be bent,  
No hero envy him *his* monument,  
However boldly his warm blood was spilt,  
His life was shame, his epitaph was guilt."

ISAAC N. ARNOLD

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript letter of Rev. Edward Gladwin Arnold. The following is a copy of the Royal warrant for Mrs. Arnold's pension:

"GEORGE R. Our will & pleasure is, and we do hereby direct, authorize & command, that an annuity or Yearly pension of Five hundred pounds be established & paid by You unto Margaret Arnold, wife of our trusty & well beloved Brigadier General, Benedict Arnold, to commence

from the date hereof, & continue during our pleasure, in such & like manner as our other established pensions payable by You are, &c., and this shall be therefor a sufficient Warrant. Given at our court at St. James, the 19th day of March, 1782, In the 22d year of our Reign. By his Majesty's command.

" NORTH.

" PALMENTON.

" R. SURTON.

" To our Right Trusty & well beloved

WILLIAM HALL, VICOUNT GAGE,

Paymaster of our Pensions, &c."

' They (the arms) are identical with those engraved on the Tomb-Stone of Oliver Arnold, of Rhode Island, who died in 1770, and those of Sir Nicholas Arnold, of Higham Court, county of Gloucester, whose family came from Monmouth, Wales. The motto, '*Mihi gloria cessum*,' is traditional. \* \* we translate it, '*Through glory yielded to me*.' C. H. ARNOLD."

Others have translated it, "My glory is on high," and "All I seek is glory."

NOTE.—This article will appear as a Chapter in a Life of Benedict Arnold, by Hon. Isaac N. Arnold. President of the Chicago Historical Society, shortly to be published. EDITOR.

## THE SKIRMISH AT POUNDRIDGE, WESTCHESTER

1779

In these days of centennial celebrations it may be of some interest to note that July 2d, 1879, was the one hundredth anniversary of an encounter at Poundridge, Westchester county, New York, between a detachment of British troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, and Colonel Sheldon's Continental regiment. Although of no especial importance so far as the results of the skirmish are concerned, still the history of the affair is interesting as showing the fidelity to the American cause of the people of a locality somewhat removed (in those days) from the more active scenes of hostilities.

The report from each of the contending parties has been preserved. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, in a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Camp on the Bronx, July 2d, 1779, 11 P. M., writes, that with a detachment of about two hundred he started at half-past eleven o'clock on the night of July 1st, proceeding through North Castle and Bedford towards Poundridge, without any material occurrence. He had been informed of the number and situation of Colonel Sheldon's regiment, but when very near Poundridge his guide mistook the road. The error was discovered and rectified as soon as possible. In the meantime, however, Colonel Sheldon had received intelligence of his approach, and his regiment was mounted and formed behind the meeting-house at Poundridge. An attack was instantly made, and Sheldon's troops were routed and pursued several miles on the Stamford and Salem roads, losing twenty-six or twenty-seven killed and wounded, besides the regimental standard, arms and accoutrements. Tarleton further writes that "*the inveterancy of the inhabitants of Poundridge and near Bedford in firing from houses and outhouses, obliged us to burn some of their meeting houses, dwellings and stores.*" He closes by stating his loss to be one killed, one wounded, and one horse killed.

Rivington's account in the Gazette of July 7, 1779, states in substance that on the night of July 1st Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton marched with a detachment of cavalry, and early in the morning attacked a party of "Rebel Nags," commanded by a Colonel Sheldon, in the neighborhood of Bedford; that the rebels retreated, losing about



twenty-two killed and wounded. Several houses were burned in retaliation for the acts of the militia in firing from behind fences upon the British. This account gives Tarleton's loss, one corporal killed and one Light Horseman wounded.

The report as it is given by our side differs somewhat from the foregoing. We learn from a letter, written as is supposed by an officer of Colonel Sheldon's regiment, dated at Salem, July 3, 1779, that Colonel Sheldon, being aware of the approach of the enemy, was ready to receive them. Owing to the superior number of Tarleton's force, the Continental troops were obliged to move off. A scattering fire was kept up between the forces for more than two miles. Some of the militia afterwards collected, and in turn pursued the British, following them below North Castle church. The writer says: "They moved off with such precipitation that we could not come up with them." Colonel Sheldon's loss was ten wounded, eight missing, and twelve horses missing. The enemy's loss was one killed, wounded uncertain, four prisoners, four horses captured, and one horse killed.

Another account published at Poughkeepsie in the New York Journal of July 5, 1779, gives substantially the same report. The enemy burned the meeting-house at Poundridge, and also the house of Major Lockwood at the same place. They would not suffer his family to take anything away. The enemy's loss is given—two killed and twenty-four taken prisoners. Colonel Sheldon had four of his men taken, and four of the inhabitants fell into Tarleton's hands. The number wounded on either side could not be ascertained.

Still another account is taken from a journal kept by Major-General William Heath. This report states that three hundred of the enemy's Light Horse came out from Mile Square, and attacked Colonel Sheldon's Light Horse, about ninety in number, who were posted at Poundridge. The superior force of the enemy obliged Colonel Sheldon at first to retreat, but being reenforced by the militia, he in turn pursued the enemy. Sheldon's loss was one Corporal, one Trumpeter and eight privates wounded; three Sergeants, one Corporal and four privates missing, and twelve horses also missing. Of the enemy, one was killed, four taken prisoners, four horses captured, and one horse killed. It will thus be seen that each side claimed the victory.

The meeting house at Poundridge, which was burned by Colonel Tarleton on this occasion, was erected in the year 1760 by the Presbyterian Society. The church was rebuilt in 1786; this edifice is now standing.

It is perhaps not pertinent to this sketch, but it is a noteworthy fact that its present pastor, the Rev. William Patterson, has occupied the pulpit since 1835.

Major Lockwood, above referred to, was very active and zealous in his support of the American cause. With a commission as Major in the Westchester County Militia, and as a member of the Committee of Safety, and of the Provincial Congress, he devoted himself, at a great pecuniary sacrifice, to his country. He was especially obnoxious to the British, and forty guineas had been offered for his head. During this attack of July 2d Tarleton's forces burnt his house at Poundridge with most of its contents, and drove off his valuable stock of cattle. The British soldiers treated his wife with great cruelty, one of them striking her with a sword, from the effects of which she never fully recovered.

In this connection the following incident is related: The soldiers upon entering Major Lockwood's house said to his wife in an insolent manner: "Where is that d—d rebel?" Mrs. Lockwood, who was a good Christian woman, replied, indignantly: "Rebel! you are the Rebels; for you are rebelling against the King of Kings!"

The descendants of many of the inhabitants of Poundridge, who were actors in the exciting events of this day, still live in the vicinity, and although there was an absence of any ceremony on the occasion of its one hundredth anniversary, still this brief notice may not be inappropriate.

### JAMES B. LOCKWOOD

NOTE.—The name *Poundridge* is undoubtedly derived from an ancient Indian *pound*, which formerly stood at the foot of a high *ridge*, by means of which the Indians were in the habit of entrapping wild game.

The village is pleasantly situated on high ground, in about the centre of the township. It was first settled about the year 1744. The New York and New Haven railroad is twelve miles and the Harlem railroad eight miles distant. Being thus somewhat difficult of access the village has increased but little in size. The country is hilly, but tolerably adapted to agricultural purposes. In the northeast part of the town is situated Cross-pound, which by its outlet runs into the Croton River and forms a portion of the water supply of New York City. Immediately south of this sheet of water was formerly a chain of three small lakes all communicating with one another. Within a few years they have been formed into one body of water, called Trinity Lake, which is the source of the water supply of Stamford, Connecticut, twelve miles distant.

J. B. L.



JOURNAL OF MARCH FROM  
FORT SCHUYLER

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS

1779

BY THOMAS MACHIN, CAPTAIN IN COL.  
LAMB'S SECOND REGIMENT,  
N. Y. ARTILLERY

*Communicated by F. H. Roof*

Early on Monday morning, 19th of April, 1779—Marched from fort Schuyler with a Detachment of Troops, Consisting of 558 men, Including officers, and after moveing Eaight Days provision Into Battows, wich had been conveyed over a carying place in the night, and Leaving sufficient Number of Soldiers to asist the Battowe men to get the Boats down Wood Crick, with five officers to hurry them on—

The Remainder of Troops marched to the old Scow place, Twenty two miles by land, but much more by water; the Troops ar'ved by 3 o'clock p. m., but the Boats did not all arrive untill 10 o'clock, having been much obstructed by trees which had fallen across the Crick: as soon as the Boats arived the whole of the Troops Embarked, and on Entring the onidahogo was much Impeded by a cold head wind. Made one halt in the night for the rearmost Boats to come up, and then proceeded to Possers bay, where we Arrived at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 20th, to wait again for the Coming up of all the Boats, when we continued with as much Expedition as possible to the Onondago Landing, opposite to old fort, and arived there at

3 o'clock p. m; from whence, after leaving the Boats with Proper Guard, we marched Eaight or nine miles on our way to the Onondago Settlement, and lay on our Arms all Night without fire, not being able to continue our marching. Dark. The Night cold. Very early on the 21st proceeded to the old Salt Lake, and at 9 o'clock a. m. Forded an arm of that Lake, two hundred yards over, and four feet Deep a considerable part of the way. Pushed on to the Onondaga Breech, where Capt Graham, with his Company of Light Infantry, took an Onondago Warrior prisoner, wich was the first Indian discovered — ordered Capt Graham to Endeavour to surround the first onondago Settlements, wich ware about Two miles of, and hastning on the troops By Companys as fast as he crost the Creek upon a Log, the Creek not being fordable, I soon arrived with the whole Detachment at the principle Castle, but was before apprised of their haveing discovered our advanced Parties while they ware takeing some prisoners, upon which I ordered Different Routs to be taken by several Different Detachments, in order to surround as [many] of their Settlements as possible at the same time, which Extended Eaight Miles in Length, with some scattered habitations laying back of the Costs, and on the opposite side of the Creek; but notwithstanding Entred their first settlement in the most secret manner, and quite undiscovered by them, thay soon recd the alarm throughout the whole, and fled to the woods, but without being able to carry off any thing with them. We took thirty three Indians & one white Prisoner, & killed

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twelve Indians; the whole of their Settlement, consisting of about fifty Houses, with a quantity of corn, and every other kind of Stock we found whare Killed; about one Hundred guns, some of which ware Rifles, was among the Plunder, the whole of which, after the men had Loaded with as much as they could carry, was Destroyed, with a Considerable quantity of amunition. One Swivel taken at the Counsel House had the Trunions Broke off and otherways Damaged; in fine, the Destruction of all their Settlements ware compleat; after which we began our march back, Recrossing the Creek, and forded the arm of the Lake, along side of which we Encamped on very good ground. Having been once Interrupted in our Return by a Small party of Indians, who fired at us from the opposite side of the Creek, but were soon beat off by Lieut Evens Rifle, with the Loss of one Killed on the part of the Enemy, and none on our own. Fair Weather all this Day. 22d, marched Down to the Landing. Found Bateaus in good order; Reimbarked, and Rowed to the Seven Miles Island, whare we Encamp.

Fair weather—23d Crossed the Lake and Landed two miles up Wood Creek at two o'clock; left two companies to guard and assist the Bataus Men in giting up the Boats, marched Eaight Miles, and Encampt along side Feals Creek.

Fair Weather, Saturday, 24th. Small showers of Rain on our march to the fort, whare we arrived at 12 o'clock, haveing been out five Days and half, the whole distance of going out and Returning Being One Hundred Eighty miles, not having [lost] a Single Man—

## NEW YORK IN 1809

REMINISCENCES OF THE FIRM OF ARCHIBALD GRACIE & COMPANY, BY

CHARLES KING

From the New York Courier and Enquirer

A mercantile notice in your paper yesterday recalls so vividly a like notice, issued in the chief commercial paper of this City, Lang's Gazette, all but a half century ago, that I must pray you to spare to the reminiscence thus renewed a brief space in your journal—valuable as that space necessarily is.

Archibald Gracie, of Mobile, announces that he has taken into partnership his son Archibald, and that the business will be continued under the firm of Archibald Gracie & Son. Nearly fifty years ago the father of this Archibald Gracie announced here that he had taken into partnership his son William, and that the firm would be Archibald Gracie & Son.

That firm in this City, and that father and son have passed away—but not so the memories of some yet surviving hearts—and the most endearing memory is that of the heart—of the liberal spirit, the intelligent and far-reaching enterprise, and especially of the kindly, generous sympathy with all connected with their business in any way—which distinguished that firm.

The good name and fragrant memory of that fine old New York merchant, whose beautiful ships, and well known red and white private signal were familiar in every sea—remain a pride and an inheritance to his children and his children's children, and when at this distant day that name is revived and reinstated,

though in a far off city, by a son worthy of it in manliness of character, integrity of dealing and intelligence of enterprise—it may be pardoned to one, who knew and shared the love of the father, to express the delight with which he hails and welcomes this revival by the son and the son's son of a thrice honored firm.

Few indeed comparatively are those, who from personal recollection can sympathize in this his joy—for about two generations have come and gone since that day, and the ample Mercantile Directory of this City does not probably now contain half a dozen firms which were in existence then—and if our partnerships have changed, how remarkable the change in other respects. At that time to which reference is made—about 1809—the City of New York contained 96,000 inhabitants; it now contains, exclusive of its suburbs of Long Island, Staten Island, in Westchester and New Jersey, some 650,000. There was then but one steamboat in the world, and that belonged to New York, and floated on the Hudson. Now steamboats are as numerous almost as three masted vessels, and their smoke funnels are seen at every wharf. Mobile was then a Spanish possession, and Alabama was not. The whole tonnage of the United States may then have been about 900,000. The tonnage of the port of New York alone now exceeds 1,300,000. The largest merchant ship then known to our commerce did not exceed, and rarely equalled 500 tons. Now they go up to 3,500. The sea-going steamers, the rail-road, the electric telegraph, were unheard of. The extremest northern

limit of the City was the open ditch in Canal St. The region beyond was country houses, tea-gardens, orchards and corn fields. No omnibus had then vexed our pavements, and few and far between were the fire-engines, which ran then in the middle of the street, and not on the sidewalk.

Then the tolling of the bells was the signal for every good citizen to turn out with his regulation leathern bucket in hand, and falling into line, hand them along from cisterns and pumps to the fire. Pumps, then at frequent corners, and often in the middle of the street, supplied all the water used, and not a little embarrassed the militia tactics on grand holidays and parade days, in manœuvring around and about them, so as to preserve the line. The Croton then was only renowned for its striped bass. The hour then was early and the habits simple—high change at 12 M., and dinner late at 3 o'clock, and at work again in the Counting House after dinner. The old City Hall was then in honor, and the great building of the City. It was of modest size, yet was there room in it for all the municipal legislation, all the municipal offices and courts of law. All the voting of the City was done there, and then each election lasted three days.

But I promised to be brief, yet the chapter of the past, when once opened by the magic of a cherished name, and precious recollections, is very tempting. Yet I stop.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—The Gracie House, a view of which accompanies this reprint, stands between Eighty-eighth and Eighty-ninth streets, Avenue A and the East River, which it overlooks.

The ground is historic, and was known in the last century as Horens' Hook. This position, commanding the entrance to the river from the Sound, one of the principal approaches to the city, early attracted the eye of the engineers of the Continental Army, who here erected a strong redoubt and a battery in 1775 and 1776. After the battle of Long Island, the British moved up the river bank to Hallet's Point opposite, and an artillery fire ensued between the gunners of the contending forces, which, renewed at intervals, was continued until the final withdrawal of the Americans from their post on the 15th of September, 1776. Occasional relics of this artillery duel, cannon balls and grape-shot, have been found on the ground in late years.

This charming spot, which the passer on the river recognizes by an enormous tree,\* towering above the bluff, has been long admired for its rural beauty. Jacob Walton, a magnate of the days when merchants were Princes in New York, here erected an elegant mansion for his young bride, Polly Cruger, whom he married in 1760. She was a daughter of Henry Cruger, the colleague of Burke, as member for Bristol in the British Parliament. The traits of Mr. Walton's character have come down to us in some verses, which appeared in the New York Journal of 1769, when he was a candidate, as merchants were in those days, for public office.

For worth and for truth and good nature  
renowned,  
Let the name and applause of WALTON go round.  
His Prudence attracts—but his free honest Soul  
Gives a Grace to the Rest and enlivens the Whole.

When General Charles Lee took command of the city and its defences, he ordered Mr. Walton to give up the house for the accommodation of the troopers. This was a sad blow to the domestic happiness of the young couple. A contemporary letter describes the scene: "When Mrs. Walton received the order to go out of her house, she burst into tears, for she was fixed to her heart's desire." By how uncertain a tenure do we hold the good and desirable possession of this world!

From this time until the evacuation of the island in 1783, Horens' Hook was a martial camp. The British also established a hospital here for sick and wounded soldiers. A more salubrious spot, and a more commodious building, could not have been chosen. The elevated plateau, covered with thick woods and abundant lesser vegetation, the ocean breezes, which sweep over it, following the rising and falling tides, and its proximity to the swift, salt river, it seems a spot, marked by nature itself, where suffering man may quickly recuperate his weakened energies.

Soon after the war, when New York again felt the impulse of a renewal of her extensive maritime trade, her charming suburbs again attracted the notice of her wealthy citizens, and on both sides of the island numerous country houses, or "seats," as they were then styled in English parlance, sprung up. The East River shore, from Turtle Bay to Hell Gate, was the preferred locality. Here lived the families of Kip, Beekman, Pearsall, LeRoy, Arden, Van Zandt, Jones, Lawrence, Riker, Marston





Schermerhorn, Cruger, Astor, Rhineland, and others too numerous to mention.

Here Archibald Gracie made his residence also, and Horens' Hook took the name of Gracie's Point, by which it is still known, although it passed out of the hands of the family nearly half a century ago. It was afterwards for a long time the property of the Foulkes, but has this year (1879) been divided into plots and sold. It is one of the mysteries of our municipal management that when the East River Park, which covers the square from Eighty-fifth to Eighty-sixth streets, was purchased, this historic point, which commands the most extensive view of the surrounding landscape, and is already, by its natural and artificial beauties, entirely fitted for public use, was neglected or forgotten.

The old building and the point are now in the possession of Mr. N. Wheaton, who resides on the place.

#### EDITOR.

\* This tree, a noble specimen of the Balsam Poplar, or Cotton tree species (*Tacamahaca—Populus Balsamifera*), is nearly, or quite two centuries old, and probably the largest on New York Island. It measures fourteen feet in circumference, taken at a height of thirty-six inches from the ground. Its branches begin at not less than thirty feet from the ground and spread into an enormous dome. Yet so full the tree and so perfect its symmetry, that at a short distance its size and height do not strike the eye.

#### NOTES

GENERAL SULLIVAN IN RHODE ISLAND, 1778.—Until I saw the September number of the Magazine, and read the note

of the editor to my Justification of General Sullivan (III. 554), I was not aware on what authority was based the statement in "The French in Rhode Island" (III. 390), or in the justification would have been presented the reasons and facts to show that the authority quoted was mistaken.

It was surely not possible for General Sullivan on the 29th of July to know how long it would take to collect the forces needed for the attack on the British posts. Although actually on the island ten days thereafter, he might well have indulged the hope that this might have been possible earlier.

In a letter to D'Estaing he says,

"His (my) reason for wishing the larger part your force being destined to block up the middle channel is to prevent a re-inforcement being thrown upon the island, and render your fleet so strong as to prevent any attempt of the enemy's fleet from New York, and to co-operate with those ships which pass up the west channel and turn Conanicut, preventing three British Regiments now encamped on that island from passing over in their boats to reinforce the troops on Rhode Island. After that is carried, they must all become prisoners of course. Your Excellency will please pardon my freedom in giving these hints. Your much superior judgment will induce you to reject those which you conceive improper, and improve those which you deem worthy of notice. I should be happy to have your advice and opinion upon the operations, which Colonel Laurens will instruct you how to forward. I shall be exceedingly happy to have your opinion with respect to every land operation, as well as your instructions as to those by water."

The three British regiments here included to were withdrawn simultaneously with the arrival of the fleet. D'Estaing on the 31 wrote that he "sincerely approved of the plan of operations; that to go higher up would expose his ships,

without good result, to the fire of the British batteries, and that he could not be sure of sufficient depth of water or anchorage. Vessels had been sunk by the enemy to increase the dangers of navigation, and the north wind rarely blowing at that season of the year, he could not work his fleet to advantage, or be prepared, in case the enemy's fleet appeared, to act."

Another suggestion is thrown out in the correspondence, viz., that the garrison might escape. It was moreover a favorite plan of D'Estaing as a feint, or in case the siege rendered it prudent, to land his troops, or part of them, with some portion of the Americans at Tower Hill, and attack the town from the south, where it was particularly vulnerable. This could not be prudently attempted till the siege had proceeded with sufficient success to secure a retreat without disaster in the event of reverse to the American forces.

As D'Estaing had exclusive control of his own movements; as Sullivan in expressing his views left all to D'Estaing's judgment; as there were four or five valid reasons accepted between them for guarding the middle channel; as the French vessels in the east channel might have been captured by the enemy, when the wind favored, if D'Estaing was farther up the bay, and too remote to assist them with a wind adverse to himself, I feel confident that no careful judgment will attribute the laying there of the fleet, from the 29th of July to the 8th of August, to a "*whim of Sullivan*," to use the words quoted in the text of the "French in Rhode Island" and the note of the editor to my reply.

I have in my possession a correspondence of some hundred letters connected with the siege, which I shall be glad to show to any one interested in the truth of American history. Many of them are long and about fifty in French and naturally miscellaneous. Printed without notes they would not be so well understood as in connection with the history of the siege. Such a history has been read before the Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Newport Historical Societies, and if published, with the general orders, contemporary accounts of siege and battle and other illustrations, ought to find readers, as Newport is so well known. It would not take long for preparation if it found encouragement. The retreat to Butt's Hill on the 28th August is stated in the September No. of the Magazine, vol. III, p. 554, to have been on Tuesday instead of Friday. This was no mistake of mine but of the copyist.

THOMAS C. AMORY.

*Boston, September 5, 1879.*

### QUERIES

A LOST CHARTER.—*The Charter of the New York Chamber of Commerce.*—At the time of the great fire of 1835 the Chamber of Commerce had its rooms in the Merchants' Exchange, which was burned. The properties of the Chamber were mostly removed, and have been recovered, some after a lapse of many years. But the charter, granted by Lieutenant-Governor Colden in 1770, and preserved with its seal has been since missing. The writer, a youth at the time, has a recollection that the box was

carried across Wall street to the office of Primebard & King. The box was of dark mahogany, with a circular receptacle at one end for the seal. What has become of it?

COMMERCE.

FIRST BANK IN AMERICA.—In what city or town was the first American bank founded, and who was its originator?

PENN.

GROANING BEER.—Sewall in his diary, under date of February 16, 1676-7, writes that on that day he "brewed his wife's Groaning Beer." Can any of your readers tell me what is the meaning of this term? Was it an old-style caudle?

MEDICUS.

VIOMENIL'S CINCINNATI CERTIFICATE. About a year since there was sold at auction by the Messrs. Bangs a perfectly clean, fresh certificate of membership of this society, originally issued to the Baron de Vioménil. Who was the purchaser of this relic?

COLLECTOR.

LONGEVITY IN THE COLONIES.—The Abbé Robin in his *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, published at Paris in 1782, says "of the women, that at twenty they have no longer the bloom of youth, and thirty-five or forty, they are wrinkled and broken down. The men grow almost as prematurely old. I presume that life must be shorter here. I examined all the burying grounds in Boston; it is the custom to inscribe the names and ages of the dead on each stone; I found, in fact that the lives of the greater

part of the dead there who had arrived at manhood did not exceed fifty years; I saw very few of sixty, hardly any at seventy, and none of more." He adds in a note, that he had "examined all the cemeteries, from Boston to Williamsburg (Virginia), with the same care, a distance of nearly three hundred leagues, and with the same result."

Is this statement borne out by the facts? I have heard that when the British actuaries first began life insurance in this country, they found the longevity so much greater than in England as to render it necessary to remodel their tables. The question is worthy of examination, and I hope may find a reply.

*New York.*

OLD MORTALITY.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.—I have lately been looking up the history of the great men in our early history, especially from 1765—the time of the Stamp Act—through the revolutionary period, and I wish to be historically correct. Robert R. Livingston was a member of the Continental Congress in 1776 from New York, and was one of the Committee of Five to draft the Declaration of Independence. Why did he not sign the Declaration? Cannot some one of your readers inform me in regard to this?

R. W. JUDSON.

*Ogdensburg, N. Y.*

## REPLIES

DE LA NEUVILLE.—(III, 456.) In reference to this query I contribute the following, from a History of Arlington, Mass., I have in preparation.

De Neufville, John, merchant, formerly of Amsterdam—"eminent merchant" (gravestone)—died here (Arlington, Mass.) Dec. 5, 1796, aged 68. Anna Margaretta De Neufville, of Cambridge, married John Stoughton, of Boston, Nov. 11, 1799. Anna Cecilia Linzee, wife of Ralph I. Linzee, and daughter of John De Neufville, Esq., died Jan. 27, 1811, aged 25 (gravestone, Arlington). The name was pronounced in this place as if spelled *Dunnewill*.

My friend, Mr. John Brooks Russell, of Newmarket, N. J., who has made this name a particular study in connection with his researches into the history of his native town of Arlington, remembers seeing, when a boy, a stone in the old burying-ground to *Hyde De Neufville*, which cannot now be found. The family place of interment was first in the tomb of the first minister of the town, the Rev. Mr. Cooke. The De Neufvilles having boarded with Miss Cooke, the daughter of the minister, who kept a genteel boarding house in her father's parsonage. A tomb, built by "Stoughton and R. I. Linzee, A. D. 1812," now contains the remains of the De Neufvilles in Arlington, and here their gravestones now rest.

Mr. Russell has already published a letter of Mrs. De Neufville dated 1799, which shows the straits to which she was reduced "in the chain" of her husband's pecuniary ruin.

Her husband, John Stoughton was Spanish Consul for the New England States in 1810. His death occurred Jan. 28, 1820, aged 75, as by gravestone here; and that of his wife (formerly Mrs. De Neufville) occurred Oct. 29, 1837, aged

78, per gravestone. The first parish in this town granted permission to Don Juan Stoughton, in 1811, to build a tomb in the burying-ground.

Mr. Russell, when once present at an opening of the Rev. Mr. Cooke's tomb, remembered one coffin pointed out as that containing the *Duellist*. This was probably of De Neufville, as he was known as the duellist, according to the testimony of an intelligent lady now living, aged 94 years; and he had possibly fought a duel, or had the reputation of one, the particulars of which are now both here.

WILLIAM R. CUTTER.

*Lexington, Mass.*

SMITH'S CLOVE.—(III. 515.) The Marquis de Chastellux, in his "Travels in North America in the Years 1780, '81, '82," when on his way from Philadelphia to visit General Washington, via New Jersey, after reaching the boundaries of New York, writes as follows:

"The country I was to pass through, called the *Clove*, is extremely wild, and was scarcely known before the war; it is a sort of valley gorge, situated to the westward of the high mountains between New Windsor and King's Ferry, and at the foot of which are West Point and Stony Point, and the principal forts which defend the river. In times when the river (Hudson's) is not navigable, on account of ice or contrary winds, it is necessary to have communication by land between the States of New York and the Jerseys between New Windsor and Morristown. This communication traversing the *Clove*. When Genl Greene was Quarter-

Master General, he opened a road for the convoy of provisions and the artillery. This was the road I took, leaving on my right the Romopog road, and ascending by that which comes from Ringwood."

*Albany.*

J. H. V. A.

JAMES MCHENRY.—(III, 362.) The following corrections in the paper embodying Dr. McHenry's article on the Battle of Monmouth are due to information now in possession of the family, and not accessible to the authorities quoted from.

Page 362.—Line 14, Dr. James McHenry died 3d May, not 16th May, 1816. Line 22, He came to Philadelphia and not to Baltimore in 1771. Line 36, Anna, born 20th November, 1789, not 20th March, 1788.

Page 363.—Line 3, John, died 6th October, 1822, not 1821; James Howard, born 11th October, not 17th October. Line 9, John, died October, 1860, not 1856. Line 16, Monmouth was an estate of Colonel Ramsay McHenry, and not as printed, "of Colonels Ramsay and McHenry."

T. H. M.

AN OLD RHODE ISLAND BOOK.—(III, 517.) In answer to this query I beg to say that the *Modest Proof*, etc., there referred to, was printed in 1723 in Boston (80 pp., ii., iv., 64), from the pen of I. Checkley, and copies of it may be found in the Congregational Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, in that of Harvard College, and in that of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

It was replied to in the same year by E. Wigglesworth, in *Sober Remarks on a Book Entitled "A Modest Proof," etc., in a Letter to a Friend*, Boston, 16mo, a copy of which is in the Congregational Library. This was reprinted the next year, and a copy of the reprint is in the Prince, Mass. Historical, Harvard, and Antiquarian Libraries.

Checkley responded next year in *A Defence of a Book Entitled "A modest Proof," etc., in a reply to "Sober Remarks," etc.*, Boston, 8vo, pp. ii., 73, 14, i., a copy of which is in the Antiquarian Library.

The well-known Jonathan Dickinson, afterwards first President of Princeton College, in 1724, took part in the controversy by *Remarks upon the Postscript to "Defence of a Modest Proof," etc.*, Boston, 8vo, pp. ii., 30, a copy of which is in the Congregational and Prince Libraries.

HENRY M. DEXTER.

*Greystones', New Bedford.*

MOURNING WOMEN.—(III, 451.) At the funeral of the writer's grandmother, Mrs. Job Haines, daughter of Colonel Thomas, of Elizabeth, N. J., who died in that place in 1792, in her 24th year, the *pall-bearers* were *young women*, dressed in white. So stated by the late Mrs. William Chetwood, of Elizabeth, who was present. Another aged friend, now living in this city, has since recalled a similar instance occurring when she was young, in the same ancient New Jersey town. In this case, the official mourning women were six in number, each wearing a white turban, or high white-veiled hat. W. H.

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THE LIFE OF ALBERT GALLATIN.

By HENRY ADAMS. 8vo, pp. 697. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

THE WRITINGS OF ALBERT GALLATIN.

Edited by HENRY ADAMS. 8vo, 3 vols., pp. 607—666—646. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

The papers of Albert Gallatin constitute one of the richest mines of historical material in the United States. At his death, in 1849, they were left to the care of his son, Albert Rolaz Gallatin, of New York, the only survivor of his children, and the literary executor of his father by express testamentary disposition. They include official reports, speeches, papers on political economy, and subjects of scientific, archaeological and ethnologic interest.

For precise accuracy of information on a range of subjects which may almost be said to be co-extensive with human knowledge, Mr. Gallatin was not equalled, certainly not surpassed by any man of his time. His opinions were sought after and respected, in Europe as well as in America, and his name and fame were cosmopolitan. In everything he was foremost, a tower among men. As a statesman he was sound and far-sighted, as a political leader, keen and authoritative, as an administrator, comprehensive and precise. Thoroughly acquainted with the secular history of European politics, and well versed in the arts of the professors of the occult science of diplomacy, he met, on equal terms, the best trained negotiators, penetrated their motives, and achieved his own purposes. As a financier, he laid down the principles of political economy in a manner which render further argument or illustration superfluous, and his management of the finances of the United States shows that he was as able in practice as he was sound in theory. His contributions to antiquarian journals placed him in the front rank of scientific observers, while the practical usefulness of his studies has brilliant demonstration in the continued use of the vocabularies which he suggested as a key to American Indian languages by the Smithsonian explorers. In a word he was easily first in nearly every branch of human learning.

To all these remarkable gifts he added that still more rare of extraordinary conversational power. His breadth of mental scope, the profoundness of his observation, the precision and lucidity of his reasoning, and the affluent variety of his illustration, were the marvel of all who approached him. Wholly free from dogmatism or

imperiousness, he was always instructive; while the dignity of his manner, courteous without distance, and the persuasive fluency of his graceful speech, lent a winning charm to his conversation which none who ever listened to him can ever forget. Even after his withdrawal from political and active life, his society was eagerly sought, and in his latter days a "Gallatin Club" was formed by a number of the most eminent of New York citizens, of which he was the central figure, and the purpose of which was to listen to his conversation. It was on occasion of some of these symposia, and more often in his own library, sitting in silent wonder at his feet by his gracious permission, that it was our happy privilege to know something of this extraordinary character, of whom it is not an exaggeration to say, that for compositeness of nature, scope of mental faculties, and extent of learned acquirements, no superior can be found in the entire range of American character.

To this multiform excellence Mr. Adams does not seem to us to have been sufficiently alive, and there is still room for a biography of an interest equal to that which he has written. He divides his work into five books, severally entitled: I. Youth, 1761—1790. II. The Legislature, 1789—1801. III. The Treasury, 1801—1813. IV. Diplomacy, 1813—1829. V. Age, 1830—1849.

The Gallatins trace their descent from Faulcherius de Gallatin, who died before 1258. Of this we have evidence before our eyes, in a genealogy to which the following is attached:

COPY OF CERTIFICATE GIVEN BY THE SYNDIC AND COUNSELLORS OF THE CITY AND REPUBLIC OF GENEVA. Dated 6th August, 1770.

The Syndic and Counsellors of the City and Republic of Geneva certify that the Gallatin Family, having presented to us a request that we would appoint one of our Counsellors of State to examine into and compare the original title Papers of said family with the annexed Genealogy. By a decree of 3d Feb'y, 1770, we appointed N. HULLIN, Councillor and Secretary of State, who, on examination of said originals, reported to us that he found the Genealogy in conformity thereto. We do, therefore, hereby certify that the "Genealogy of the Gallatin Family" is agreeable to the original vouchers, and, moreover, it has pleased us to declare that said family have at all times held an honorable and distinguished rank in this City. In faith of which we have expedited this Certificate. Under our seal and the Signature of our Secretary, by the said Seign'rs, Syndic and Counsellors.

[Signed] HULLIN, Secretary of State.  
Geneva, 6th April, 1770.

COPY OF CERTIFICATE GIVEN BY THE MAYOR OF GENEVA "CHEF-LIEU OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LEMAIR, EMPIRE OF FRANCE." 23d January, 1803.

The Mayor of Geneva, Chief Lieutenant of the Department of Lemair, Empire of France, certifies that the foregoing act was transmitted from the Public Reg-

ister, deposited among the Archives of the late Republic of Geneva, which said Archives are in the keeping of this Mayoralty.

These presents have been expedited at the request of Jean Louis de Gallatin, attorney of Mr. Abraham Alphonso Albert de Gallatin, his relation of the same name and family, at present Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in America; who was born in this city on the 29th of January, 1761, legitimate son of Jean de Gallatin and Sophia Albertina Rolaz, his wife; which said Mr. Abraham Alphonso Albert de Gallatin left Geneva to go to America in 1780.

In faith of which we have signed certificate.

[Signed] MAURICE (Mayor).

Geneva, 23d January, 1803.

Albert Gallatin, founder of the American family, and the subject of this biography, was born in the city of Geneva, January 29, 1761. Left an orphan at nine years of age, he received his early training at the hands of a distant relative of his father, who in a measure adopted him; no expense was spared upon his education, though he was taught a frugality in expenditure, which he never forgot in later years in public station or private life. He was graduated from the Academy of Geneva in 1779, first in his class in mathematics, philosophy and Latin translations. He had also acquired the English language. He was often at Ferney, his family being on intimate terms with Voltaire, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the example of this universal genius stimulated his own desire for varied knowledge. At nineteen, the restless spirit of the age had taken possession of him, and rejecting his grandmother's offer to procure him a commission in the Hessian service, he suddenly, on the 1st April, 1780, in company with Serre, a friend of his own age, left Geneva, crossed France, and took passage on an American vessel, the *Katty*, lying at Nantes, and sailed for Boston on the 16th May. At the instance of the family, the Duc de la Rochefoncauld d'Enville asked and obtained letters for the two young men from Franklin, then at Passy, to Richard Bache, his son-in-law, which he accompanied, with his accustomed prudence, by the remark, "that their friends would do well to prevent their voyage." They landed at Cape Ann on the 14th July, 1780. The journey to Philadelphia presenting some difficulties in the disturbed state of the country, the young friends passed a year at Machias, on the American frontier of Nova Scotia, in a somewhat aimless manner. The interest of Gallatin in the American cause was shown by the liberal advance of four hundred dollars in supplies to the Continental garrison at this post. The Genevans made a little Swiss colony at Machias during the winter.

In 1782, through the intervention of his family, Dr. Cooper procured the young foreigner the post of French instructor at Harvard College. But this did not long content his restless spirit. The next year, 1783, peace had been made: leaving Cam-

bridge, he traveled to Philadelphia with a French gentleman, M. Savary, who had claims in the State of Virginia, in the prosecution of which, young Gallatin assisted him. At Richmond he was delighted with the old Virginia hospitality. There he met John Marshall and Patrick Henry, the first of whom offered to receive him in his office without a fee, and the latter advised him to "go west." This he did, having engaged with Savary to purchase one hundred and twenty thousand acres of land in Western Virginia, in which Gallatin was to have one quarter, to be paid for at his majority. He crossed the mountains in the spring of 1784, and selected and surveyed the lands for which warrants had been purchased, on the Monongahela River and George's Creek, in Pennsylvania, about four miles north of the Virginia line, where he set up a store. It was while on this tour that he met Washington—an interview which is familiar, from "John Russell Bartlett's Reminiscences of Gallatin." Washington desired to secure his services as his land agent, but Gallatin had no taste for subordinate labor.

His western experiment, Mr. Adams considers a mistake, and notices in this connection that both Hamilton and Dallas were, like himself, strangers, and like him rose to be Secretaries of the National Treasury, yet both remained in large cities. But Hamilton, with whom he can alone be justly compared in the extent of the political power he attained, had received a general training in the revolution; Gallatin, it may be fairly assumed, learned from the very nature of his intercourse with the people, that knowledge of their interests, and insight into their character, which he displayed later as leader of the Democratic party. In 1789 he married Sophie Allegré, of Richmond, of one of the early French Protestant families which emigrated to this country. The mother had refused her consent, unwilling to see her daughter "dragged to the frontier of Pennsylvania by a man without attractions or fortune, who spoke bad English, and had been a schoolmaster at Cambridge." She lived but a few months. Here closes the period of his youth in Mr. Adams' subdivision.

The second period in the career of Mr. Gallatin is properly termed the Legislative period. Though covering but two years, it was one of extreme importance in the life of the man and history of the nation. He first appears on the stage of politics as a delegate to the Pennsylvania Conference, to consider the invitation of New York to call a new Convention to revise the Federal Constitution. When Virginia ratified the Constitution as submitted by the Federal Convention, she recommended several amendments. The New York Convention, where the strong opposition led by Governor Clinton was

only overruled by the tact and eloquence of Hamilton, went a step further and addressed a circular letter to the legislatures of the States, recommending a General Convention. The letter, drawn by Jay, was instantly responded to in Pennsylvania, and the Conference met at Harrisburg on the 8th September following (1788). The ratifications of the several States were only presented to the Congress of the Confederation, which met in New York in 1789, where the "Constitution of the United States" was formally declared the law of the land.

Pennsylvania was thus first in the field, and the opposition to the Federal party, which took the name of the Republican party, is thus seen to have been organized before the Constitution was declared. Mr. Gallatin was not a member of the Pennsylvania Convention which ratified the Constitution, but in the Conference which followed he was a leading man. Indeed, the draft of the "Declaration of Opinion," adopted by that body, is still extant in his handwriting. The next year the Pennsylvania Legislature summoned a Convention to revise the State Constitution, to which Gallatin was a delegate. This was, as Mr. Adams remarks, his "apprenticeship in the public service." His papers contain numerous memoranda of motions, arguments, points for speeches, which show the minuteness and thoroughness with which he never failed to discharge every public duty. Of this Convention Mr. Gallatin wrote in later life, that it was one of the ablest bodies of which he was a member. In the debates of this Convention, he says of himself, that he took but a subordinate share. He was shy by nature, and perhaps hesitated, in view of his recent naturalization, which took place in 1785, to assume a public prominence. In 1790 he was elected to the State Legislature of Pennsylvania, and re-elected in 1791 and 1792. The first election he carried by a two-thirds vote—in the second and third he had no opposition. During these three years he says of himself, that he "acquired an extraordinary influence in that body (the Pennsylvania House of Representatives), the more remarkable because always in a party minority." This influence he ascribes to his industry and facility. He was "on thirty-five committees, prepared all their reports, and drew all their bills;" this facility was a result of his thorough early training, and we may add, due, in great measure to his Latin education, which usually brings directness of statement and lucidity of style. The foundation of his reputation, he says, was laid by the report he drew for the Committee of Ways and Means, in the Session of 1790-1. In 1793, in one of his reports, he took strong grounds against the institution of Slavery, denounced it as "inconsistent with every principle of humanity, justice and right, and repug-

nant to the express letter of the Constitution of the Commonwealth," and called for its abolition, and the same year he is found as a member of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Could other be expected of one who was born and nurtured in the free air of Switzerland—the land of liberty and Tell?

Politics did not run high in the earlier days of the Republic. The enormous prestige of Washington, and his acceptance of the Presidency, sufficed to still, if not to stop, the violent animosities which the struggle over the adoption of the Constitution aroused. At this period, however, a question arose which threatened to "wreck the entire career" of Mr. Gallatin, as the biographer strongly, perhaps too strongly, states it. This was the excise law. Hamilton had laid an excise on domestic spirits as a part of his general scheme to redeem the national finances, and assume the State debts contracted during the war. It met with the same resistance from a turbulent part of the population that a similar tax has met with in our day. The Republicans seized upon it as a popular measure of opposition. The western counties of Pennsylvania were particularly hostile. Gallatin was clerk of a meeting which adopted unwise and impolitic resolutions. His name was connected with them before the public. Although they did not contemplate violence, they led to it. In 1794 the resistance culminated in the open rebellion known as the Whiskey or Western insurrection. Gallatin endeavored to control the movement and lead it into a legal resistance. He seems to have succeeded in a measure that, in his belief, rendered the interference of the government unnecessary; but President Washington thought otherwise, and the United States marched upon and occupied Pittsburg. Neither Washington nor Hamilton were men to hesitate an instant in the enforcement of authority. The Federal system was too young to dally with overt treason. With his usual frankness, Gallatin, in a speech in January, 1795, confessed his errors in counselling contempt for the officers of the law, while he freed himself from any complicity in the measures of rebellion; and he added, that while he had no hesitation in the confession of this "*his only political sin*," the blame should fall on the leaders, and not on the people at large.

In December, 1793, he was elected to the United States Senate by a Legislature in which the Federal party had the control, but he was not long permitted to hold his seat. He was too dangerous an opponent, his opposition to Hamilton and the government policy too open, for an occasion to oust him from his seat to be neglected. By the letter of the Constitution he was ineligible, the period since his naturalization not being sufficient to meet its express re-



quirement He was declared ineligible on the 24th February, 1794, by a vote of 14 to 12. Freed from political duties, he now devoted himself to his private affairs. He had taken to wife in second marriage, Hannah, daughter of Commodore Nicholson, the year preceding.

The next year, 1795, he was returned to the Fourth Congress, notwithstanding the declared opposition of Hamilton, and took his seat in December. He at once grasped the leadership of the opposition, and maintained it unquestioned to the close of his service. His wonderful success he owed to his native flexibility and his perfect self-control. Adams says justly of him, that "he was an ideal party leader, uniting boldness with caution, good temper with earnestness, exact words of thought with laborious investigation, that have no parallel in American experience." He supplanted Madison in the control of the House of Representatives, and held his sway in a body which numbered Madison, Randolph, Edward Livingston, Fisher Ames and John Marshall among its members. It was then that the Federal and Republican parties were arrayed in hostile camps with clearly defined principles. Hamilton determined to repress democracy as a fatal curse; Jefferson, imbued with the ideas of the French revolution of 1789, resolved on democracy or nothing. The end was inevitable, if for no other reason than that the Federalists allowed themselves to be considered as admirers of the Constitution of England, the country from which the American people had freed itself, while the Republicans were the friends of France, who had lent to it her aid. During his terms of Congressional service, which extended through the Fifth and Sixth Congresses, to which he was re-elected, he laid down in an irresistible argument the true limits of the executive, and the right of the House to final coordinate control even of the treaty-making power. He showed his political genius in securing the control of the finances to the House by the establishment of a standing Committee of Ways and Means. On the 4th of March, 1801, Jefferson was inaugurated President of the United States. The principles of the Republicans were triumphant. The great Federal power, which had formed, organized and consolidated the government, fell, like Cæsar, prostrate in the Capitol itself, the monument of its triumph. Yet such were the foundations of the powerful government, which Hamilton had devised and built up in immutable strength, that neither by opposition in peace, nor by the shock of war has it ever yet even shaken. Indeed, it was only when the war of the rebellion came that its secret forces were manifested. Well was it replied by the Texian patriot to those who sought to take that State out of the Union, on the plea that the Government was not strong enough,

"that before the revolution they had inaugurated was over, the Government of the United States would be found *strong enough for common uses.*" In the formation of the new Cabinet Gallatin was by common consent the choice of the party to direct the finances of the country.

With the nomination of Mr. Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury in 1801 by Jefferson, he entered upon the most brilliant epoch of his life, taking in the three terms during which he controlled this department, when, with Jefferson and Madison, he was one of the Triumvirate that ruled the Republican party and governed the country. This may be styled the administrative period of Gallatin's life.

To Gallatin as to Hamilton, a comprehensive finance was intuitive. Hamilton had no dread of a national debt confined within reasonable limits. Indeed, he had created it to free the States from their unequal burthen, and to build up the national credit on a firm foundation. When fairly funded, the total amount was \$78,000,000. The new policy, which Gallatin inaugurated, not only aimed at paying off this obligation, but refused to incur any new obligation for the support of the army or navy. This Mr. Adams terms the American system. It is the happy fortune of this expanding country that its resources have enabled it to meet the extraordinary exigencies of wars, and the equally extraordinary requirement of a return to the status *ante bellum* of the National Treasury. In the first eleven years of his administration of the Treasury Department, comprising the two terms of Jefferson and the first part of that of Madison, 1801-1812, he reduced the debt from \$83,000,000 to \$45,000,000, and but for the war of 1812 would have entirely extinguished it, on the basis of his original plan, before the close of Madison's first term, and this, notwithstanding the unexpected call of \$15,000,000 for the Louisiana purchase, which, to his honor be it said, he not only approved and favored, but defended in a letter to Jefferson, which, Mr. Adams remarks, Hamilton might have written to Washington in the hour of triumph of Federal ideas.

Throughout his administration Jefferson loyally sustained his Secretary in his efforts to pay off the debt. To use his own words, he regarded its "discharge as vital to the destinies of the Government." Now, however, a question arose, which could no longer be kept in the background, and was soon to subordinate all others. This was the question of peace or war. No man or set of men can successfully oppose a war in which the people consider their pride or honor involved. The exhausted state of the Treasury was sufficient reason for Gallatin's opposition. At this critical moment also the charter of the Bank of the United States lapsed by its termination. On its renewal all his financial plans

depended. The Senate reached a vote upon this question on the 20th February, 1811. It stood 17 to 17, and was decided in the negative by George Clinton, the Vice President. Thus, in the very face of a war with the most dangerous power on earth, the Administration was deprived of the only effective financial agent it then had or could expect to have. No system was then known to replace it. Gallatin's prestige dropped with the Bank. He felt the blow, drew his mantle about him and fell with dignity. He resigned the Treasury in a letter remarkable for its calmness and judgment. The reasons for his resignation were convincing, overwhelming; but Madison refused to accept. Nowhere in his career does Gallatin appear in a more honorable light than during this period of his public life, when crippled, overweighted in loyalty to his party and his chief, he again, to use Mr. Adams' words, "took up his burden." While alive to the difficulties and dangers of war, which the rising sentiment of the country rendered inevitable, Mr. Gallatin spared nothing that could contribute to its successful prosecution. The entire weight of the administration fell on his shoulders. He, it is believed, drew up the Act organizing the army, and it is established beyond question that it was he who fixed the policy of the navy. Deserted by the Ways and Means Committee, baffled by an intractable Congress, and openly opposed by the Federalists in his attempts to float the loan Congress had reluctantly authorized in response to his call of November, 1812, Mr. Gallatin himself, by the aid of his personal friend, John Jacob Astor, and through that gentleman's intervention of Mr. Parish and Mr. Girard, placed his loan, saved the Government from collapse and the country from ruin.

An offer of mediation being made at this time by the Emperor of Russia, Mr. Gallatin gladly availed of the offer made to him by Mr. Madison to lead the mission, while still retaining the post of Secretary, from which the President was now less than ever inclined to release him. But the Senate in their hatred of him refused to confirm his appointment, unless Mr. Madison declared the office of Secretary of the Treasury vacant. This Madison resolutely refused to do, and it was not till February, 1814, that Mr. Gallatin ceased to hold the office. Thus closed his administrative career. In reviewing this part of his life, his biographer says of him, that it "may be doubted whether he ever made a mistake in any of his undertakings, and whether any work done by him has ever been found inefficient." Mr. Adams speaks of the governmental systems of Hamilton and Gallatin as alike failures, yet, he adds, "whatever may have been the extent of their defects, or of their success, one fact stands out in strong relief on the pages of American his-

tory. "Except those theories of government which are popularly represented by the names of Hamilton and Jefferson, no solution of the great problems of American politics has ever been offered to the American people." Nor is it probable or desirable that any definite solution be established. The history of the American Government is a record of oscillation between the systems, the extremes of which these two great men represented. The same antagonism underlies present political divisions, and it is safe to say that it will continue to animate them in the future. It is fortunate for the country that it should be so; a Government without party is a Utopian dream.

There is an almost dramatic completeness in the several epochs of Mr. Gallatin's career, which the classic mind of his biographer has not failed to seize and avail of in his admirably constructed narrative.

The fourth book opens with his diplomatic service. It opens with the departure of the *Neptune* from Newcastle on the 9th of May, 1813, with Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard, two of the Envoys of the United States. They arrived at St. Petersburg on the 21st of July. Here they met their fellow commissioner, John Quincy Adams, with whom, although hitherto political antagonists, it fell to the lot of Mr. Gallatin to work side by side in the management of the foreign relations of the United States for nearly twelve years. In his account of these negotiations, which from the beginning seem to have been destined to failure, Mr. Adams assigns to Mr. Gallatin the leading place. Russia had other things to think of than diplomacy, and England was not inclined to deal with America through mediation. In January, 1814, they left St. Petersburg, not having as yet heard a word from the Emperor. Arrived at Amsterdam, they found that Lord Castlereagh had made direct overtures to Mr. Madison, which had been met by the appointment of a new commission, Mr. Henry Clay and Mr. Jonathan Russell being added to the old. By a complication, which need not be related, Mr. Gallatin, who was intended to be the head, was in fact the last named, and consequently the last in rank, but, as Mr. Adams states, "whether first or last in the commission, or whether omitted from it entirely, he continued to superintend all the diplomatic operations connected with the proposed peace." Ghent was fixed as the place of negotiation. The mortifications which Gallatin met with at the hands of the British, the difficulty he had in managing Adams and Clay, who acted upon each other as explosives, are faithfully narrated. The tact with which he steered his way between the shoals which surrounded him, is the most remarkable instance in our history of perfect diplomatic skill, and his delicate

tact probably saved the treaty. After various oscillations and shifting of ground, as the news of the conflict excited or depressed the British Ministry, they at last openly avowed their desire to make peace, and on Christmas day, 1814, the treaty was signed. "Far more," says Mr. Adams, "than contemporaries ever supposed or than is now imagined, the Treaty of Ghent was the special work and peculiar triumph of Mr. Gallatin."

The negotiation closed, he visited Geneva. Of his feelings on this visit to his birth-place, he left only one allusion. He said that as he approached Geneva, "calm as his nature was, his calmness deserted him." On his way to England in April he learned that he had been appointed Minister to France. This he at first declined, as also an offer of John Jacob Astor to receive him as a partner in his commercial house, then having a capital of near a million, with a fifth interest. The next year, however, warmly pressed by Mr. Monroe, he accepted the French mission. At Paris he was in his element, and enjoyed the opportunities for the development of faculties of still another order. Never was America more ably, more fitly, more honorably represented than by Gallatin. He remained at Paris as Minister until 1823, during which period he was twice deputed on special missions; first to the Netherlands in 1817, next to Great Britain in 1818.

In 1827, the health of Rufus King, who had been appointed Minister to England, failing, Mr. Adams, his old associate in the Ghent Treaty, being President, summoned Mr. Gallatin to Washington, confided to him the important negotiations then pending, and appointed him Minister to the Court of St. James. The complications were of the most delicate character, including the northern boundaries on the eastern and western extremes. In August conventions were signed, continuing the commercial convention of 1815, and the joint occupation of the disputed Oregon territory, and on the 29th September a new convention signed, referring the disputed Maine boundary to a friendly sovereign. Here again, with epic completeness, his diplomatic career ended. Mr. Adams does him no more than justice when he says that "in that career he stood first among the men of his time." Here, too, his public life ended. The election of 1828 had swept from the stage the great Republican party, which he helped to found. He turned without a sigh, unless of relief, to other more congenial fields.

The last chapter, entitled "Age," which covers the period of the retirement of Mr. Gallatin from politics to his death in 1849, Mr. Adams is little more than a succinct summary. The remark of Mr. Adams that had Gallatin been entering life at the time of his retirement from pub-

lic station, he would have "found himself drawn by temperament, by cast of mind and education into science, or business, or literature." The leaning of his mind, however, was strongly towards what the French term "haute finance," as distinguished from mere banking. In 1830 the question of renewing the charter of the Bank of the United States again drew him to the front. Mr. Gallatin was a firm believer in the French system, of the admirable nature of which we have had recent brilliant example. He believed in a bi-metallic currency, and "*a restriction of notes to one hundred dollars*," to be issued by the Bank of the United States. In December, 1830, his "Considerations on the Currency and Banking System" appeared, and again the next year in a separate form. To our day this admirable paper remains the text work on the whole subject of which it treats, and an infallible test of all systems of finance. In 1829 the National, afterwards the Gallatin Bank was established under a charter of the State of New York, Mr. Astor subscribing the capital, and Mr. Gallatin taking the direction as President. Here he had an opportunity of practicing his theories. Business banking is a very different thing from government banking, though the general laws that govern the relations of capital, deposits and discount are the same. In the management of this bank his prudence and sagacity were conspicuous, and his influence upon the minds of bank directors was felt throughout the country.

On the expiration of the charter of the Bank of the United States in 1836, that institution secured a new charter from the State of Pennsylvania. Bad management, a departure from the fixed laws which govern this science soon destroyed its prestige, and brought it to the verge of insolvency. From the time that it was seen that the bank charter would not be renewed, there was a wild race all over the land in the establishment of banks. The country went mad in speculation, under the stimulus of an expanded currency and the improvident loans of the banks. The revulsion was quick and terrible. In May, 1837, the banks of New York suspended specie payment, and all other banks instantly followed. In the movements for resumption, Mr. Gallatin took the lead. A convention was called in October. The party of opposition, led by Mr. Biddle of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, backed by the Boston and Baltimore banks, was too powerful to be overruled. The Convention adjourned to meet in April, 1838. Nothing daunted, and relying upon their own power and credit, the New York banks announced their intention to resume, and did resume independently in May. New England reluctantly followed. A struggle came between the solvents and insolvents; the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, rotten to the core,

fell in utter ruin in October, but resumption was maintained. It was in reference to this experience that Mr. Gallatin used the memorable words, that "the agonies of resumption were more terrible than those of suspension." For bankruptcy there is no cure save in the Cæsarean operation. In 1839 he resigned the Presidency of the National Bank, and withdrew from all business. In 1841 he published a supplement to his "Consideration of the Currency."

His contributions to geography and ethnology have in the biography brief notice. His last public speech was in accord with his career. In the face of bitter opposition and violent abuse, while in his eighty-fourth year, he presided over the great meeting held in New York in 1844 in opposition to the annexation of Texas—an instance of moral, mental and physical courage which has been rarely equalled, never surpassed. Of the conduct of the United States towards Mexico in this controversy, Mr. Gallatin on one occasion said "that it was the only blot on the American escutcheon."

In the execution of his arduous task, Mr. Adams deserves the highest praise. He rises above partisanship to the true plane of impartial history. Throughout he subordinates himself to his subject. It is not what he thinks of Mr. Gallatin that he tells us, but what Mr. Gallatin was. From the beginning to the close, the profound respect in which he holds his subject is evident, while the restraint he puts upon the expression of his admiration is no less apparent. The field is too wide to admit of general disquisition. The mere recital of the incidents of the fullest intellectual life of the century called for every inch of space in the compact volume. Elaboration was impossible, but the student who turns these pages, as each who would know the history of the first half of this century must inevitably do, will find that half his labor is saved by the broad divisions and skillful arrangement of the subject. The representative of Mr. Gallatin was wise in the selection of his editor. It was in the fitness of things that a grandson of John Quincy Adams, the able co-adjutor of Mr. Gallatin in the famous negotiation of Ghent, should have been entrusted with the preparation of these memoirs. The book will stand as the authoritative record of a life second in usefulness to none in his generation.

old to Moses, as the providential leader who led them from the land of bondage. He stands as the impersonation of United Germany, the avenger, as well as the saviour of the nation; but Bismarck after all was not possible but for Stein. The "imperial baron" it was who reconstructed Prussia, and remodelled the institutions of the Spartan State, so as to draw from her resources the greatest possible force for the day of contest, the hour when the crushing disaster of Jena, the terrible humiliation of the house of the great Frederic, and the utter prostration of Prussia beneath the grinding and contemptuous heel of Napoleon should be completely avenged.

Mr. Seeley, who is Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, England, has found a theme and a central figure worthy of the ablest pen. The great work of Pertz, completed in 1854, has been the chief authority on the life of Stein, but numerous authorities have since appeared, of which ample use has been made in these volumes.

The first volume, 1757-1809, is divided into five parts, severally entitled: I. Before the Catastrophe; II. The Catastrophe; III. Ministry of Stein—First period; IV. Ministry of Stein—Transition; V. Ministry of Stein—Conclusion.

Vom Stein, a descendant of one of the robber knights who took toll, from friend and foe alike, from the passers of the Rhine, was born near the little town of Nassau in 1757. His turbulent ancestors had lived at the Burg-Stein, a fastness on the side of the hill, which is crowned by the Schloss Nassau. He came into the world in the midst of the stormy convulsion of the Thirty Years' War. Ten days later the battle of Rosbach was fought, in which Frederic II. annihilated the French army in one of the most terrible defeats in history. He inherited one of the petty sovereignties, which Napoleon swept away in his radical reform of the Rhine region, and belonged to the order of Reichsrittershaft, or Imperial Knighthood. The Duke of Nassau threatened to annex his little dominion, but now in its turn, as in the fable, the petty sovereignty of Nassau has been swallowed up by its larger and more powerful neighbor, Prussia. Whether Prussia is to digest other great States of Germany, or whether she is herself to lose her own autonomy in the attempt, is a subject of speculation, but not of historic inquiry.

The Imperial knights, however, did not fulfill the conditions of high nobility, which was confined to the descendants of those who had both sovereignty and a place on the Diet before 1806. Stein stood in the position most favorable for a public leader; half-way between the nobility and the people. The studies of young Stein were of a practical nature. Without caring for the specula-

LIFE AND TIMES OF STEIN; OR, GERMANY AND PRUSSIA IN THE NAPOLEONIC AGE. By J. R. SEELEY. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 546-568. ROBERTS BROTHERS. Boston, 1879.

To Bismarck Germany looks as the Jews of

tive inquiry of the age, he paid studious attention to English politics, statistics and details of government, from which he drew valuable lessons for his later reconstruction of the Prussian kingdom. All Germans are hero worshippers, and Stein was no exception to the rule. "Frederic the Unique" won his heart by the rescue of Bavaria, and with him he took service, notwithstanding the claims of the Austrian Emperor upon him as an Imperial Knight, and to Prussia, as the hope of German unity, he remained steadfast. His friend Von Heinitz, the oldest of Frederick's officials, was his mentor and pushed him forward in the service; first in the Mining Department, and in 1789 to one of the War and Domain Chambers. In 1804 he entered the Ministry of State as Minister of Trade.

It was the catastrophe of Jena in 1806, however, which called into active play Stein's remarkable powers of organization. His letters during the war are full of vigor and political insight. He was soon acknowledged by common consent to be the first statesman in Germany, "the hope of the State." The King tendered him the portfolio of Minister of State and Cabinet, but Stein refused. He would have nothing to do with the administration with persons whom he distrusted, or without full power to make the reforms he desired. His correspondence with the King, his abuse by the sovereign, and his last and almost impertinent reply, are curious specimens of German temper and the intemperant spirit of the upper classes. Stein was dismissed in 1807. The peace of Tilsitt dismembered Prussia, and divided Europe between Alexander and Napoleon. Stein was affected to illness when he heard of it. It needed an overwhelming disaster like this to induce him once more to take the control of affairs, but this time with supreme dictatorial powers. The Hohenzollerns have always known how to sacrifice their personality, even their pride, to their ambition. And Stein became the *Eckstein*, the corner-stone, of the Prussian monarchy, of German independence. The rest of the volume is devoted to the account of the sweeping reforms he introduced, not only into the administration, but the entire system of government, civil and military—from the emancipating edict, with land reform, to the completion of the wonderful reform which Scharnhorst commenced, and which has determined the fate of the nineteenth century. This reform abolished the conscription of Frederick the Great, and introduced in its place that of universal service. In these, as in the legislative reforms which followed them, the principles of the French revolution were practically adopted—the principles of equality before the law.

The second volume is in four parts. VI.

Stein in Exile; VII. Return from Exile; VIII. Stein at the Congress; IX. Old Age. Resigning his post as Minister, because, perhaps, the King would not commit himself to his policy, and make common cause with Austria, he was now in a comparatively unobserved position, organizing the elements of hostility to France. But the eagle eye of Napoleon, which, sweeping the entire range of the horizon, yet observing every detail, had long been fixed upon the dangerous work of Stein. By an imperial decree, Napoleon at the close of 1808, confiscated his property, and proscribed his person. Here were ruin and danger, sudden as the fall of a thunderbolt. Stein stooped his proud spirit to ask the intercession of the Czar, and fled into Bohemia. In 1809 the result of his teachings was seen in the first German rising, but it was not till after the Russian campaign of 1812 that the patriotic exile felt any security, or could believe in the possibility of the fall of Napoleon.

Here we must leave the volume, noticing only the curious fact, that in the repartitions of Europe by the Congress of 1815, Stein preached the restoration to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine. As was observed, Bismarck completed Stein. On the 29th June, 1831, the founder of the modern German nation died, an event almost unnoticed by his ungrateful countrymen.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

### THE STORMING OF STONY POINT

The recent centennial celebration of the Storming of Stony Point has brought to light many new and important facts connected with this, one of the most brilliant achievements of the revolution. The Historical Society of Rockland County will shortly publish a work which will form the fullest and most accurate account of this event. It will include several original extracts from letters of Washington hitherto unpublished, from the papers of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Germain, the latter containing the expression of the King's opinion concerning the capture; letters from Generals Heath, St. Clair, George Clinton, McDougal and others; returns and orders showing the organization of Wayne's corps of Light Infantry, together with biographical sketches of participants in the action.

This volume will be edited by Mr. H. P. Johnston, who is well known to historians as the author of *The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn*. The work will be published by subscription. Persons interested can address Mr. Henry Whittmore, Secretary of the Historical Society of Rockland County, Tappan, New York State.

EDITOR.

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA

ONE of our great American poets, looking over a famous battle-field of our country, has said :

" We needs must think of history that waits  
For lines that live but in their proud beginning ;  
Arrested promises and cheated fates,  
Youth's boundless venture and its single winning.  
We see the ghosts of deeds they might have done,  
The phantom homes that beacons their endeavor ;  
We grudge the better strain of men  
That proved itself and was extinguished then,  
The field, with strength and hope so thickly sown,  
Wherefrom no other harvest shall be mown."

These lines vibrated through my mind like the muffled tones of a funeral march as I stood in the military chapel at West Point, and looking towards the eastern wall, read on its marble memorial tablet this inscription :

BUENA VISTA, FEBRUARY 22D-23D, 1847.

Colonel J. J. HARDIN	Lieut. E. F. FLETCHER
" W. R. MCKEE	" R. FERGUSON
" ARCHIBALD YELL	" L. ROBBINS
Lt. Col. HENRY CLAY, JR.	" T. KELLY
Captain GEORGE LINCOLN	" J. C. STEEL
" J. B. ZABRISKIE	" J. BARTLESON
" WM. WOODWARD	" A. ATHERTON
" W. T. WILLIS	" WM. PRICE
" A. R. PORTER	" FRAN. McNULTY
" T. B. KINDER	" R. L. MOORE
" W. WALKER	" D. CAMPBELL
" J. TAGGART	" J. A. LEONHARD
Lieut. B. R. HOUGHTON	" THOMAS C. PARR
" A. B. ROUNTREE	" E. M. VAUGHN

A little army of four thousand six hundred and ninety-one men marched


to this battle-field; of these, two hundred and thirty-nine men and twenty-eight officers were killed, many of them murdered in their wounds. They lay on the battle-ground dead, robbed, stripped of their clothing, yet on a victorious field, from which, with their wounded or exhausted comrades, they had driven twenty thousand men, the élite of the Mexican army, many of them veterans, who had fought in the war of independence against Spain, and had seen constant service in the civil wars that followed.

These simple facts were pregnant of great events. In them were embodied the issue of the war with Mexico, and the acquisition of an empire, as empire represents land, wealth and power; the downfall of Santa Anna, sometimes called the Napoleon of the West; the continuance of the regular army of the United States, then more seriously threatened with extinction by the politicians that at any time since; the election of a President of the United States; and the germ of a great civil war—for all of these things developed as a natural outgrowth or a direct result of the momentous victory in the pass of Angostura, before the plain of Buena Vista. The brilliant achievements of General Scott, which we involuntarily compare with the progress of Cortez over the same ground, were but a blossoming of the hardy plant which General Taylor had set in the soil of Northern Mexico, and which had been watered with the blood of that mere handful of heroes with which he was left to meet the concentrated forces of the enemy.

The time is short, by years, since our army marched into Mexico—but what a change in the spirit of the people! Not for the worse, perhaps, but still a great change, such as separates eager, chivalrous, self sacrificing youth from more prudent and calculating manhood. Late in the spring of 1846 there was a call for volunteers for the war with Mexico. The noblest and choicest spirits in the land sprang quick to arms. There had been bitter strife in regard to the war. In stump speeches, on the floor of Congress, in the political caucus; everywhere the war of words ran high. Personal ambition, fanatical abolitionism and imperious pro-slaveryism had aroused the passions of the people for or against the war. But above the clamor and invective of partizans at last was heard the announcement of these irrevocable facts: *Texas is annexed*; Taylor has advanced to protect her frontier; the Mexicans have crossed the Rio Grande; Colonel Cross has been killed; Captain Porter's little band, in search of him, has been defeated and dispersed. Thornton's squadron of dragoons has been captured after a desperate struggle.

In 1846 men did not read so calmly and indifferently as now of the capture and slaughter of the gallant officers of our regular army; trained, accomplished, high-principled gentlemen, whose moral, intellectual and social qualities are an honor to our country. Political feuds were at once forgotten; there was only generous rivalry as to who should be permitted to go. Thousands offered their services who were not accepted. The call was made by the President, in the beginning, on the Southern and Western States as being nearer the scene of the conflict. There, where there had been the hottest political contest with the cries of Clay and peace as opposed to Polk, annexation and war, peace men were now found raising regiments, and entering with enthusiasm into the plans of the administration. When these plans were a matter of deliberation and argument, they were opposed mainly on two grounds. First, that Texas being still claimed as a province by Mexico, her annexation would necessarily involve us in a war with that nation without adequate cause. The other and more urgent cause of opposition was a desire to check the extension of slavery.

The Texas question was foreseen even then by thoughtful statesmen to be an entering wedge which might ultimately cleave the Union. An extract from a private letter of Colonel John J. Hardin, whose name heads the list of slain at the battle of Buena Vista, written to a friend while he was a member of Congress from Illinois (he was a whig, and opposed to annexation), will give an insight into the state of political feeling on this subject. It is dated Washington, January 26th, 1845, and says: "Last night the democrats passed the Texas project through our house. At the commencement of the session it could not have passed. But I have been convinced for some days that the scheme which was adopted would be passed. Every loco-foco from the North, with only two or three exceptions, who was not re-elected, or who was satisfied he would not be, voted for it. Every office seeker was entreating his friends to go for it, and every member of Congress who wants an office voted for it. For it is understood and proclaimed that those who will not go for Texas, as the South wants it, could obtain no office from Mr. Polk. It is said by some of the Senators that it will not pass that body. Although I cannot count enough to pass it, yet I feel satisfied that enough will be hunted up to go for it, and thus get it through. No one supposed the vote in our house would be so large, and indeed no vote was estimated to pass the Bill by a fair count, but when it was about to pass a number voted for it.





So in the Senate, I think, they will find men to change their vote to pass it, if necessary. We have been so engrossed with Texas that we have no other news whatever. You will see that the project which was adopted was proposed by a Tennessee whig, Milton Brown. He is one of my messmates; he avowed at all times that he went for it purely as a Southern slavery question; that he drew up his proposition, and proposed it, for the express purpose of preventing any misunderstanding on the subject of slavery, and determined to make the North swallow it if they would have Texas; and if they were satisfied to give the South Texas on these terms, he was willing to take it. Only eight whigs voted for it, and they were not enough to defeat it, if they had all voted against it."

This hint of congressional proceedings, and of the changing of votes gives point to Hosea Biglow's assertion that

"A marcfiful Providence fashioned us holler  
O' purpose that we might our principles swaller;  
Besides, there's a wonderful power in latitude  
To shift a man's morril relations an' attitude;  
Some flossifers think that a fakkilty's granted  
The minnit its proved to be thoroughly wanted;  
So, wen one's chose to Congress, ez soon ez he's in it,  
A collar grows right round his neck in a minnit;  
For a coat, that sets wal here in old Massachusetts,  
Wen it gits on to Washington, somehow askew sets."

And also to what he says of the people, who


"Think they're a kind o' fulfillin' the prophecies,  
Wen they're on'y jest changin' the holders of offices;  
(An' fer Democrat Horners there's good plums left yet,)  
To the people they're ollers ez slick ez molasses,  
An' butter their bread on both sides with The Masses,  
Half o' whom they've persuaded, by way of a joke,  
Thet Washington's mantelpiece fell upon Polk."

But the fun and satire, as well as the animosity of political discussions, were unheeded, or silenced upon the President's demand for volunteers. On the 30th of May, 1846, General Wool, then Adjutant-General to the army, was ordered to repair to Cincinnati and muster into service twelve thousand volunteers from the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Mississippi. This business was dispatched with thoroughness and rapidity, and on the 11th of July General Wool was ordered to turn over his command in the States to General Butler, and to concen-

trate a part of the force, now ready to move, at San Antonio de Bexar, in Texas. From this place General Wool was to lead an expedition against the city of Chihuahua in the interior of Northern Mexico. General Butler soon after embarked with a larger portion of the volunteers to join General Taylor on the Rio Grande. General Wool proceeded to Alton, Illinois, the place of rendezvous of the First and Second Illinois Regiments, commanded by Colonels Hardin and Bissell. Finding them in a satisfactory state of preparation for his expedition, he went to New Orleans, and thence to Lavaca and San Antonio. The Illinois regiments soon followed. They embarked at Alton for New Orleans. Though but a child, I remember well that bright summer day, made brilliant by the continuous strains of martial music, the dress parades of the regiments, the enthusiastic cheers of the thousands of people who had come to witness their departure. The tears of parting were suppressed, the forebodings of danger were silenced by the brightness, the glitter of the scene, and the hopefulness of the soldiers who soon crowded the broad decks of the great white steamer. It seemed to my young eyes to be bearing them away to some unreal world. Alas, the incoming steamer that brought the shattered regiments home was not crowded!

From New Orleans they went by steamer to Lavaca, and from this place on the 11th of August was begun the famous march of the Army of the Centre, as General Wool's command was called. General Taylor's army, then in the field, was the Army of Occupation, and the troops of General Kearney's expedition comprised the Army of the West. General Scott had not yet arrived in Mexico.

On the 5th of April, 1846, General Taylor, having marched from Corpus Christi with the whole force of regulars at his disposal, numbering three thousand five hundred and ninety-three, established himself on the east bank of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras. Here he erected a fort. His stores had been forwarded from New Orleans, by sea, to Point Isabel. On the 30th of April, two companies were left to garrison the fort, and Taylor, with the remainder of his army, marched to Point Isabel to bring up his supplies. In the meantime, a large force of Mexicans had been gathered at Matamoras under General Ampudia. While the main army of General Taylor was on its march from Point Isabel with its train of ammunition and supplies, it encountered the whole force of the Mexicans, six thousand strong, which had been brought out to intercept its return. Here was fought the battle of Palo Alto, in which Taylor was victorious, with a loss of only nine killed



and forty-five wounded, while the loss of the enemy was over three hundred.

The night following this action the Mexicans retreated, and took a strong position at Resaca de la Palma. They were reinforced by two thousand fresh troops, and here, the next day, another fiercely contested battle took place, in which the rout of the Mexicans was complete. The losses on both sides were heavier than on the previous day; that of the Mexicans exceeding five hundred. A few days later, Arista vacated Matamoras, and destroyed or concealed his guns. General Taylor took possession of the city; the first campaign of the war was at an end, and the disputed territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was secured.

During the following weeks the smaller towns above Matamoras, on the river, were occupied without opposition. Early in August General Taylor moved his headquarters to Carmargo, which was to be his depot of supplies during the anticipated operation on Monterey, one of the strongest fortified posts in Mexico.

While these movements were in progress on land, the Mexican ports had been blockaded by ships of the United States Navy. During the month of August, Santa Anna, an exile from Mexico, had been permitted, by order of the government at Washington, to run the blockade at Vera Cruz. This questionable act of the administration was thought, at that time, to have been prompted by a belief in Santa Anna's desire to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the United States. It is now affirmed that the government at Washington had revealed to it at that time a plot between the emissaries of European governments and the authorities in Mexico, for the establishment of a monarchy in the latter country, under the protection of the foreign powers, and that Santa Anna was permitted to enter the port of Vera Cruz to ensure the overthrow of this conspiracy.

Santa Anna approached the City of Mexico, surrounded by his friends and followers, early in September, and was tendered the supreme power. He adroitly declined "the place of power for the post of danger." Upon this announcement the Mexican government ordered a levy of thirty thousand men, to rendezvous at the capital or at San Luis Potosi within seventy days. Santa Anna ordered Ampudia, then in command of the northern army, to evacuate Monterey, unless sure of a successful resistance, and to fall back on San Luis Potosi, where he would establish his headquarters. Ampudia, confident of success, and anxious to win the *éclat* of a victory, used his discretionary power to resist the

American occupation. This resulted in the storming of Monterey by Taylor's army, where

"On, still on, our column kept,  
Through walls of flame, its withering way ;  
Where fell the dead, the living stept,  
Still charging on the guns that swept  
The slippery streets of Monterey.


"The foe himself recoiled aghast,  
When, striking where he strongest lay,  
We swooped his flanking batteries past,  
And, braving full their murderous blast,  
Stormed home the towers of Monterey.

"Our banners on those turrets wave,  
And there our evening bugles play ;  
Where orange boughs above their grave,  
Keep green the memory of the brave,  
Who fought and fell at Monterey."

Thus with continued success had General Taylor pressed on to a new base of operations, though with severe losses. The occupation of Monterey had been accomplished only after a determined resistance, and with the loss of twelve officers and one hundred and eight men killed, and over three hundred wounded. The loss of the enemy was one thousand or more. By the terms of the capitulation signed on the 24th of September, Taylor had agreed to an armistice of eight weeks, in consequence of the representation made by Ampudia, that peace commissioners had been appointed by his government to negotiate a treaty with the United States.

We will now return to the Army of the Centre at San Antonio. General Wool had made extensive and careful preparation for the expedition committed to his command by the authorities at Washington. He was impatient to advance, but found it difficult to obtain reliable information concerning the routes practicable for a march of one thousand miles, to be traversed before he could reach Chihuahua.

In September, General Wool left San Antonio with his advance column; the Illinois regiments, with Colonel Churchill, of the regular service, followed some days later, and the whole command reached Parras in the latter part of November, when General Wool received dispatches from General Taylor, informing him that the expedition to Chihuahua, according to advices from Washington, would be abandoned. General Taylor and General Wool acquiesced in the propriety of this advice, as

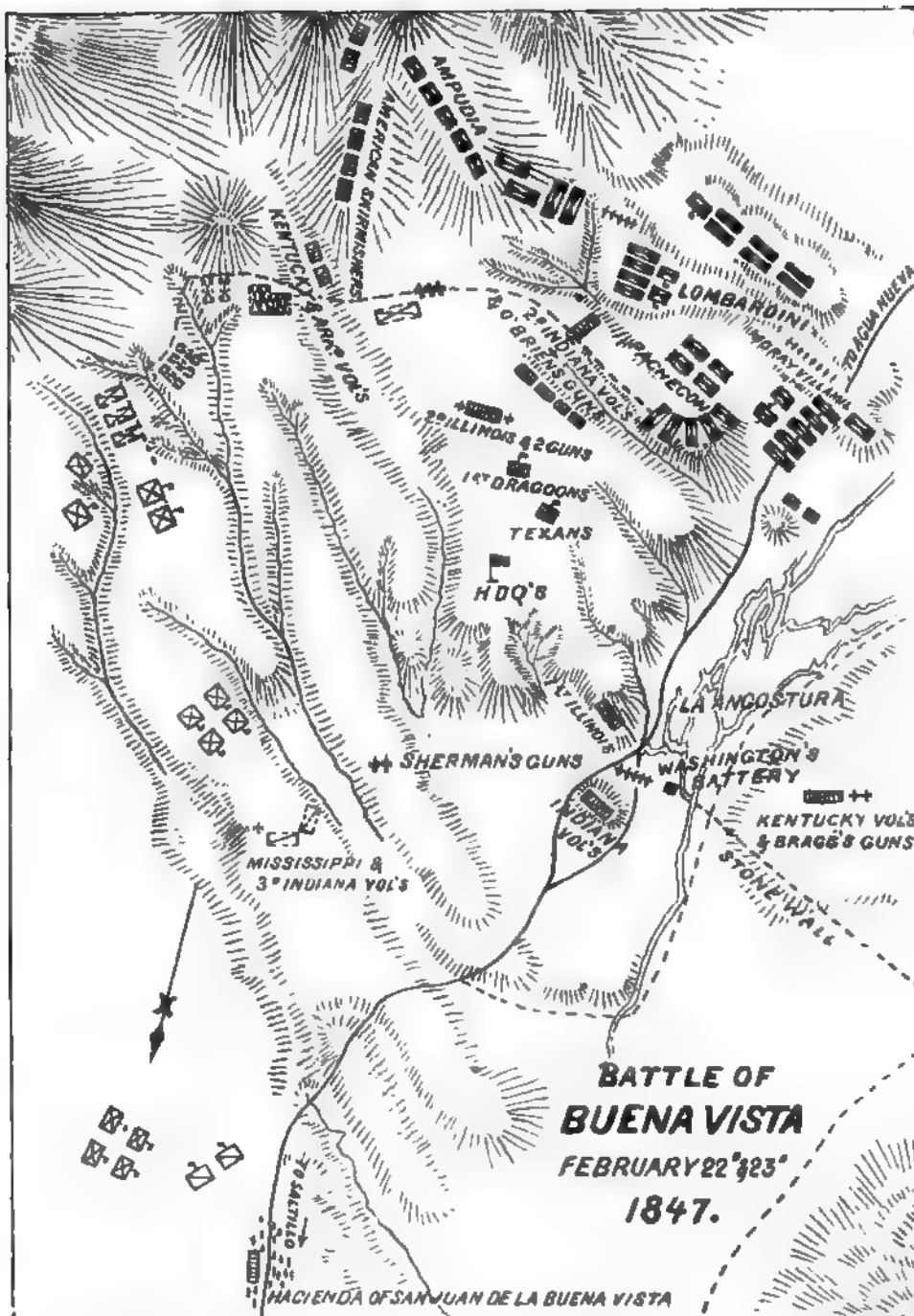


Chihuahua was still about four hundred miles distant, the intervening country sparsely inhabited, and the city itself a place of little importance.

This expensive expedition and laborious march was thus closed without benefit to the American cause, for these troops, with their supplies, might have joined General Taylor's army by the shorter and more convenient route chosen for the volunteers under General Butler. No stronger example can be found of entire devotion to the government, and self-sacrificing determination to do the best that could be done from day to day, with an inadequate force and undefined plans, than is seen in the course now pursued by General Taylor. Forced to create a base of supplies in the enemy's country, receiving vague, often contradictory instructions from Washington, and separated by weeks of time from even these unsatisfactory orders, he still pressed heroically forward; feeling his way, and planting himself, step by step, more firmly on the soil of the enemy's country.

Now, in the last weeks of the year, having been reinforced by General Butler, and later by General Wool's division, he was for the first time in a position to form plans and fix upon a definite object, but he was still hampered by instructions from Washington. In a letter to Colonel Hardin, dated, "Headquarters Army of Occupation or Invasion, Monterey, Mexico, November 28th, 1846," after speaking of the efficiency of the First Illinois Regiment, he adds, "By the last despatches from Washington I am directed to hold on to what we have acquired in the northern part of Mexico, but for the present not to proceed farther; I have, in consequence of said instructions, ordered General Wool, with his column, to occupy Parras, and General Worth, with a command, Saltillo, which may be considered the advanced posts of our army, and which the Mexican General, if he determines to act on the offensive, might operate against, in which case these commands might be united so as to resist successfully, until reinforced from here, where I propose keeping a respectable force for that object, and in the event of orders to push farther on, you would be in a position to be brought together or joined by other troops to act against San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas or Durango."


General Taylor's plans were suddenly destroyed; for, unexpectedly, in the face of the enemy, his army had been reduced to a fragment; not by the foe, but by a friend, his superior officer, acting under orders from the government. General Scott's misunderstanding with the administration having been adjusted during the autumn, he sailed in November for Mexico, to conduct an expe-





dition to the City of Mexico, by way of Vera Cruz. A large levy of new troops were sent out from the United States to meet him, and he was permitted to make a requisition on General Taylor for such of his troops as he required for the success of his enterprise. He had accordingly sent dispatches from New Orleans both to General Taylor and to General Butler, second in command, ordering them to forward immediately to Brazas Santiago, the whole of the regular force at their disposal, except a few companies of dragoons and of artillery. Taylor removed his headquarters to Agua Nueva, and concentrated at that place his depleted army.

The dispatches of General Scott to General Taylor, in which he made his requisition for these troops, fell into the hands of Santa Anna, through the capture and murder of their bearer, Lieutenant Richy, and his escort. It will be seen at once how the wary Santa Anna, who had been cautiously watching for a favorable opportunity to strike a meditated blow, would avail himself of this happy chance. He could have wished for no better opportunity. Scott, with his army scarcely organized, sailing towards the celebrated stronghold, San Juan D'Ulloa, which must hold him in check if it did not paralyze his advance; Taylor, stripped of his regulars, and with but a small force of raw troops. He, on the contrary, with thirty thousand men, veterans or new levies, which had been several months under discipline, and were commanded by many efficient Generals, leading men of military repute in the republic; and all under the constant stimulus of exciting harangues against the invaders of the sacred soil of Mexico; he remembered how a similar piece of strategy had secured him a great triumph in 1829, and actually terminated the war with Spain. Now one decisive blow, and Taylor would be annihilated, when he would have ample time to turn his attention to Scott, and wrest from him any advantage he had gained in his advance on the City of Mexico. Taylor had indeed been victorious on the Rio Grande, but Santa Anna was not there; mistakes had been made; the army had been used in detachments; the feelings of the versatile Mexican had not been sufficiently aroused; the soldiers of such a people, skillfully managed, could perform great deeds; they had proved it in the past. Concentration, rapidity of action, enthusiasm, discipline! these would be the instruments of his success. Such were the thoughts and plans that filled the mind of Santa Anna, and he had cause for his elation. Carefully and skillfully he drew up his orders for the advance of his whole army from San Luis Potosi, to precipitate it upon the little command of General Taylor.





And what of the American General; with what spirit did Taylor await the wily Mexicans? Did sanguine anticipations of success elate his mind, and stir his suppressed but active sensibilities? Unimpressible, practical and resolute, he indulged in few sentiments; but now a painful sense of injury, and an unusual anxiety lay behind the invincible determination which, like the armor of the ancient knight, clothed the spirit of this modern Saxon. Why had the government stripped him of so large a portion of his command while the enemy, in force, lay before him? What possible exigency could necessitate the withdrawal of the whole force of veterans who had stood by him at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Monterey? The Mexicans, although defeated, had fought obstinately and well at these places; the same veteran troops were now in the enemy's camp, and were reinforced by hosts of others. Were his faithful services not only to be ignored, but their reward to be bestowed on another, while he was left single-handed to contend with his powerful and watchful foe? Yet while pained by such thoughts he declares that, "he will carry out, in good faith, the views of the government, though he be sacrificed in the effort." Still he pondered long and anxiously, if not despondently, on the chances against him; and they were great. Santa Anna, whom he was to meet for the first time, had a world-wide fame for courage and for strategy; he was supported by Ampudia, who had already proved himself determined and crafty, since he had out-matched his victorious and straitforward foe at Monterey, when the terms of capitulation were to be drawn; by Arista, who, with his magnificent physique and strong personal influence, cemented many conflicting elements in the Mexican army; by Lombardini, his second in command, whom he greatly trusted; by Pacheco and Perez; by Mora y Villamil, whose scornful despatch to General Taylor some weeks earlier stung the old soldier into an indignant reply; and Ortega, whose division was to be held like a whip, with which Santa Anna would scourge the defeated Americans from the soil of Mexico, and Mifion, whose cavalry should drive the fugitives back to the lash of Ortega. He had, too, Torrejon, with his brilliant Lancers, the pride of the army. It was, indeed, a fine army: officers and men treading their own soil, inspired by sentiments of patriotism and religion, while their confidence in the skill and courage of their leader, Santa Anna, gave stability to their enthusiasm.

The little army awaiting them may be viewed at a glance. The Commander-in-Chief, resolute to obstinacy, careless of life in the heat of action, both for himself and his soldiers, yet tender hearted and self-

sacrificing; liable to make mistakes, yet cool, ready and invincible in his ability to escape from their effects. Wool, his second in command an experienced soldier, brave, ambitious and sanguine; Lane, an untried Brigadier-General of volunteers; besides these, a few Colonels, Captains and Lieutenants. As events proved, each of these minor officers became in turn a commander, and few Generals of the line could have excelled them in bravery, skill and discretion. Captains Bragg and Sherman and Lieutenant O'Brien, with their batteries, seemed ubiquitous during the whole contest, while Washington, with his few guns, held the left wing of the Mexican army in check from the beginning to the end of the battle. Colonel May's name became a synonym for dashing bravery; General Lane, wounded, but still fighting, led his heroic Indiana men on in a way that redeemed the ignominy their State suffered in one part of the field; Colonel Davis displayed ability that was considered an evidence of military genius; McKee and Clay, in one regiment, were graduates of West Point, and fulfilled the expectations that their training inspired; Colonels Marshall and Yell led their mounted men with great gallantry. Yell had left his seat in Congress for the dangers of the field. Bissell, a former member of Congress, was a man of fine attainments and excellent judgment; he had seconded with alacrity the system of discipline to which Colonel Churchill subjected the Illinois regiments during their long march from San Antonio. Hardin had stimulated the pride and interest with which Churchill regarded these regiments. Hardin's name had been urged at Washington for Brigadier-General of the Illinois volunteers, but his political antecedents prevented such an appointment. He had seen service in the Black Hawk war, and had been General-in-Chief of the Illinois militia for some years, at a time when it was not merely a nominal position. He had made a careful study of the science of military tactics, and the effect of the care bestowed upon the Illinois battalions will be seen when we witness the changing fortunes of this long battle. From nine o'clock on the morning of the 23d, these two Illinois regiments, or rather parts of them, assisted by the Second Kentucky Regiment, received and repelled the masses of the centre column of Santa Anna's army, commanded by himself in person; for seven long hours the contest unceasingly beat, like the waves of the ocean, on the rocky shore of these stout Western hearts, and not a soldier flinched or faltered. When the unfortunate Indiana battalions gave way, Illinois was there to cover the flying columns of her sister State; when the heavy infantry of Lombardini and Pacheco followed

the fugitives with the lusty insolence of victory, Illinois was there, and stood firm until surrounded by the overwhelming numbers of these united divisions. Then she calmly turned her back on the enemy, marched steadily onward, changed front in his very teeth, and received him as firmly as before. Then Kentucky came to the front, and assisted 'in that long continued struggle on the plateau, while Mississippi and Indiana were performing their brilliant achievements on the left. But we anticipate.

Agua Nueva, the most advanced post of General Taylor's line, where his army was now concentrated, lay on the border of a great desert, destitute of water, which the Mexican army must traverse on its way from San Luis Potosi; for this reason it was considered a desirable point at which to meet its advance, suffering as it must then be from fatigue and want of water.

On the 20th of February General Taylor sent Colonel May with a strong reconnoitring force to ascertain whether the enemy was approaching on his left by way of Hedionda, from which place he might pass on to Encantada in his rear. He also sent Captain McCulloch with a small party of Texan Rangers on the Road to Encarnacion, on the highway from San Luis Potosi, to seek the enemy in that direction. Through these reconnoitering parties, General Taylor learned that Santa Anna was at Encarnacion en route for Agua Nueva, and fearing a flank movement on the part of the enemy that would intercept his base of supplies at Saltillo, he decided to withdraw his army to Buena Vista. On the morning of the 21st, orders were accordingly issued for the evacuation of Agua Nueva and a retreat to Buena Vista. During the day this was accomplished. Colonel Yell, with his mounted men, was left to guard the stores until the last wagon train should leave. There was hurry and confusion among the teamsters in their eagerness to follow the retiring army. All night the work of loading and starting went on. Before daylight the American pickets were driven in by the Mexicans. Then the hacienda and the few remaining stores were fired, and lighted by the brilliant flames of the burning buildings the long train of wagons, loaded and empty, dashed off with furious speed toward Buena Vista. The Arkansas regiment remained until the stores were burned, and then they too galloped hastily after the flying teamsters. This confusion and hurry doubtless impressed the advancing columns of the Mexicans with the belief, upon which Santa Anna acted on the following day, that General Taylor's army was flying before his superior numbers. They were, on the contrary, quietly encamped at Buena Vista,

the whole army resting there, except the Mississippi regiment, Bragg's battery and May's dragoons, which formed the escort to General Taylor, who had hurried on to Saltillo to secure the defence of that city. Colonel Hardin's regiment had also been left at La Angostura, the approach to Buena Vista, with orders to defend it, if attacked, until reinforced, and to commence a line of earthworks in front of their position. At daylight Washington's battery was sent from Buena Vista to support the Illinois regiment, as General Wool received information during the night that Santa Anna's army had reached Agua Nueva.

The hacienda of Buena Vista lies in the picturesque valley of Encantada. This valley, commencing about six miles north of Agua Nueva at Encantada, extends fifteen miles to Saltillo. Buena Vista is six miles south of Saltillo. La Angostura (The Narrow Pass) is one mile and a half south of Buena Vista. The valley is scarcely a mile and a half wide at this point and does not anywhere exceed four miles in width; on either side arise lofty mountains, two or three thousand feet in height. A small stream flows northward on the west side of the valley; the road, which is the great highway from San Luis Potosi to Saltillo, runs along the eastern bank of the stream. The ground on the west side of the stream at La Angostura is cut into deep, intricate gullies, making it impassable for artillery, and even for infantry. The ground between the stream and the mountain on the east is elevated sixty or seventy feet above the road and is cut up in deep and wide ravines and narrow gorges. The plateaus between these ravines slope gradually upward to the base of the precipitous mountain. A high tongue of land on the east side of the Pass forms a part of the plateau upon which the American army was posted on the 22d and 23d. This plateau is indented from the road by three gorges, setting deeply in toward the base of the mountain; it is fronted on the south by a broad ravine, beyond which rises a mountain, overlooking the plateau from the south, and thus forms an angle with the mountains on the east; in the rear of the plateau is a long ravine, extending quite to the mountain. It was a battle-field with striking features. Santa Anna afterward called it a Thermopylæ. It was a strong position, but with one weak side, which Santa Anna was quick to see, and during the engagement the mountain heights, the gorges of the plateau, and the ravines in the front and rear, were used as often with advantage to the enemy as to the Americans.

Before leaving San Luis Potosi, Santa Anna issued a proclamation to his army, containing these sentences: "Companions in arms! the operations of the enemy require us to move more precipitately on their line,

and we are about to do it. To-day you commence your march through a thinly settled country, without supplies and without provisions. Be assured that very quickly you will be in possession of those of your enemy, and of his riches; with them all your wants will be abundantly supplied. The cause we sustain is holy; we are defending the homes of our forefathers and of our posterity, our honor, our holy religion, our wives, our children. Let our motto be to conquer or to die. Let us swear before the Eternal that we will not rest until we completely wipe away from our soil the vain-glorious foreigner who has dared to pollute it with his presence. No terms with him. Nothing for us but heroism and grandeur." In his order of march he says: "The Commander-in-Chief commands, that the baggage shall not be carried with the army, nor shall the soldiers take their knapsacks; they shall carry nothing but their cooking utensils. All officers and other persons shall march in their places, and when bivouacking, shall keep at the head of their respective commands."

Under these orders the army marched to Encarnacion; upon arriving there, Santa Anna's orders were still more rigid and explicit. From this place to Agua Nueva, where he expected to surprise Taylor, the road lay over a dreary waste, thirty-five miles in length, and destitute of water; and here his orders state, "that the different corps shall to-day (the 20th of February) receive from the commissary three days' rations; and that they require the necessary meat this afternoon for the first meal to-morrow, which the troops are directed to eat one hour before taking up the line of march; and the second will be taken in their haversacks, to be eaten in the night wherever they may halt. There will be no fires permitted, neither will signal be made by any military instrument of music, the movement at early daybreak on the morning of the 22d having to be made in the most profound silence. The troops will drink all the water they can before marching, and will take with them all they can possibly carry; they will economize the water all they can, for we shall encamp without water, and shall not arrive at it until the following day. The chiefs of corps will pay *much, much, much* attention to this last instruction."

It will be seen from these orders how certainly Santa Anna calculated upon surprising Taylor, and how carefully he considered the difficulties in his way. His army marched in the following order: The advance column, under Ampudia, was composed of four battalions of light infantry, a brigade of artillery, 16-pounders, and a regiment of engineers. His centre division, which followed, comprised the columns


of heavy infantry under Lombardini and Pacheco, with 12-pounders and 8-pounders and their park. The rear division was made up of the remaining artillery and the cavalry under Ortega, and a rear guard of Lancers under Andrade.

Thus, with all the reckless gayety and ardent enthusiasm of this great army hushed to silence, the long line of artillery, infantry and cavalry crept like an immense serpent of the tropical regions along the cactus-lined road of the dreary plain, making its stealthy way towards its intended victim. Halting at the Pass of Carnero, near Agua Nueva, it stretched forth its head through the mountain gap, like a veritable reptile, to sting ere it wrapped its coils around the object of its attack. The light infantry pushed on to Agua Nueva, and it was this advance that had driven in the American pickets.

Santa Anna believed the American army in flight, and, therefore, gave his already exhausted troops no time for rest or refreshment; only permitting them to drink and fill their canteens at Agua Nueva, he placed his cavalry in advance, and pushed rapidly forward. On the morning of the 22d, the Mexican cavalry came in sight of the Illinois regiment, strongly posted behind entrenchments on the high ground east of La Angostura, and, galloping on the road over the last elevation in their rear, they saw Washington's battery coming rapidly up. This was the first intimation the Mexicans had that their progress would be resisted. The squadrons of cavalry wheeled, drew out of the range of Washington's guns, and awaited the arrival of the Mexican artillery and infantry.

It is eight o'clock on the morning of the 22d of February, Washington's birthday. In the American camp at the hacienda of Buena Vista, since daybreak, there has been a scene of activity and hilarity. It might be supposed that soldiers and officers were preparing for a holiday parade, so exuberant are their spirits and so merry their jests. A few watchful ones, looking off from the broad plain of Buena Vista, and through the beautiful valley towards Encantada, see long drifting clouds of dust rising over the road beyond the pass. It is the enemy. Suddenly the "long roll" calls, To Arms!

Serious eagerness and suppressed impatience now supplant the joyousness of the earlier hours. Quickly the battalions are formed; the riflemen are in saddle; the flying artillery is in motion. Every band of music throws out on the fresh morning air the tones of the national hymn, Hail Columbia! Every flag flutters free above the firm hands of the standard bearers. The battle cry is passed from line to line. It is



"The memory of Washington." Cheer after cheer peals through the valley and floats among the mountain tops. In vehement hurrah the soldier gives inarticulate expression to his love of country and of home, his devotion to a high ideal of firmness and courage in the person of Washington, and to the fierce passion with which he regards the foe that he goes forth to meet. The infantry, artillery and cavalry now fall into column, and preceded by strains of inspiring music, march to the battle-field.


General Taylor, with his escort, has not returned from Saltillo. It devolves upon General Wool to assign the positions on the field. Washington's battery is placed on the road in the defile La Angostura, with two companies of the First Illinois Regiment; an epaulment is thrown up in their front, from the foot of the high ground and across the road to the perpendicular bank of the stream. Six companies of the First Illinois, Colonel Hardin commanding, are on the height above the defile. This is the key of the position. Slightly in the rear of Washington's battery, on an eminence, at the base of which the road divides, is stationed Colonel McKee's Second Kentucky Regiment. On the left of Hardin's regiment on the plateau, and near the head of the second gorge, is the Second Illinois (Colonel Bissell's) Regiment, and on its right, and somewhat in the rear, a company of dragoons and one of mounted Texans. Colonel Yell's mounted Arkansas men, two companies of Indiana riflemen and Colonel Marshall's mounted Kentuckians are on the extreme left, at the base of the mountain. The remaining troops, consisting of General Lane's Indiana brigade and Captain Sherman's battery (except two pieces, which are on the right and left of Bissell's regiment) are in reserve behind the long ravine in the rear of the plateau.

General Wool now rides along the lines, and addresses a few inspiring words to the soldiers, reminding them of the memories of the day; to these they respond with shouts of "Washington! Washington!" Now they silently await the attack of the Mexicans. Before it is made, General Taylor returns from Saltillo, and approves the disposition of the troops. He too moves along the line of battle, but no words of encouragement or expectation escape his lips. No need of such words from him; his soldiers know well that he never contemplates defeat in the face of the enemy, and that he is ready to perform all he asks of others. A glance of his keen, calm eye thrills the men as he passes them in review, and again loud huzzahs resound among the mountains.

At eleven o'clock a flag of truce is received by General Taylor with a message from General Santa Anna, advising Taylor to surrender at discretion, as he is surrounded by twenty thousand men, and must be inevitably cut the pieces. General Taylor "declines acceding to this request." While awaiting this answer, Santa Anna displays his army in imposing array. His infantry is disposed in two lines, one in rear of the other, on an eminence south of the plateau; it is supported by a battery of 16-pounders and a regiment of engineers on the right, and by a battery of 12 and 8-pounders and one howitzer on the left near the road. His cavalry is stationed on the right and left flanks, slightly in the rear; the battalion of Leon occupies an eminence on his left, and directly in front of Washington's battery. General Santa Anna, with the regiment of hussars, his personal guard, are in the rear of the centre. His large body of reserves and general park are on the road south of these positions.

Santa Anna soon perceived the weakness of the American left, and at one o'clock detached four battalions, under Ampudia, to seize and hold the slopes of the mountains on the east and south. The line of these mountains does not lie directly east and south, but near enough to warrant the use of these terms. While Ampudia's movement was in progress Santa Anna also ordered a demonstration to be made on his left, although he had already discovered the impassable nature of the ground in that direction. This had the effect he intended, for General Taylor immediately ordered Bragg's battery and McKee's Kentucky regiment across the stream, and they took a position to the right and front of Washington's battery.

At three o'clock the battle is opened by the Mexicans. They discharge the howitzer on their right, and Ampudia pushes vigorously up the mountain. Colonel Marshall, commanding on the American left, orders the riflemen of his own and Yell's regiments to dismount and deploy as skirmishers to meet this advance; they hastily ascend, and as volley after volley of musketry rolls down the side of the mountain, they are answered by the less frequent, but more deadly crack of the rifle. The riflemen conceal themselves behind rocks and shrubs to secure a surer aim, and they succeed, for the Mexican loss here is strangely out of proportion to the numbers engaged against them. Higher and higher climb the skirmishers; faster and faster ascend the close columns of Ampudia, hurrying up behind those already engaged, and striving to out-flank the Americans. Marshall, at the base of the mountain, sends a company to seize and hold a spur of the ascent that overlooks






the positions of both armies. They succeed, and he is reinforcing them, when an Aid from General Wool orders him to withdraw the advanced company. He obeys promptly, but reluctantly. General Wool then approaches and informs him that the order was incorrectly stated. Marshall sends an Indiana company to retake the knoll; they start; they are vigorously attacked; they waver and return, and this desirable position is lost.

Now the constant booming of the Mexican cannon mingles with the volleys of musketry from the hill, and their balls plunge harmlessly into the ground in front of the American troops on the plateau, who make no reply, but stand in determined silence, and watch anxiously the contest on the mountain, where the skirmishers stretch in a long line from the base to the summit. The struggle continues, each holding the ground first taken, until the approach of darkness, when the firing gradually abates. The Americans are withdrawn from the height with only four wounded, while they have disabled three hundred of the Mexicans.

General Taylor, satisfied that the enemy would not renew the attack before morning, again started for Saltillo to ensure its safety, and took with him Davis' regiment of riflemen and May's dragoons. Arrived at Saltillo, he arranged for its defense with the small force already there. Two companies from each of the Illinois regiments and Webster's battery; one piece of artillery and two companies of the Mississippi regiment were sent to defend the headquarters south of the city. Miñon, with his Mexicans, was hovering on the roads to the east, between the city and Buena Vista; he had orders from Santa Anna not to make an attack until the Americans were in retreat, when he was to fall upon and destroy them. The more effectually to accomplish this object, a force of one thousand mounted rancheros were sent by a mule path over the mountains towards the west to unite with Miñon when the hour should arrive to capture and annihilate the defeated Americans.

At La Angostura, on the battle-field, the moon shines clear and bright, throwing strong shadows in the valley, and showing brilliant lines of light across the plateau and on the elevations, where the Americans now rest in position and on their arms—rest as men do under the pressure of intense, but suppressed excitement. Profound silence hovers mysteriously in the black shadows; it steals ghost-like over the burnished arms of the waiting soldiers. The loud huzzahs, the strains of stirring

music, the boisterous jests are hushed, not by gloomy forebodings, but by serious thought and quiet resolution. These brave Americans are not hirelings, or mere machines in the hands of their commanders. They obey with alacrity in the routine of drill and in the moment of action; but when these conditions are relaxed, reflection, judgment and feeling awake, and they ponder on their surroundings, and upon the issues they promise. Now, for the first time, they have seen the enemy, not in the heat of battle (for the afternoon's work was but a skirmish) falling under their well-aimed instruments of death, but displayed in broad lines of glittering array, or moving in dense, heavy columns with firmness and vigor like their own; they have listened to the tramp and clang of their legion of horsemen; they have heard the thunder of those old Spanish guns, around whose brazen mouths are carved the curious devices of great kings; they realize how like a miniature army they, a few valiant Americans, are, as they lie on the hillside, when compared with the expanded hosts of the Mexicans. Thinking thus, they have no fear; they do not quail or tremble, but quietly and simply nerve themselves for the unequal contest, from which they are separated by a few hours of rest. In such a mood they hear suddenly breaking through the valley the tremendous Vivas! of the Mexicans, which follow a long speech delivered by Santa Anna to his soldiers, exciting them to desperation and revenge, "*Viva la Republica!*" "*Libertad o Muerte!*" "*Viva, viva Santana!*" Rising from amid these vociferous sounds, like the song of birds above the roaring cataract, swell the entrancing strains of the marvelous Mexican music. Mexico may be called the land of music and of flowers. Her women of all classes surround themselves constantly with the varied flora which bloom from the tropical feet of their snow-capped mountains, upward through their changing temperatures like the harmonious gradations of a musical scale, and her men abandon themselves to the enjoyment of music as only southern races can. The spirit of the old Aztec chants lend a wild and singular beauty to softer modern strains, as the Aztec blood has mingled strange characteristics with the old Castilian. Delicately and sweetly the tender strains float down the valley, and melt the stern hearts of the American soldiers. The source from whence they come is forgotten, and other sounds blend with the melodies they hear; the gentle voices of wives far away, the cooing of babes upon their breasts, the tender tones of sweethearts, the feeble words of aged mothers seem to fill the air; the Mexicans are no longer before them,



but white-winged angels seem beckoning them forward; tears slip unchecked over rugged cheeks, and simple prayers escape from bearded lips.

"Through every pulse the music stole,  
And held communion with the soul."

Silence and darkness, fit companions, fall together on the martial hosts that lie in the valley; a cradle of old Earth, in which she has hushed her fractious children to a momentary repose. But like a passionate mother her mood changes, and her children move uneasily in their slumbers. Heavy clouds veil the white-faced moon; sharp, cold winds, seldom felt there, sweep through the valley; short, beating showers of rain chill the unfed soldiers of Santa Anna, and call forth gruff tones from the disturbed ranks of the Americans. No fires are permitted, except high on the mountain, where the fierce cold endangers the lives of the men; these flare like beacons of danger, making the darkness and cold of the valley seem more intense.

At Buena Vista a squadron of dragoons have parked the camp and the supplies on the road outside of the hacienda, ready for any result the morrow may bring forth; they too drop on the ground, with their bridle reins on their arms, and seize an hour of rest. The last hours of the night, and the last night of many noble lives creep on with their inevitable destiny.

On the battle field there is one exception to the general repose. On the height where Hardin's regiment is posted there is silence and busy thought, but no sleep and few idle hands. All night long both officers and men of this regiment and the Third Indiana work on the entrenchments in front of their position and of Washington's battery, strengthening and enlarging them.


Why were not other hands busy on the plateau on this portentous night? Why were not earthworks raised along the line of the ravine fronting the plateau? Why was not a battery placed at the base of the mountain and protected as that of Washington was? Having seen the design of the enemy to strike this weak point, why was all left to chance? It may be that such an effort would have drawn the fire of the enemy during the night, but if so, the Americans were in better condition to endure than the Mexicans to persevere in such a struggle. The previous night might have been employed in this way, or indeed the preceding weeks, as this was considered by the two Generals in command to be a suitable point for defence. At New Orleans nearly

three thousand British were slain, and but fourteen Americans. Why? Because the last were behind hastily constructed earthworks. Here, at Angostura, the line to be defended was short, and the time ample for such constructions as would have saved many valuable lives.

At two o'clock the American pickets were driven in, and before daylight Santa Anna had reinforced Ampudia on the mountain side with two thousand men from Lombardini's division. Stealthily, in the darkness that precedes the dawn, they climbed higher and higher, forward and forward, in their renewed attempts to outflank the American stronghold. At daylight Marshall threw out his skirmishers again, having withdrawn them on the previous evening by General Wool's orders. Immediately the fight began on the mountain, and General Wool, seeing how strong the Mexicans were there, detached two rifle companies of Bissell's regiment, two companies of Indiana riflemen, and a Texan company under command of Major Trail, to strengthen Colonel Marshall. He also ordered three pieces of Washington's battery under Lieutenant O'Brien, to a position on the left and front of the plateau, and General Lane was directed to bring forward the Second Indiana Regiment to support this battery. The contest grew more and more fierce on the mountain; Marshall, in his report of the battle, says of the riflemen under Trail who received the shock of Ampudia's heavy reinforcements: "Our men stood firm as the rocks of the mountain; they were but a handful compared with the enemy, but they yielded not an inch of ground for at least two hours, during which they *kept their front clear* within rifle-shot, though the enemy was enabled to turn their left flank, and also to push a regiment down the mountain on their right, with a view of cutting them off from the main army. At this moment, when matters were reaching extremes with my riflemen, I saw (on the plateau) a regiment of our men retreating. I had the signal sounded to recall my men."

While this was in progress on the mountain, O'Brien opened his guns on the Mexican infantry who were crossing the head of the front ravine to reinforce Ampudia. O'Brien's fire was so effective as to check this movement, and to elicit cheers from the Americans who could see the shrapnel tearing down the Mexican ranks at every flash of the well-served guns. The enemy's cannon thundered back spitefully their harmless replies. All this, occupying the earliest hours of the day, was but a prelude to the grand movement contemplated by Santa Anna.

It is nine o'clock. The Mexican General has formed his army in three great columns of attack. The first column, under General Mora



y Villamil, composed of a number of the finest regiments of the army, is ordered to move down the road and carry the La Angostura pass. A battery of eight guns has been brought forward and placed on the eminence occupied by the battalion of Leon to assist in this movement. The second column comprises Lombardini's and Pacheco's heavy infantry, which is to advance in two divisions; Lombardini's over the base of the southern hill and around the head of the front ravine to gain the plateau, while Pacheco is to push up through the ravine, and unite with Lombardini at its head, whence they are to attack in force the left of the American centre. These two divisions have each a strong supporting force of cavalry. The third column, Ampudia's light infantry, already engaged, is being strongly reinforced by regiments, who climb the mountain out of reach of O'Brien's guns. The reserves, under Ortega, remain in the rear on the road.

Let us take a birds-eye view of this well projected force, and look, also, at the Americans who will resist these heavy columns marching against their centre, the left of their centre and their left wing. Santa Anna contemptuously ignores their right wing. What American divisions do we find, and where are they? Their left wing? It is composed of a few skirmishers on the mountain. The left of their centre? It comprises three guns from Washington's battery, and General Lane's Indiana men, four hundred of them (according to his official report), on the left and front of the plateau. Their centre? Here, indeed, where the position is strongest, in and near the Pass, we find the largest body of troops. Washington's Battery, Hardin's and Bissell's regiments, and Colonel Lane's Third Indiana Regiment. On the right, where an attack is impracticable and will not be attempted, we see McKee's Kentuckians and Bragg's Battery. Davis' Mississippians and May's dragoons, with the Commander-in-Chief, have not arrived from Saltillo.

Santa Anna's columns are in motion. Villamil presses down the road toward Angostura, while the great battery on his right throws its projectiles threateningly in his advance. Washington's gunners, taking aim, wait patiently until the enemy is in range, when the roar of their guns is heard in return; the smoke conceals the foe; it lifts and whole ranks are seen prostrate. Their places are quickly filled, and again there is a steady advance to attack the battery and its supporting force; again they are repulsed, and we leave them still throwing themselves with splendid courage against the pitiless fire of Washington's guns.

Pacheco's men are also seen coming up the deep ravine. Colonel Churchill, ever watchful, warns General Lane that he must prepare to

meet a heavy force. Lane orders O'Brien's guns and his own battalions to advance. The foe press forward, four thousand strong, and pour a tremendous fire into the untried Indiana men; they meet it bravely, and fire steadily in return. O'Brien, skillfully as before, directs his pieces on the advancing front. The Indiana regiment pours volley after volley into the now slowly rising column, and again O'Brien tears away their front, destroying utterly the corps of Guanajuato; their places are not vacant, for the enemy press onward; the Indiana troops still standing firm, are enfiladed by a destructive flank fire from the Mexican battery south of the field. To save them from this fire, and because the enemy are momentarily checked by the battery, General Lane orders an advance. O'Brien immediately moves forward and opens his fire, but the infantry by some mistake in the order believe it to be "*cease firing and retreat.*" Attempting this under so murderous a fire, they become panic stricken, all order is lost; they fly in hopeless confusion, bearing with them the riflemen of Marshall, who have just been recalled from the mountain. The latter make repeated stands, and finally rally in the great ravine at the rear of the field. In vain the superior officers urge appeals and entreaties upon the stampeding Second Indiana Regiment; nothing can arrest their flight. O'Brien, left without a support, still rakes the enemy unmercifully, charging his guns with two canisters at a time, and holding stoutly to his position. The great numbers pressing onward endanger the loss of his guns. Finding that no assistance is coming, he hastily limbers up, and with two of his guns retires reluctantly from the position he vainly tried to hold. He is compelled to leave one gun in the hands of the enemy, every man and horse belonging to it being either killed or disabled. The captured gun is borne off amid shouts of victory, and the exultant foe rush unresisted upon the plateau. At this moment too Lombardini has brought his division around by its longer route, and it is united with Pacheco's victorious troops. Ampudia's men come pouring like a torrent down the mountain and join in hot pursuit of the flying Americans. The gallant Captain Lincoln, striving by every means at his command to arrest the frightened Indiana troops, falls mortally wounded, and the last obstacle is swept from the front and left. The Mexican cavalry rush onward along the base of the mountain, and Santa Anna compels tremendous exertions to be made to get a battery of 24 and 18-pounders established on the plateau, while the seemingly irresistible mass of infantry dash forward with the insolence of an assured victory. But standing firm near the centre of the plateau, and ready to receive them, is Bis-

sell's Second Illinois Regiment. Churchill passes swiftly along their line and exclaims, "Brave Illinoisians, you have not marched so far to be defeated!" and Bissell calls to them, "Be firm, reserve your fire!" They receive repeated volleys from the enemy's muskets before they fire a shot; then deliberately and well-directed runs the line of fire along their front. Again and again this sheet of flame drives back the impetuous foe. Still this one regiment is but a breakwater, around which the surging waves now pour, and Bissell calmly orders, "Cease firing, and retreat." Steadily they turn, and firmly march, Churchill walking his horse slowly before them, until they gain the desired position. Then Bissell speaks. They face the enemy, and again that deadly sheet of flame runs along their line, withering the foe as lightning blasts the foliage of the forest. Thomas and French, each with a gun from Sherman's battery, send their plunging fire into the closely pressing Mexicans, and Lieutenant French falls seriously wounded; still the foe press on.

The troops standing idle on the right are ordered up, and


"Bragg comes thundering to the front to breast the adverse war."

He unlimbers on the left of Bissell's men, and begins his work, driving the enemy at every discharge of his guns. McKee's Kentuckians too are hurrying up the hill at double-quick in line of battle, eager for the fight; but passing all comes Hardin with his regiment, just released from Washington's support, where the enemy is repulsed. Coming into action on the right of the Second Illinois, Hardin's men are exposed to a heavy fire on the right flank from a brigade of Mexicans, who are crossing the head of the second gorge. Hardin wheels his regiment, and leading, lifts his sword and shouts, "*Charge bayonets! Remember Illinois!*" Brave men follow; they hurl the enemy back into the gorge, then up on the other side and across the tongue of land into the last gorge, killing and wounding many; they capture two hundred prisoners and a flag of the "Active Batteries of San Luis Potosi." This is one of the most brilliant feats of a day made glorious by its minutes, each one filled with deeds of heroism. Colonel Hardin sends his prisoners to the rear, and finding himself separated from the other regiments, moves across the plateau, when Captain Bragg asks him to support his battery. This is pouring a heavy fire into the enemy's cavalry, which is struggling to get around the American left. Bragg drives them back, and Hardin presses them closely; they give way. Bragg limbers up and takes an advanced position; Hardin charges into

the supporting infantry, and they are clearing a pathway before them, when a Mexican light battery is brought within canister range, and they must again retire.

Now Taylor arrives from Saltillo, and grasps the helm to guide the ship so nearly wrecked a moment since. He takes his stand with May's dragoons on the plateau behind his line of battle, which has swung around until it faces the eastern mountain. It was at right angles with it in the beginning of the fight. But the line grows strong and firm. Sherman and Thomas, O'Brien and Bragg, the regiments of infantry alternating with the batteries, steadily hold in check column after column of heavy infantry, with which they are assaulted under cover of the 12 and 18-pounder battery Santa Anna has succeeded in fixing on the plateau at the base of the mountain. But passing rapidly behind the Mexican front of infantry press the legions of their lancers, hurrying on for a grand assault upon the extreme left of Taylor's army, where Ampudia still follows the fugitives. But as Illinois stood to stem the current in the front, so now Mississippi stands in the rear to dash it back. Davis, coming from Saltillo with Taylor, has allowed his men to stop and fill their canteens at Buena Vista, but hearing the tumult of the conflict, they hurry along the road, and approaching the field, they meet the panic stricken Indiana troops, still running towards Buena Vista. Davis rides among them, and exclaims, "Stay, and save the honor of your State! My men shall be a wall, behind which you can form in safety." His soldiers offer their canteens to all who will return; but fear and despair have seized them. Colonel Bowles, their commander, his eyes streaming with tears, grasps a musket, and calling upon them to come with him, joins the Mississippians as a private; a few rally around him, and as if the honor of their brave young State dwelt in each soul they fight with desperate valor to the close of this awful day.

Davis now sees Ampudia's light infantry in fine array marching down a broad slope, between two ravines, to gain the coveted road. An arm of the great ravine lies between them and his regiment. He throws his men in line of battle, and advances at double-quick, and as they near the small ravine he orders, "*Halt, and fire!*" then, "*Fire advancing!*" That fire is deadly; the enemy is checked. This does not satisfy the Mississippians. They start again, dash down the ravine, are lost to view, now rise in even waves along its farther crest; again the order, "*Fire advancing!*" The enemy are routed; they fall back hopelessly on their reserves.






Exultant shouts ring out amid the storm. Six thousand Mexicans are huddled together like sheep in a tempest separated from their shepherd. The Americans need make but one more effort, and the field is won.

But Santa Anna, wiley and quick now lays his plan and acts. What cares he for reasons; the case is desperate. He does not wait to frame a reason for a FLAG OF TRUCE, but sends it meteor-like across the stormy clouds of that dark field. The shadow of his *black flag*, even now waving high, should have turned this one gray in Taylor's eyes; but the old soldier's honest vision sees all things in its own white light. He receives the flag. His order runs along the line, "*Cease firing!*" But the rumbling of the Spanish guns still shakes the air. The captains of artillery know their leader, Santa Anna, too well to obey the signal of his white flag. Let an officer who was present tell the story: "Four Mexican officers, at their utmost speed, came galloping towards us. Colonel McKee, Clay, Bissell and myself advanced some sixty yards to meet them. It was with great difficulty we could restrain our men from firing upon them, as they believed it was a *ruse*. They asked for General Taylor, and Colonel Clay accompanied the Aid of General Santa Anna to General Taylor. While the Aid was delivering his message to the General, I asked one of them who appeared highest in rank, 'What is the object of your mission?' He answered in Spanish, and as we did not appear to understand him, repeated in French that 'General Santa Anna wishes to know what General Taylor wants?' He said it with such an air of unconcern that we all broke into a loud laugh." General Taylor, however, received the message seriously, and sent General Wool to confer with Santa Anna.

Wool started on his mission, but finding that the Mexicans did not cease their fire, he returned without meeting Santa Anna, and the battle was renewed on both sides; not, however, until incalculable mischief had been done to the Americans, whose advantages so hardly won during the last few hours were thus sacrificed. From the right wing of the Mexican army a flag had also been sent and Captain Crittenden, General Taylor's Aid, replied to it with a white flag from the American lines; the treachery of the foe was now consummated, for as Crittenden entered the surging, disorderly mass of Mexicans who composed their disjointed wing, they pressed rapidly on towards their main army, bearing him and the flag with them. Bragg had these troops under his guns, when, as he says in his official report, "a white flag rapidly passed me and I

*ceased my fire; the enemy seized the opportunity, availed themselves of the protection of our flag of truce, and drew off beyond the range of our guns."*

The moment for complete victory was gone forever. The right wing of Santa Anna's army united with the centre, and the whole force continued its retreat along the base of the mountain on the plateau. General Taylor was again deceived, for he believed this to be a genuine flight, which could be made precipitate; he determined to seize the battery which covered the retreat. Accordingly, Captain Chilton dashed up to Colonel Hardin, who was near Bragg's battery, and said, "Colonel, you are wanted for a charge; hurry, or you will be too late!" "Then," writes an officer who was present, "the gallant Hardin, the soul of bravery, advanced to charge the enemy's cannon, under cover of which he was retreating." The American batteries open their line for the brave Illinoisians to rush through at a run. Again the stentorian voice of Hardin rings out, exclaiming: "*We will take that battery! Charge bayonets! Remember Illinois!*" as he leads the way. Quickly after McKee and Clay follow; then, a little later, Bissell and his men; nearly all the light troops are now in close pursuit of the retreating foe; he flies before them; his curses and execrations, mingled with the shouts of the pursuers, fill the air; and thus leading the charge, Hardin, McKee and Clay, kinsmen and gallant gentlemen, dash on to their fate! No eye behind them to see their danger, and draw them from the fatal gorge! no General to see the hosts of the enemy rising on their flank from out of the great ravine! Where was General Taylor, the Commander-in-Chief? Where was General Wool, the second in command? Where was the brave and thoughtful Churchill? There is no reply. Read the official reports of the battle, that of Taylor, of Wool, of Lane, of every Colonel and Captain, and even Lieutenant who had charge of a detachment of troops. But one solitary sentence fills this fateful gap in that eventful day. General Taylor says, "The enemy seemed to confine his efforts to the protection of his batteries, and *I had left the plateau for a moment* when I was recalled by a heavy volley of musketry fire." This is all we are told, "*I had left the plateau for a moment.*" At a critical moment an important order is given which must seriously affect the fortunes of the day, yet no superior officer watches its result. General Wool in his report ignores the whole movement, and writes as if O'Brien's guns had been captured before the infantry was destroyed in this disastrous movement. The whereabouts of the two Generals for *many* minutes, is a mere matter of surmise.



Santa Anna's *ruse* did not end with the recovery of his broken column, nor did he "confine his operations to the defense of his batteries." He was busy concentrating the entire remains of the force which had been engaged during the day, and uniting it with his large body of reserves, fresh and eager, for one final effort to recover the losses of the afternoon. He says, in his official report, "I directed Perez and Pacheco (Lombardini was wounded) to be prepared for an extreme struggle; I informed Villamil of my disposition." He put the whole force under Perez, that it might come down, like a sledge hammer, in single powerful strokes; he directed these blows in person.

With keen, shrewd glance Santa Anna surveys the field; he sees the impetuous Illinois men nearing his great battery, the Kentuckians following closely, and, not far distant, Bissell's regiment; O'Brien's guns are far behind, and one gun with Thomas is still more distant; not another soldier, not a general on the field.

A terrific fire was immediately opened on the right flank of Hardin's regiment, who was at the same moment attacked violently in front; the regiment changed its charge to a destructive fire, and vigorously resisted this attack; then McKee and Bissell, with their troops, hurried forward to assist, and the three united regiments charged into the Mexican ranks, "and," says an officer of Bissell's regiment, "again our spirits rose; the enemy appeared thoroughly routed; Hardin's regiment and McKee's Kentuckians were foremost; and while the Mexican regiments were flying before us, suddenly, as if by magic, they rallied and returned upon us, led by Santa Anna in person. They came in myriads, and for a while the carnage was dreadful; we were but a handful to oppose the mass that was hurled upon us, and could as easily have resisted an avalanche of thunderbolts." Hardin said sternly to those near him, "We will have to go," and a moment after an *Aid-de-Camp* from General Taylor came with an order to retreat. They retired, fighting as men fight for life—

Knew well the watchword of the day  
Was, 'Victory or death!'

In their retreat they reached the edge of the second gorge, the banks were precipitous, rocky and covered with loose, pebbly stones; it was narrow and more than fifty feet in depth, coming to a sharp angle at the bottom. Once in this pit, there was no chance to load and fire, but the soldiers clubbed their muskets and kept up the desperate struggle as they could. The Mexicans had enveloped the crest of the gorge,


and were pouring down its sides in all directions; and, writes one who was there, 'on our side all was hushed into deadly silence, except the voice of Hardin; wounded in the thigh he had fallen, but was endeavoring to draw his pistol, and still he shouted to his men, '*Remember Illinois!*' These tones rang in my ears for many days and nights afterwards, '*Remember Illinois! Remember Illinois!*'"

McKee was killed first and quickly. Clay, like Hardin, was wounded in the leg, and had fallen, when a dozen lancers rushed upon him, and pierced him with as many wounds. Hardin succeeded in firing his pistol, and a Mexican fell under the shot, but another bullet pierced him in the neck, and five lance wounds were found in his body. Here also fell Captains Zabriskie and Willis, eight Lieutenants and many men.

For a time the entire destruction of the regiments seemed inevitable, for a corps of Mexican cavalry charged down the road towards Angostura, and were closing the opening of the gorge upon the road, the last avenue of escape, but Washington's guns were opened on them with the same vigor and precision of aim that had marked his repulse of the first column in the morning, and with the same effect. The Mexican troops were driven back, and the remnants of the slaughtered regiments came running down the road towards the Pass.

In the meantime the last great struggle was in progress on the plateau. General Taylor's highest and greatest qualities were now brought into action, and the crafty Santa Anna shrunk into insignificance before the sturdy American

When the infantry had been overwhelmed, O'Brien, left alone with his guns, saw that if he retreated to save them, the enemy, now pressing rapidly toward the height above the Pass, would carry the plateau and reach that point before assistance arrived. He already heard the rumbling of Bragg's and Sherman's batteries approaching on the left, and, says Captain Carleton, "His decision under the circumstances was stamped with more of heroism than any other one act of the war. *He elected to lose his guns!*" and he continues: "Still onward came the Mexicans. O'Brien's men were fast falling around him, he was himself wounded; already two horses had been killed under him, and a third was bleeding. He looked back and saw that the troops in his rear were now nearly up, and encouraged his handful of men to continue their exertions. Still the Mexicans came on, and were now almost up to the guns, which were pouring into them canisters on canisters of musket shot. O'Brien looked back once more, and, thank God! Bragg's



living Americans to appeal for aid ; but many piteous cries came from the suffering Mexicans, and many a strong hand trembled that was compassionately stretched across the body of a comrade to succor a living foe.

From Encantada General Taylor sent Major Bliss, with an escort of dragoons, to negotiate with Santa Anna for an exchange of prisoners; about three hundred had been taken. At Agua Nueva this was effected, and on the 26th of February the exchange was made. The Mexicans had lost two thousand in killed and wounded.

At Buena Vista and La Angostura the Americans spent all of the 24th and 25th of February in collecting and burying the dead.

" Full many a Northern breath has swept  
O'er Angostura's plain—  
And long the pitying sky has wept  
Above its mouldering slain.  
The raven's scream, or eagle's flight,  
Or shepherd's pensive lay,  
Alone awake each sullen height  
That frowned on that dread fray.

" The muffled drum's sad roll has beat  
The soldier's last tattoo !  
No more in life's parade will meet  
That brave and fallen few.  
On Fame's eternal camping ground  
Their silent tents are spread,  
And Glory guards with solemn round  
The Bivouac of the dead."

ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH

eral Miñon, with his strong force of cavalry had approached the road near Saltillo, between that place and Buena Vista, and succeeded in capturing a number of stragglers from the field. Lieutenant Donaldson, with one piece of artillery and one company of the Second Illinois Regiment, advanced from the city to meet Miñon. Donaldson was joined by Lieutenant Shrover with a howitzer, and together they boldly attacked the cavalry, drove them three miles on the road, and finally pushed them so severely as to compel a rapid retreat from the valley, and thus communication was reestablished with the battle-field.

At La Angostura, as the sun sank behind the mountains, the scattering fire of artillery on both sides gradually subsided. The two armies stood on almost the same ground they had respectively occupied on the previous night. They were still regarding each other sternly, face to face. On the American side preparations were made to resist, if an attack should be attempted by the Mexicans during the night. A close line of sentinels was stretched along the front, the few fresh companies at Saltillo were brought forward, and the wounded were sent back to the city in wagons. The troops on the field were supplied with food and water without moving from the positions.

The hours of the cold bleak night crept slowly over the American army, shivering and sorrowing; the losses they had sustained were those of friends and brothers, and victory was not yet assured.

At Buena Vista General Taylor and General Wool occupied the same tent. Wool was employed all night in issuing orders and making preparations for the ensuing day. At early dawn, with an Aid-de-Camp, he rode out to reconnoitre the position of the Mexicans, and only found the prostrate army of the dead and dying. He galloped hastily back and announced the flight of the enemy. "Then it was that a sound went along the lines ever to be remembered. It was but a single cry at first, then a murmur which rose and swelled on the ear like the voice of a trumpet, then a prolonged and thrilling shout: '*Victory! Victory! Victory! The enemy has fled! The field is ours!*'"

General Taylor and General Wool now, with an escort, made a careful reconnoissance as far as Encantada. "The scene through which they passed was dreadful. All the Americans who had fallen were stripped of their clothing, and gashed with wounds evidently inflicted after death; the Mexicans lay just as they had fallen. The plateau was covered with the dead, and the gorges were filled with them, the ground reeking with blood."

As Taylor's soldiers passed cautiously among them, there were no

ness gave the highest Testimony of his Merit. The Inhabitants within the British Lines were equally affected with the Army; whilst their joint Indignation manifestly showed the general sense of the Injustice and Inhumanity with which that amiable and gallant Officer was treated by the Rebels. Those who were so much interested in his Behalf, are probably desirous of seeing his Case properly stated. This is done in the following Papers.

"The Letters that were written during the Transactions, which proved so fatal to Major Andre, will best elucidate his Views and Conduct. Those Letters accordingly are here produced with other Papers subservient to the same Purpose. The several Events, as they rose, are also connected in a regular Series, and Facts are fairly represented. Justice to Major Andre's Memory required that these Matters should be placed in a true Light, especially as the Account of his Case and Trial, lately published by the Rebels (which is very imperfect and partial), evidently tends to tarnish his Character, as well as to justify, or at least to palliate, their barbarous Treatment of him. To relate Truth is in this, as in many other Cases, the same as to refute Falsehood and Misrepresentation.


"The Remarks that are subjoined were naturally suggested by the several Facts; they throw Light upon the Subject, and the intelligent Reader will perceive that they, and the conclusions which accompany them, are fairly deducible from the Premises alluded to in each instance.

New York, Nov. 28, 1780.

Taking for granted that the number of persons who have any knowledge of this book is extremely limited, it may gratify curiosity to see how those who regarded the conduct of Washington as unjustifiable, reasoned. A most strenuous effort is made to prove that André was not a spy, because he held passports under the signature of Major-General Arnold, who, at the time he gave them, was the recognized commanding officer of the Military Department. In reply to the assertion that Major André had no flag of truce flying when he went ashore, it is urged that the boat indeed might not have had a white flag displayed, but the reason was that they went in the night, when a white flag could not be seen, and was therefore useless. The following questions are asked: Did not General Arnold command there at the time? While he was possessed of his command, had he not a right to issue his orders? Were not his orders and authority a just warrant and protection for Major André? And did they not exclude every idea of a spy? The writer declares that there was not only much precipitancy in the execution of André, but "a vein of duplicity runs through the whole of the rebel proceedings." General Green had declared at the Conference at Dobb's Ferry, "that the army must be satisfied by seeing

spies executed." The reply is: "It appears from the testimony of several rebel officers, who were present at the execution, and of other spectators, that the rebel army in general was much disgusted and distressed at putting Major André to death. Many of the rebel soldiers melted into tears." It is charged against General Washington that he prejudged the case, and called upon his officers, before any military court had examined into it, to report the punishment that ought to be inflicted. Wishing, however, to have others share with him the odium connected with the execution of André, for form's sake, he called a council of general officers, who were "willing instruments for his purpose." "Some people," says the writer, "in the transports of rage or disappointment, or in some emergency, will do what they would shudder at in the calm hour of reflection; but commend me to the man who, with affected moderation, steady tranquility, and cool deliberation, can do what no rage, however violent, no emergency, however trying, can justify." He asserts "that General Washington should be considered as the Murderer of Major André. The execution has fixed an indelible stain on his character—a stain which no time can efface. The reflection that he doomed this innocent and worthy gentleman to death, merely to serve the views of ambition and policy, must embitter all his future enjoyments." He then proceeds to show that the execution of André, apparently by the authority of one man, was a part of an avowed policy to concentrate more power in the hands of a single individual. "Who can, with more propriety, or greater probability of success, look up for an investiture in that authority, power or administration, whether under the name of King, Protector or Dictator, than General Washington himself? In these times, however, when so many are shaken in their attachment to Congress by the pressure of calamities, that are still increasing, and by the prospect of inevitable ruin and slavery to America on the rebel plan; it was necessary for General Washington to give the Congress, and the determined rebels out of Congress, on whom he more depends, the fullest proof of his firm adherence to their cause. It might also be convenient to create a further necessity for the office of King or Dictator by pushing matters to greater extremities. Now what can be conceived more happily adapted to all these purposes than the putting Major Andre, Adjutant General of the British Army, to death?"

This is a specimen of the style of arguments to which those who condemned the execution of André resorted. In the light of history it is seen how specious was the reasoning. Some of the ablest English





jurists, like Romilly, have decided that by the laws of war, General Washington was fully justified in the step which he took; André was a spy who knew that Arnold was a traitor, and treated with him as such. He ran the great risk of losing his life when he set forth on the dangerous errand which he undertook. Success would have been followed by promotion and a rich pecuniary reward. He was not successful, and he paid the forfeit, which he had just reason to believe would be sure to follow failure. We mourn the death of an amiable British officer, who fell while in the discharge of what he conceived to be his duty, but we find no stain on the character of General Washington.

J. C. STOCKBRIDGE

NOTE.—The fact mentioned by Mr. Stockbridge that the copy of this pamphlet is evidently a *proof* copy, taken in connection with the absence of any notice or advertisement of it by Rivington in his Royal Gazette, as was his invariable rule with all publications printed by him during the war, leads to the natural supposition that it was suppressed by Sir Henry Clinton.

It contains the correspondence occasioned by the conference between Clinton's commissioner, General Robertson, and Washington's representative, General Greene, at Dobbs' Ferry, which was printed by Sargent in his *Life of André* from the original manuscript narrative of Sir Henry Clinton, in the State Paper Office, London, as yet unpublished, as well as the text of the letter of Greene to Robertson, written on the morning of the execution, which has not appeared elsewhere in full.

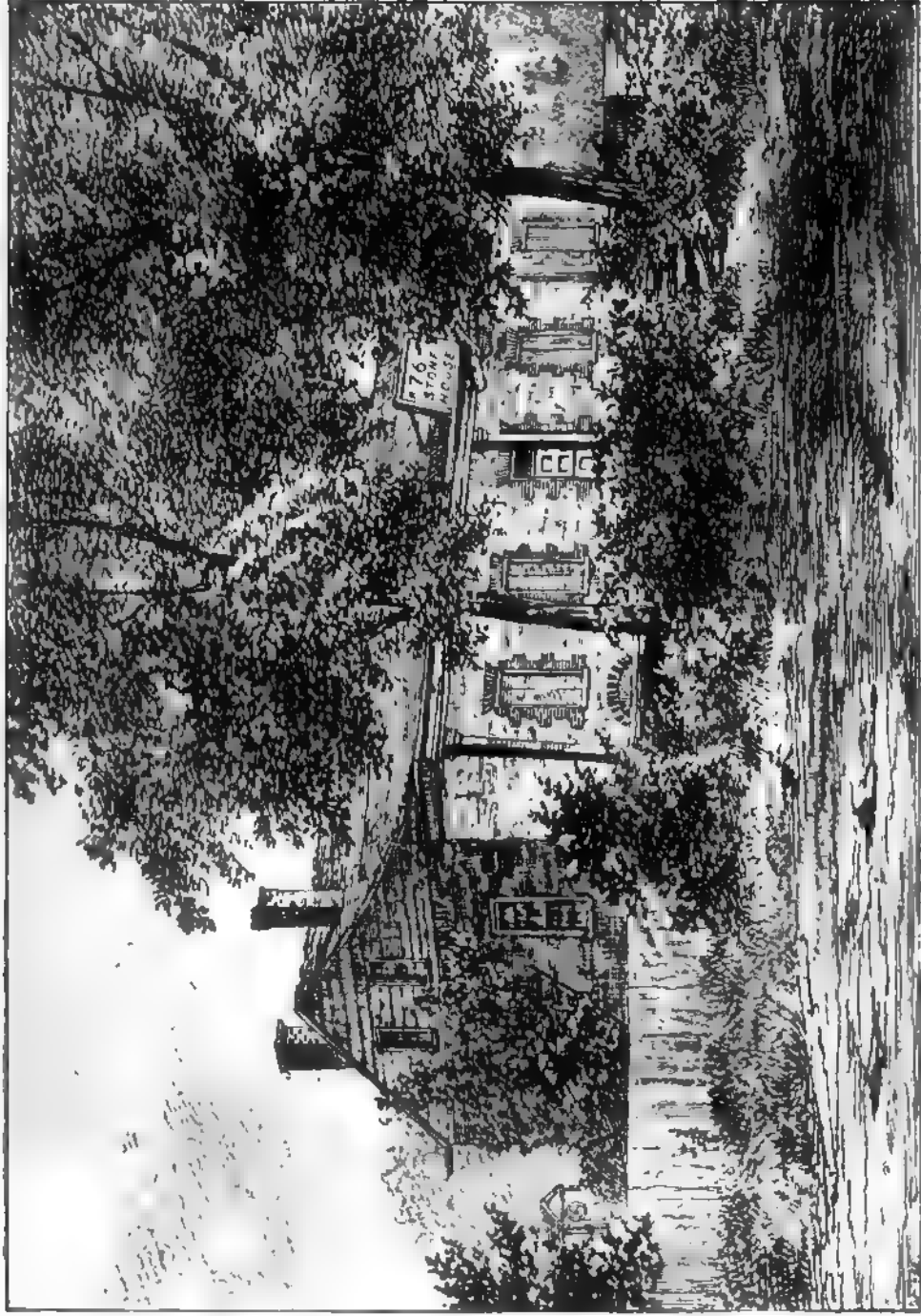
It seems probable, therefore, as Clinton permitted no mention of the *execution* of André to be made in the New York papers, and no other notice than his general orders of the 8th, read to the army, which only announce the *death* of André, that he was unwilling to have the pamphlet appear, but whether from personal or public reasons it is difficult to decide. Was he unwilling to have the publication of his own report, which he sent to the Government, with all the attending documents, anticipated by this pamphlet, containing the papers? or was he unwilling to permit such severe aspersions upon the motives of Washington to be printed under his sanction? His own report or narrative has not as yet been printed; a copy from the British archives is in the possession of the writer.

On the 1st of November, 1780, Rivington advertised the publication that day, at eleven o'clock (price two shillings), of "Proceedings of a Board of Rebel Officers, held by order of his Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States of America, respecting Major John André, Adjutant General of the British Army, September 29, 1780." On the 8th he reprinted from the Pennsylvania Gazette of the 25th October the "Letter from a gentleman at Camp to his friend in Philadelphia," which was generally and justly attributed at the time to Colonel Hamilton, appending to it the following foot note: "*The foregoing is a manufacture of Rebel Subtlety, of which more hereafter. Then Audite alteram partem;*" from which it is reasonable to infer that Rivington was about to print the *other side*. This letter is alluded to by the writer of the pamphlet, and by him "supposed to be Col. Hamilton's."

If the copy in the Brown Library is *unique*, the suppression by Clinton is highly probable, and the reasons for that suppression are a subject of extreme interest, taken in connection with the like suppression in the New York papers of every incident connected with André's mission, capture, execution, and burial. The clue to the mystery has not yet been found.

EDITOR





THE SEVENTY-SIX STONE HOUSE—ANDRÉ PRISON—TAPPAN, N. Y.

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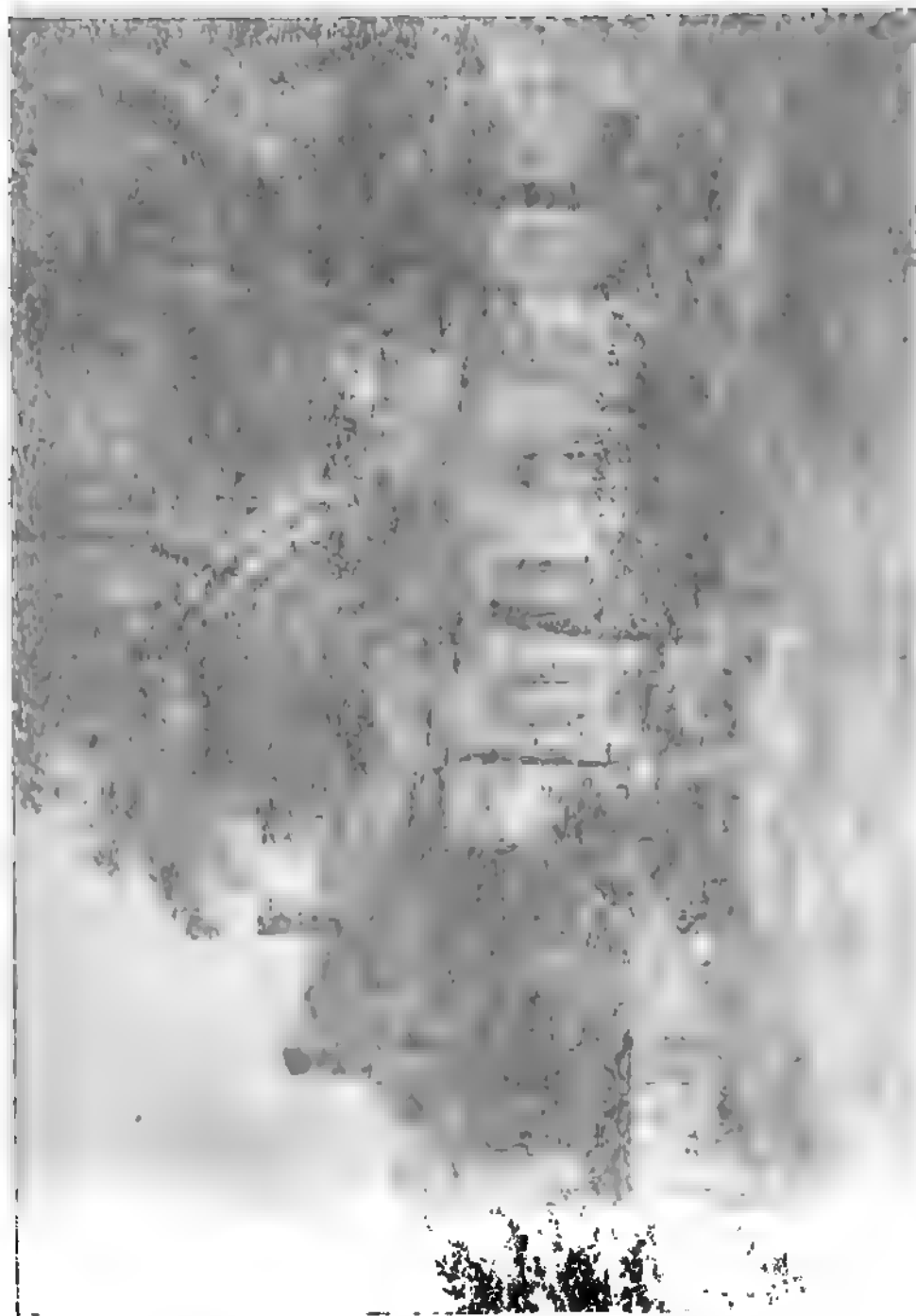
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## THE SEVENTY-SIX STONE-HOUSE AT TAPPAN

The recent erection of a monument to Major André at the place of his execution, and the approaching centennial anniversary of this historic event, have brought into fresh prominence, after a comparative silence of many years, all that is connected with his story.

The house to which the prisoner was brought by Major Tallmadge, on the evening of Thursday, the 28th of September, 1780, in which he was confined until the morning of Tuesday, the 2d of October, and from which he was led to the hill upon which he suffered, is still standing in the highway which runs through the quaint village of Tappan.

There is nothing in the history of this quiet, secluded spot to distinguish it from innumerable other of the old Dutch settlements, beyond this dramatic incident of the revolution. At the time of the discovery, the wigwams of the Indian tribe of the Tappans spread over the country, from the Hackensack river to the Highlands, from the Hudson to the western hills. The name is derived from Tuphanne, a Delaware word signifying "cold stream." For a while the Tappans held independant, undisputed sway; their proud chiefs refused to pay the contributions levied upon them by the Dutch governors of New Amsterdam, but they quailed before the formidable Mohawks, who came down from the Iroquois stronghold to collect the tribute, and enforced the right of the strong with bow and tomahawk that would not be denied. The tribe has long since disappeared, but the name is preserved in the old village and the now famous Tappan Sea.

This village was during the revolution indiscriminately known as Tappan or Orangetown, and is set down by both names on the map made in 1779 by Robert Erskine, Geographer to the Continental army. Orangetown, however, was not organized until 1788. It is about three miles from the Hudson, from which it is separated by the high ground which completes, beyond a deep gulley, the impregnable natural defence of the Palisade range; through this gap runs the road which leads to the western terminus of Dobbs' Ferry, where Captain Corbet kept a tavern in the days of the revolution. Here is now the small village of Rockland or Palisades, which is locally known as Sneden's Landing. The road from Tappan village to the Hudson follows the sinuosities of the ground, and is about one and one-half miles long.

North of the highland, and at its foot, runs the Sparkill, which,

widening at its mouth, becomes the Sloat, or ditch, and pours its waters into the Hudson. At the Sloat is now the thriving little village of Piermont, the late terminus of the Erie Railroad. The distance from Dobbs' Ferry to the Sloat is about a mile.

The lot on which the Seventy-six House stands, there is strong evidence to show, made a part of the Van Voorst share of the original patent which was conveyed to Cornelius Myers. It is situated on the west side of the highway, and is sixty-three feet front by one hundred and twenty feet deep. In 1753 it was purchased of Myers by Casparus Mabie, whose name may be seen on Erskine's map of 1779 as owner of other property in the neighborhood. When the house was erected is not recorded. During the revolution it was known as the Mabie Tavern, and from that period until quite recently it has been used as a place of public entertainment. From Mabie it passed to Frederick Blauvelt, and was by him sold in 1800 to Philip Dubey, after whose death it passed successively to the ownership of Henry Gesner, Henry Storms, Thomas Wandle, Laurence T. Sneed and Henry Ryerson, all of whom kept it as a public house. In 1857 it was purchased at mortgage sale by Dr. James T. Stephens, a resident of Tappan since 1846, in whose possession it still remains. In 1876 Dr. Stephens planted an elm tree in the rear of the building, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence.

The village proper was on a diminutive scale when Erskine made his surveys. This conscientious topographer never neglected to mark down every house or hamlet on his routes. The little cluster which bears the name of Tappan consisted of six houses and the church. The old Dutch Church, where the court-martial trials were held, and in which André was brought before the Board of General Officers by Washington's direction, was built in 1716. In 1788 it was rebuilt and enlarged; in 1835 demolished, and the present edifice erected. It stood at the northeast end of the village, where the road bends sharply to the northward, and from it led a lane, which ran westerly over the hill, on the north of which a part of the American army was encamped. Remains of the army ovens were until lately visible here. On the southeastern outskirts of the village still stands the building where Washington had his headquarters. Of the other houses designated by Erskine, that of Ryerson is still standing.

Mr. Spafford, writing in 1812, describes the inhabitants as principally descendants of the early Hollander settlers and as being "remarkable for their plainness and simplicity." He makes but a passing mention of

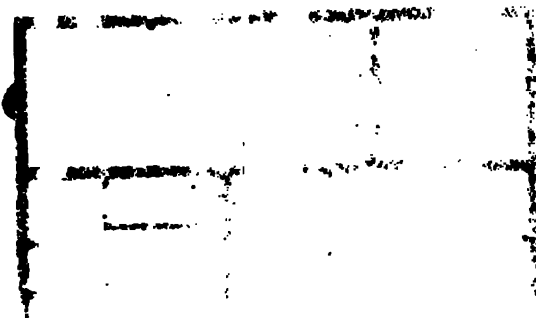
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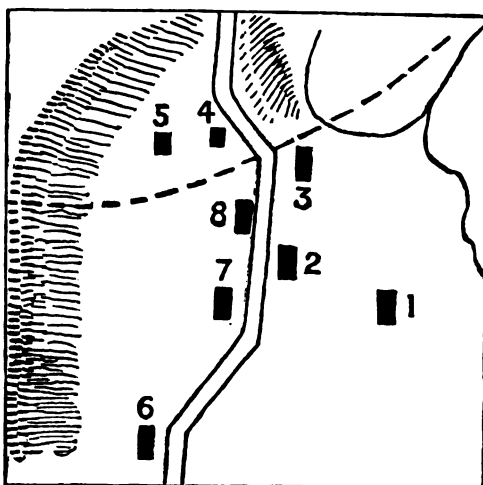


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the manner of his death. In this room, it is supposed, he slept. The lock of the door which opened from the other rear chamber, is now, with due authentication, the property of the New York Historical Society. In the front room Major André received Col. Hamilton, Major Tallmadge, and other officers of the American army.

Modest as this building must always have been, it nevertheless was the equal of any in the village. In his orders to Tallmadge, Washington particularly instructed him, while keeping close watch on his prisoner, to treat him with all the lenity his situation admitted of, and to see that he was comfortably lodged. The stone-work of the building is in excellent preservation, but the wood-work, within and without, is much decayed, and even what is left is with difficulty preserved from the rapacity of the relic hunter. The worthy owner, after repeated efforts to turn it to some practical use which would still leave it open to curious visitors, has found it necessary to close the building to save what remains. It is to be hoped that it may become the property of the State or County. Certainly there is no house in the land over which hangs a more romantic and melancholy interest.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



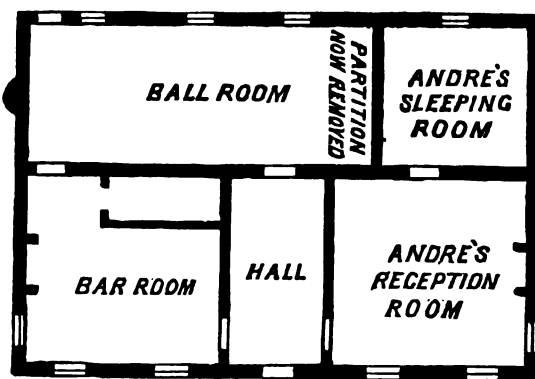
TAPPAN IN 1779.

- 1 John De Wint (Washington's Headquarters, 1780).
- 2 Rev'd Mr. Marselius.
- 3 Dutch Reformed Church.
- 4 Remains of Court House.

- 8 Casparus Mabie (Stone House), Andre prison.
- 7 John Myer.
- 6 William Concklin.
- 5 Parsonage.

André, "executed as a spy, last year, in this Town, just on its S. line." Later, his patriotic feelings were seemingly hurt by the elaborate ceremonial of the removal of 1821, and found expression in the edition of the *Gazetteer* of 1824, in a passage which may be quoted to show the Whig sentiment of the last generation: "The memory of the spy and the traitor are, however, alike consigned to infamy, snuff-boxes, royal dukes, poetry and sickly morality, fable, fiction, American clergymen, Westminster Abbey and the 'Monument,' to the contrary, notwithstanding." A half century has passed since these lines were penned, but the feeling which prompted them still exists, as has been shown by the numberless recent comments in the press on the setting up of the memorial stone.

The Seventy-six House is built of stone, with brick trimmings on the door and windows. A hallway, which divides the front equally, leads to a room, which extends over the entire rear of the building. This was originally a lean-to, with a partition wall, which was later removed, when the whole space was thrown together and used as a ball-room about a quarter of a century ago. Its southern front room was the public place of entertainment. In its rear stands a bar of peculiar construction; a projection of wood, with a canopy, supported by posts,



HIGHWAY

The fireplace was ornamented by tiles, which have been removed. A few remain in the possession of Dr. Stephens, but the greater part were carried away by unscrupulous visitors. The northern front room and the small chamber in the lean-to were arranged for the confinement of André. In the latter is a window, from which tradition is that André saw the raising of the scaffold, a statement which is entirely at variance with the shock he received when he saw the gallows, and first knew

with the papers in his hands, which were taken from André's boots, and which were in the handwriting of Arnold, should have sent intelligence of this fact to Arnold himself.

In a letter from Colo Jameson to Washington, dated Sept. 27th, I find the following passage, "I am very sorry that I wrote to Genl Arnold; I did not think of a British ship being up the River, and expected that if he was the man he has since turned out to be, that he would come down to the troops in this quarter, in which case I should have secured him. I mentioned my intention to Major Tallmadge and some other of the field officers, all of whom were clearly of the opinion that it would be right, until I could hear from your Excellency."

By this extract it appears that you were present at North Castle when André was brought in; and it would also seem that you were acquainted with Col. Jameson's reasons for the course he pursued. If you will explain to me these reasons in detail, & the facts connected with them, I shall be greatly obliged to you.

Again, the Letter written by Jameson, dated Sept. 23rd, did not reach Arnold till the 25th. Can you tell me what caused the delay?

I find by a copy of Jameson's letter to Arnold, and of another to Lieut. Allen, who was André's guard after he was sent from North Castle, that André was first ordered to Arnold's Head Quarters, but that the order was countermanded while André was on his way, & he was sent to Col. Heldon at Old Salem. Do you recollect the reason

why Col Jameson altered his mind and countermanded the order for sending André immediately to Hd Quarters?

I trust you will excuse the freedom I have taken in making these inquiries, and accept the assurances of the high respect & consideration of

Your Most Obt St,

JARED SPARKS

Hon Ben Tallmadge

### III

#### TALLMADGE TO SPARKS

Litchfield, Conn., Nov 16th, 1833

Sir—Your favor of the 12th instant came to hand by the last Mail. I notice your request, & I presume I cannot more effectually comply with it than by furnishing an abstract from my memoranda of some of the Events of the Revolutionary War *quorum pars fui*. No Circumstances during that eventful period made a deeper Impression on my mind than those which related to *Arnold*, the *Traitor*, & *Major André*, the Sufferer. I proceed then to remark that the 2d Regt of Light Dragoons, Commanded by Col. Sheldon, was stationed in advance of the Army, near North Castle, & Col. Sheldon being absent, I think at Salem, Lt Col Jameson was the Commanding officer, and I was the Major. Early in the morning of the 23d of Sept., 1780, I marched with a large Detachment of Dragoons to reconnoitre the Country below the white plains, down to East Chester, which was a sort of *neutral Ground*, from which Tour I did not return until late in the Evening of the same day. Soon after I halted, & had disposed of my Detachment, I was informed that a prisoner had been

bro't in that day, who called himself *John Anderson*. On Enquiry, I found that three Men, by the names of *John Paulding, David Williams & Isaac Van Wart*, who had passed below our ordinary military Patrols on the road from Tarry Town to Kingsbridge, had fallen in with this *John Anderson* on his way to New York. They took him aside for Examination, and discovering sundry papers upon him, which he had concealed in his boots, they determined to detain him as a Prisoner. Notwithstanding Anderson's offers of pecuniary satisfaction if they would permit him to proceed on his Course, they determined to bring him up to the Head Qrs of our Regt, then on the advance Post of our Army, and near to North Castle. This they effected in the forenoon of the 23rd of Sept., 1780, by delivering said Anderson to Lt Col Jameson of the 2nd Regt Lt Dragoons, who was then the Commanding Officer at said Post, Col Sheldon being then at old Salem, I believe under Arrest.

His Excellency Gen Washington had made an appointment to meet the Count Rochambeau (who commanded the French Army then at Newport, R. I.) at Hartford, in Conn, about the 18th or 20th of September, and was on his return to the Army at the time of Anderson's Capture. When I reached Lt Col Jameson's Qrs late in the Evening of the 23d of Sept, and had learned the Circumstances relating to the Capture of sd *Anderson*, I was much surprised to learn that he was sent on by Lt Col Jameson to Arnold's Head Qrs at West Point, accompanied by a Letter of Information respecting his Capture. At

the same time he despatched an Express with the papers found on *John Anderson* to meet Gen Washington, then on his return to West Point.

I felt very much surprised at the Course which had been taken in this business, & did not fail to state the glaring Inconsistency of their Conduct to Lt Col Jameson in a private and most friendly manner. He appeared greatly agitated, more especially when I suggested to him a plan which I wished to pursue, offering to take the entire responsibility on myself, & which, as he deemed it too perilous to permit, I will not further disclose. Failing in this purpose, I instantly set about a plan to remand the Prisoner to our Qrs again, which I finally effected, altho' with reluctance on the part of Lt Col Jameson. When the order was about to be despatched to the Officer to bring back the Prisoner, strange as it may seem, Lt Col J——n would persist in his purpose of sending his letter to Gen Arnold— The Letter did go on, & was the first Information that Arch Traitor recd that his plot was blown up. The Officer returned with his Prisoner early the next morning. As soon as I saw Anderson, & especially after I saw him walk across the floor (which he did almost constantly), I became impressed with the belief that he had been *bred to arms*. I communicated my suspicion to Lt Col J——n, & requested him to notice his Gait, & especially when he turned on his heel to retrace his Course across the room. We soon concluded that the safest Course was to take the Prisoner to Salem to Col Sheldon's Qrs, & I was appointed to take Charge of him. After we reached Salem, it was manifest that

his Agitation & Anxiety greatly increased, & in the afternoon he asked to be furnished with pen, ink & paper, which were readily furnished, when he penned the Letter to Gen Washington, dated "Salem, 24th September, 1780," which is recorded in most of the Histories of that eventful period. In this Letter he disclosed his Character to be "Major John Andre, Adjutant Genl to the British Army." When I had perused the Letter, which he handed to me to read, my Agitation was extreme, & my Emotions wholly indescribable.

The papers found in Major Andre's boots did not reach Gen'l Washington until he had arrived at West Point on the 25th, nor did Jameson's letter reach Arnold until the morning of that day, & that too after two of Gen'l Washington's *Aids* had reached his house. While they were taking breakfast the Letter was delivered to Arnold, who knowing that the Commander in Chief would soon be there, rose hastily from his table. & proceeded with all possible Dispatch down to his barge, & directed his Men to row him down the river, carrying a white flag in is hand, until they reached the *Vulture Sloop of War*, then lying in Tappan Bay, a little below Kings ferry. This was the same Vessel that bro't up Major Andre from New York. Soon after Arnolds flight Gen'l W—n arrived, but the vile Traitor had escaped.

I very soon rec'd an order to bring *Andre* on to West Point, under a strong escort of Cavalry; & the next day I proceeded down the Hudson to King's ferry and landed at Haverstraw, where a large detachment of Dragoons had been sent from the main Army at Tap-

pan, with which I escorted the Prisoner to Head Qrs.— After our arrival at Tappan, I reported the fact to Gen'l Washington, who ordered a Court—consisting of 14 Gen'l officers, to sit & hear the Case of Major Andre & report their opinion of his Case.

On the 29th of Sept'r Gen'l Green the President of the Court reported to the Commander in Chief that they had come to the Conclusion "that Major Andre, Adjutant Gen'l to the British Army, ought to be considered as a Spy from the Enemy, & that agreeably to the Law & usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

Without further Comment on the measures pursued by the Enemy to obtain his release, I will only remark that on the 2d of October he was executed. I walked with him to the place of execution, and parted with him under the gallows, entirely overwhelmed with Grief, that so gallant an officer, & so accomplished a Gentleman should come to such an ignominious End.

I have taken a large sheet to make it a single letter & hope these few particulars may answer your purpose, I must add a few lines to my much respected friend President Quincy, & am very truly

Your most obedt Servt

BENJ TALLMADGE

Jared Sparks, Esqr.

IV

TALLMADGE TO QUINCY

Litchfield, Nov. 18th 1833

My much valued & respected friend

I have been much gratified & delighted by the addition made by you to

Mr. Sparks' Letter. I take the liberty to reply in the same way. The reminiscences of our bygone years when we endeavored to serve our Country, at Washington, sometimes serve to amuse & to beguile a long winters Evening & often do I recollect our pleasant Interviews. But alas how changed is the present political Arena! I can hardly conceive of any Inducement that could lead me again into public life. Adieu to it forever.

I notice your remarks respecting the Events of my military life in the revolutionary War & have only to remark that to gratify my Children, I have noted by way of memoranda some occurrences which passed under my own Eye. The difficulty which most perplexed me, has been a natural tendency to run into *history*, which I wished to avoid.

Again by confining the narrative to my own deeds & observations, *Egotism* seemed to be too prominent & that I despise. The few remarks furnished for Mr Sparks (tho' somewhat abridged) will afford you a specimen. Adieu my dear Quincy & believe me with unwavering affection

& great Respect

Your most obdt Servt

BENJ TALLMADGE

Josiah Quincy

[Cambridge, Mass.]

v

SPARKS TO TALLMADGE

Cambridge, Feby 6th, 1834

Dear Sir—

I have had the pleasure to receive your very interesting letter, which you had the goodness to write in reply to my inquiries respecting Arnold's Treason.

As I have obtained many original papers on that subject, both in the public offices in England, and in this country, especially the papers presenting the trials of André, & Joshua Smith, with full written testimonies of many persons taken down at the time—I say as I have so many materials in my hands, I am about preparing a *Life of Arnold* giving a detailed account of his treason. I hope you will excuse me, therefore, for asking you many questions, which might otherwise seem insignificant or unnecessary. I wish to be as accurate as possible in my statements, & at the same time to include every important or interesting circumstance. Will you have the kindness, therefore, to answer the following queries, according to your recollection?

1st. Did André request Jameson to send him to Arnold? Historians tell us that this act of Jameson was chiefly to be ascribed to the address & persuasion of André.

2d. If Jameson was not thus influenced, what arguments did he use to urge himself to this step? The thing is so strange, that it cannot be accounted for, by any facts, which have appeared.

3d. How did it happen, that Jameson's letter to Arnold, which was written on the 23d, did not reach him till the 25th?

4th. Was André retained at Salem till orders came from *Washington* to take him to West Point? or was he sent forward by Sheldon from that post?

5th. When André arrived at West point or Robinson's House, did General Washington see him, or converse with him? Did Washington ever see him after he left West Point?



6th. To what commanding officer did you deliver André at Tappan? Was he at any time put under the command of Wayne? or did Wayne command at the post when you arrived with him at Tappan? I ask these questions, because it has been said, that André's prediction, — about the "Warrior-drover Wayne," in *The Cow Chase*, was verified by his being put into the charge of Wayne at Tappan.

7th. Why was not Wayne on the court of Inquiry when André was examined?

8th. How was André dressed while you were with him? In what dress was he executed? It has been said that he was executed in his full regimentals. But he had left his coat at the House of Joshua Smith Was this restored to him before his execution?

9th. Was he buried in the same dress in which he was executed? The British Consul, who took up his bones, has insinuated, that he was rifled of his regimentals after execution, & before his burial.

Now Sir, I shall be much obliged to you, if you will answer these questions in as much detail as your leisure & recollections will permit.

You need not fear being too prolix. Indeed I should be glad if you would pursue the narrative day by day, and state all the particulars, which you can remember, respecting your conversations with André his appearance and conduct—and particularly the manner in which he was escorted from Salem to Tappan. As you are the only man living who can give this information, I beg you will excuse my freedom, and accept

the assurances of the high respect of your obliged &

Most obt Servt.

JARED SPARKS

Hon Ben. Tallmadge

I have in my possession the original papers found in André's boots—and Arnold's pass.— You are aware perhaps, that I have all General Washington's papers, and am preparing a selection for publication. Two volumes are just now issuing from the press. There will be twelve in the whole.

Among Washington's papers is a large number of letters from you, written at different periods of the war.

VI

TALLMADGE TO SPARKS

Litchfield, Conn., Feby 17th, 1834

Dr Sir

I have before me your favor of the 6th inst & will endeavour to answer your Queries, so full within my recollections after the lapse of more than half a Century.

I have already informed you, that on the day when the Captors of Major Andre bro't him up to our Regt at North Castle (Sept 23d 1780) I was out on Duty in advance of the Regt below the white plains & did not return with my Detachm' until the Eveng of that day. After I had desposed of my Troops & and had spoken with Lt Col Jameson, he informed me of the Capture of *John Anderson* & that he had been bro't up and delivered over to him by his Captors. When I inquired where the Prisoner was, he informed me that he had sent him on, under Guard to

Gen'l Arnold at West point. I expressed my astonishment at such a Course & immediately entered on a course of measures to frustrate what I considered so unjudicious a procedure. My first proposal was to give me leave of absence for official object which I fully explained to Col Jameson & which for special reasons I have not disclosed, as no public benefit could result from it. Failing in this request my next plan was to remand the Prisoner, then probably 8 or 10 Miles on his way to West point, which I did not accomplish until late in the Evening. After the Order was despatched for the officers & Guard to return with the Prisoner, I waited impatiently for the coming morning, when for the first time I saw the face of *John Anderson*.

What influenced Col Jameson to send on Major Andre to Arnold, I cannot tell, not being present with him when he sent him off; but I well remember that he expressed great Confidence in him as I believe was the Case thro' the Army. Until the papers were found on Anderson, I had no suspicion of his lack of patriotism or political Integrity myself.

To your 3d enquiry, I remark that the non arrival of Col Jameson's Letter at Arnold's Qrs at an earlier period, is accounted for by the *Countermarch* of the Officer who had it in Charge with his Guard & Prisoner. I do not now recollect the distance from North Castle to West Point, but should think it was between 40 or 50 Miles.

4th. I do not perfectly remember whether I waited for an order from Gen Washington to bring on Major Andre, or whether we judged it best to

have him sent on, so as to arrive soon after the Commr in Chief, who reached West Point on the 25th of Sepr. The last case is the most probable, as it was deemed unsafe to keep such a Prisoner on an advanced post, & as I think I reached West Point with Andre the 26th or 27th, & Tappan on the Day following.

5th. When I arrived at W Point, after answering many Enquiries made by Genl Washington, I think I asked him whether he would see the Prisoner, to which he answered in the negative; nor do I believe he ever saw him while he was our Prisoner.

When I arrived at Tappan I reported myself directly to Hd Qrs, and was informed that there was a house near to Head Qrs & a Guard of Officers ready to receive the Prisoner. In their hands I left him, and in a short time, at his own request, I returned to him, & continued with him almost the whole time until he was executed, which was on the 2d of Octr, 1780.

I was well acquainted with Genl Wayne (Mad Anthony, as we used to call him), but do not remember to have seen him while I was at Tappan. The Commr in Chief selected the Board of Genl Officers to investigate the Case of Major Andre, & report the same with their Opinion to him, & no one took upon him the liberty to enquire why A. was Appointed a Member of the Board & B. omitted. From the time I first recd Major Andre into Custody until I deliv'd him at Tappan he was clothed in a plain Country man's Dress, with a Surtout overall (rather shabby), which I think he told me was J. Smith's, at

Haverstraw, where he was concealed. Soon after we reached Tappan his Regimentals were sent out from New York, in which he constantly appeared, in which he walked to the Gallows, & was executed, & in which *I saw him laid in his Coffin*. Mr. Buchanan the British Consul's Insinuation looks a little as if he might have been stripped of his Regimentals before he was buried. This I know was not the Case. But whether he might not have been taken up by some *human Vulture* after the army removed from that Quarter, who then deprived him of his Regimentals, I am willing to leave to Mr B—n to settle by Chymistry or any other process which would dissolve metallic buttons, while a leathern string around his hair was preserved entire. I believe I have now attended to all your Queries, so far as my recollection serves me. I will now close with a few remarks, which you seem to request, and as a Historian may be entitled to receive—

I begin then by remarking that with Arnold's Character I became acquainted while I was a Member of Yale College & he residing at New Haven, & I well remember that I was impressed with the belief that he was not a man of Integrity. The revolutionary war was coming on soon after I left College, & Arnold engaging in it with so much Zeal, & behaving so gallantly in the Capture of Burgoyne, we all seemed, as if by common Consent, to forget his knavish tricks. When he was put in Command of West point, I had official Communications with him, particularly as it related to my private Correspondence with persons in N. York, of wh you must have

seen much in my Letters to Genl Washington, now in your hands. When he turned Traitor, & went off, I felt for a time extremely anxious for some trusty friends in N. York, but as I never gave their names to him, he was not able to discover them, altho' I believe he tried hard to find them out.

My narrative must of necessity be somewhat Egotistical, altho' I not unfrequently remind myself that I am not writing my own Biography, nor the history of the revolutionary war, but only noting down a few Reminiscences of one important Occurrence in that most memorable period—

With your Indulgence then I will add one more Anecdote of this *Arch Traitor*, & I shall have done with him, I hope, forever.

After he had got settled down in his new Situation at N York, he addressed a letter to me by flag, in which he said many more flattering things as an officer than I should have dared to say of myself; and then advised me to quit the American cause & join the British Standard, assuring me that America could not succeed in her Rebellion against her Parent Country. To induce me to take this Step, he said he was authorized to offer me the same rank in the British Army that I held in the American. At first I confessed I felt somewhat mortified that my Patriotism could be even suspected by this most consummate Villain. I took the Letter, however, immediately to Genl Washington, who consoled me abundantly on the Occasion.

I come now to treat of a very different Character, whose name will shine

with Lustre & Glory, while that of the Traitor will be handed down with Infamy & disgrace to the latest posterity.


From the moment that Major Andre made the Disclosure of his name & true Character, in his Letter to the Commander in Chief, dated Sepr 24th, 1780, which he handed to me as soon as he had written it, to the moment of his Execution, I was almost constantly with him. The Ease and affability of his manner, polished by the refinement of good Society & a finished Education, made him a most delectable Companion. It often drew tears from my Eyes to find him so pleasant & agreeable in Conversation on different Subjects, when I reflected on his future fate, & that too, as I believed, so near at hand—

Since you ask for private Anecdotes, I would remark that soon after Acquaintance, being mutually disposed to have the most unreserved & free Conversation, & both being soldiers of equal Rank in the two Armies, we agreed on a Cartel, by the terms of which each one was permitted to put any Question to the other, not involving a third Person. This opened a wide field for two inquisitive young Officers, & we amused ourselves on the march to Head Quarters not a little. Many Anecdotes doubtless were related, which the lapse of more than *fifty three years* has consigned to oblivion, & wh I have no desire to recollect.

My principal object was to learn the late plot. On every point that I enquired, when any other person was concerned, he maintained most rigidly the rule, so that even where that most infamous Traitor Arnold was concerned (&

he out of our control), so nice was his sense of honour, that he would disclose nothing. When we left West Point for Tappan early in the morning, as we passed down the Hudson river to King's ferry, I placed Major Andre by my side, on the after seat of the Barge.

I soon began to make Enquiries about the expected Capture of our fortress, & begged him to inform me whether he was to have taken a part in the military attack, if Arnold's plan had succeeded. He instantly replied in the affirmative, & pointed me to a table of Land on the West Shore, which he said was the spot where he should have landed at the head of a *select* Corps. He then traversed in idea the Course up the mountain into the rear of *Fort Putnam*, which overlooks the whole Parade of West Point, & with much greater exactness than I could have done ; & as the Traitor Arnold had so disposed of the Garrison that little or no opposition could have been made by our Troops. Major Andre supposed he should have reached that important Eminence without difficulty. Thus that important key of our Country would have been theirs, & the Glory of so splendid an Atchievement would have been his. The Animation with which he gave the Account I recollect perfectly delighted me, for he seemed as if he was entering the fort, sword in hand. To complete the Climax, I then enquired what was to have been his reward if he had succeeded. He replied that military Glory was all he sought, & that the thanks of his General, & the approbation of his King, was a rich reward for such an Undertaking.



I think he further remarked that if he had succeeded (& with the aid of the opposing General, who would doubt of success?) he was to have been promoted to the rank of Brigdr General.

As we progressed on our way to Tappan, before we reached the Clove, where we dined, Major André was very inquisitive to know my Opinion as to the result of his Capture. In other words, he wished me to give him my Opinion as to the light in wh he would be viewed by Genl Washington, & a Military Tribunal, if one should be ordered. I endeavored to evade the Question, unwilling to give him a true answer. When I could no longer evade this Importunity, I said to him that I had a much loved Class mate in Yale College by the name of Nathan Hale, who entered the Army with me in the year 1776. After the British Troops had entered N. York, Genl Washington wanted Information respecting the strength, position & probable movements of the Enemy. Capt. Hale tendered his services, went into N. York, & was taken just as he was passing the out posts of the Enemy; said I, with Emphasis, do you remember the sequel of this Story; Yes, said André; he was hanged as a Spy; but you surely do not consider his Case & mine alike. I replied, precisely similar, & similar will be your fate. He endeavored to answer my remarks, but it was manifest he was more troubled than I had ever seen him before—

We stopt at the Clove to dine & to let the Horse Guard refresh; while there Andre kept reviewing his shabby Dress, & finally remarked to me that he was positively ashamed to go to the Head Qrs of the American Army in such a

plight. I called my Servant, & directed him to bring my Dragoon Cloak, which I presented to André. This he refused to take for some time, but I insisted on it, & he finally put it on & rode in it to Tappan.

The Catastrophe, which ensued after we reached the army at Tappan, was narrated in my former Letter, & the principal facts are matters of history. Give me leave then to remark that so deeply were my feelings interested in the fate of this unfortunate young Man, that I believe I have never narrated the story, nor perused the account of his merited, but ignominious Death without shedding tears of sorry over such blighted prospects. I hope & trust this will be the last trial of my feelings in this way.

I am yours, &c.,

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

J Sparks Esqr

P. S. Altho' my views & Col Jameson's differed so widely respecting the disposal of John Anderson, I feel it to be due to his Character & Memory to declare that I never entertained a Doubt of his Patriotism & Devotedness to his Country's Cause. In sending the Prisoner & his Letter of Information to Arnold, his *Head* was in fault, & not his *heart*. His Confidence in his Commanding General outweighed the Influence of prudent precautionary Measures.

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#### ROUTE OF ANDRÉ

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—A journal is hereto appended of the incidents with which André was directly concerned, from the time that he left New York





until the hour of his execution at Tappan.

*September 20, Wednesday*—Major André leaves New York City with verbal instructions and a letter from Sir Henry Clinton; goes on board a British sloop at Dobbs Ferry, east side, and taking advantage of the tide, sails to the Vulture man-of-war, lying at anchor off Teller's Point, at the lower extremity of Haverstraw Bay, which he reaches at seven o'clock in the evening. Here he finds Col. Beverley Robinson, his companion in the plot, and suffering from temporary illness, as well as uncertain as to Arnold's plans for a meeting, remains on board all night.

*September 21, Thursday*—André contrives to inform Arnold of his presence by countersigning a letter—sent to headquarters by Captain Sutherland of the Vulture by flag of truce—with his assumed name of John Anderson. In the night, after he has gone to his bed, Joshua Hett Smith boards the Vulture with Arnold's pass, and brings off John Anderson (André). They are landed from the boat at the foot of the Long Clove Mountain, on the west bank of the Hudson; where Arnold and André have a protracted interview in the bushes.

The Vulture being compelled to drop down the river by the fire of a cannon sent from Verplanck's Point by Capt. James Livingston, commander of that post, and planted on Tellers' Point, they abandon the attempt to reach the vessel by boat. Arnold and André ride to Belmont, the house of Joshua Hett Smith, two and a half miles from King's Ferry, which they reach about dawn.

*September 22, Friday*—André passes

the day at Smith's house—such is Smith's story. It is more probable, however, that Arnold improved this opportunity to show him the West Point approaches. At dusk André, disguised in Smith's clothing, and accompanied by him, rides to King's Ferry; they are taken across the river to Verplanck's Point, where they stop for a moment at the tent of Colonel Livingston. Continuing their journey, they are stopped, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, near Crompond, by Captain Boyd, of Sheldon's regiment of Light Dragoons, who was out with a patrol, and recommended to the tavern of Andreas Miller, where they pass the night together. (Smith's narrative does not accord with this. He says that five or six miles below Verplanck's Point they met a patrol, and were challenged by Captain Bull. By his advice they returned several miles to a tavern kept by a man named McKoy).

*September 23, Saturday*—Permitted to continue their journey, they start just before dawn. They breakfast at the house of Mrs. Sarah Underhill on the Pine's Bridge road, about one mile south of Crompond. Here, Smith declining to go further, they separate; Smith riding northward to Fishkill, where his family was staying, and André starting on the Sing Sing road. Continuing on the river road—the King's Highway—at times riding and at times leading his horse, he meets with no hindrance until he reaches the brook, a quarter of a mile north of Tarrytown, a short distance beyond the American lines, where he is stopped by Paulding Van Wart and Williams about eleven o'clock



in the forenoon. They search him on the road, and carry him across the fields, halting at the house of Jacob Romers, to North Castle, where an outpost of the Second Regiment of Light Dragoons (Sheldon's) was stationed, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Jameson.

Lt. Col. Jameson sends André under guard up to Arnold's headquarters at Robinson's house; he sends also a letter to Arnold, and at the same time despatches an Express to the northeast to meet General Washington, then on his way from Hartford to West Point, after his interview with Rochambeau.

Major Tallmadge, of Sheldon's regiment, returning with a detachment from a patrol late in the evening to Lt. Col. Jameson's quarters, protests against the course pursued, and an officer is at once sent to bring back the prisoner. The ride lasts through the night.

*September 24, Sunday*—Early in the morning André is brought back to Jameson's quarters, and at once sent, under charge of Major Tallmadge, to South Salem, the headquarters of the Second Regiment of Light Infantry.

These headquarters were in a barn belonging to Squire Gilbert. Col Sheldon was at the time under arrest.

André passes the day in confinement. In the afternoon André writes a letter to General Washington, disclosing his true character. This letter Tallmadge reads at André's request.

*September 25, Monday*—Arnold, while at breakfast receives Lt Col Jameson's letter; instantly rides to the shore, and calling his barge, escapes to the Vulture, by water. The Vulture weighs anchor and sails down the river.

Washington, at four o'clock in the afternoon receives the despatches, and orders André to be brought up. At seven in the evening, on receipt of André's letter, Washington sends a second despatch, ordering that he be brought under "a strong escort, by an upper road."

The first order reached the Gilbert farm house at midnight, and André was at once started under guard of Tallmadge. At the North Salem Church they meet the second messenger, with Washington's orders for a change of route. They ride all night through a pelting rain.

*September 26, Tuesday*—Major Tallmadge arrives with the prisoner at Robinson's house soon after dawn. They had halted for a few moments at the fork of the road near Peekskill, near the residence of General Pierre Van Cortlandt.

*September 27, Wednesday*—André is taken by Tallmadge across the river to West Point. (There is some doubt as to whether André was taken across the river from Robinson's House to West Point on the 26th or 27th. Tallmadge is uncertain. Major Burroughs, however, testified on the trial of Smith that he saw Major André when he crossed the river the preceding *Wednesday*, which was the 27th. This is direct evidence.)

*September 28, Thursday*—André is brought early in the morning in a barge by Major Tallmadge from West Point to King's Ferry—here they are met by Tallmadge's squadron of horse, sent across the river to join him. He takes his prisoner to the camp at Orange

Town (Tappan) by an interior circuitous road. They halt and dine at the house of John Coe in the Clove (at Katiat, about ten miles from King's Ferry), and reach Orangetown at dusk. André is confined in the house of Cornelius Mabie, now known as the Seventy-six Stone House. This house was in the camp. Washington ordered that his "room be a decent one, and that he be treated with civility," but kept under personal supervision.

Washington arrives at camp, and makes his headquarters at the house of John De Wint.

*September 29, Friday*—Laune, the servant of André, arrives at camp from New York with clothing sent up to him by General Robertson by a flag of truce.

André is brought before a court of General Officers, tried in the old Dutch Church, and sentenced to death.

André writes to Sir Henry Clinton, recommending to him his family.

*September 30, Saturday*—André is still in confinement at Mabie's house. He is accompanied by Tallmadge and receives the visits of American officers.

Washington approves the sentence of the court-martial.

*October 1, Sunday*—Washington in "Morning Orders" directs the execution to take place at five o'clock the same afternoon.

André writes to Washington, asking for a soldier's death.

A letter arrives in the morning from Sir Henry Clinton to Washington, announcing the sending of Commissioners for a Conference concerning André; Washington in "After Orders" postpones the execution till the morrow.

The Commissioners arrive at Dobbs' Ferry in the Greyhound schooner Flag of Truce. One of them, General Robertson, is met by General Greene in the afternoon; the negotiation fails.

Washington in "Evening Orders" directs that the execution take place at twelve o'clock the next day.

*October 2, Monday*—André is hanged at twelve o'clock, on the high hill in the rear of his place of confinement, in front of the lines, and within the limits of the camp.

#### GAINES' UNIVERSAL REGISTER

1780

September begins on Friday, hath 30 Days

First Quarter, Thursday, the 21st, 6 Morning.  
New Moon, Thursday, the 28th, 2 Morning.

	DAYS.	High water.	Sun rising.	Sun setting.
21	Thursday	3 00	5 58	7
22	Friday	3 54	5 59	7
23	Saturday	4 50	6	6
24	Sunday	5 48	6 1	6
25	Monday	6 30	6 3	6
26	Tuesday	7 38	6 4	6
27	Wednesday	8 30	6 5	6
28	Thursday	9 27	6 7	6
29	Friday	10 12	6 8	6
30	Saturday	11 6	6 10	6

October begins on Sunday, hath 31 Days.

First Quarter, Friday the 6th, 1 Morning.

	DAYS.	High water.	Sun rising.	Sun setting.
1	Sunday	11 56	....	....
2	Monday	12 50	6 13	6
3	Tuesday	1 43	6 14	6
4	Wednesday	2 36	6 15	6

#### ASPECTS.

September 23—Moon rises 12.10.

25 } Cloudy and may rain.  
26 }

October 2 } Now expect rain.  
3 }

4—Moon sets 9.57.

**SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.**—The map of the route annexed is taken from the survey prepared in 1779 by Robert Erskine, Geographer in General to the Army of the United States. Erskine died at his residence at Ringwood, New Jersey, the day of André's execution.

EDITOR.

**THE REMOVAL OF SCHUYLER.**—This important act of the Continental Congress, which determined the result of the campaign of 1777 by opposing to Burgoyne a general of ability superior to his own, and who possessed the confidence of the army, has been the source of endless dissatisfaction and reproach; the biographers of Schuyler, not content with his own justly earned reputation, have endeavored to transfer to him the laurels as justly earned by Gates in the profound strategy which secured the capture of Burgoyne's entire army.

A letter has recently been brought to our notice in which Schuyler himself conclusively disposes of this claim. It was written to John Jay, January 18, 1779, and contains the following passage:

*"I have long since justified Congress for depriving me of the command in 1777, convinced that it was their duty to sacrifice the feelings of an individual to the safety of the States, when the people who only could defend the country refused to serve under him."*

If the history of the revolution is to be rewritten it is as well that it should be made to rest on the "bottom facts."

EDITOR.

## QUERIES

**PICKETING.**—In an army order book, Orangetown, 20th August, 1780, appears the following entry in the finding of a court-martial; "He is sentenced to be picketed 15 minutes, and to receive 100 lashes on his back." What was *picketing*?

IULUS.

**GERARD, THE FRENCH PLENIPOTENTIARY.**—I would like information as to this gentleman, whose full name is given as Chevalier Conrad Alexander Gerard. He was the first minister of France to the United States, arriving here with the fleet of d'Estaing in 1778. What rank did he finally attain, and what was his career after his return to France?

ARMA.

**THE IRISH ELEMENT IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.**—Major-General Robertson, in his examination before the House of Parliament in relation to the conduct of the American war, on being asked by Mr. Burke how the Provincial corps were composed, whether they were mostly Americans or emigrants from various nations in Europe, made the following reply:

"Some corps mostly natives; the greatest number such as can be got; many may be emigrants; our force similar to the rebels in that circumstance. Gen. Lee informed me that half the rebel Continental army were from Ireland."

Joseph Galloway also testified that by accounts kept 2,300 deserters came into the British army at Philadelphia. The deserters in all numbered about 3,000, of those who came in the names and places of nativity were taken down;

*one-half of them were Irish*, scarce a fourth Americans, the other fourth English or Scotch.

Is it possible at this late day to obtain authentic information in regard to strength of the Irish element in the Continental army? PETERSFIELD.

## REPLIES

ARNOLD NOT A FREEMASON.—(III., 578.) It is generally believed that the traitor, Benedict Arnold, was not a Mason. He is often spoken of in Masonic writings as the only General officer of the Revolutionary army who did not belong to that honored fraternity. I believe, however, that the statement rests on negative evidence—the entire absence of any lodge records to prove that he ever took any Masonic degrees.

Brownsville, Pa. H. E. H.

"PICKPACK."—(III., 638.) This is not an Americanism, but a good English word. "Pickaback," "Pickback," "Pickpack, variations of the same word. Vid. Johnson, Sheridan, Barclay, Webster, Worcester. Use—

' The fellow on this odd emergence  
Carries him pickback to the Surgeon's."

Taylor—*Old Epigram.*

" Mounted a pickback on the old."

Butler—*Hudibras.*

" Her darling under her arms, and the other a pickapack on her shoulders."—*L'Estrange.*

" Carried pickpack to bed."—*Sewall.*

E. C. B.

CANNIBALISM IN NORTH AMERICA.—(I., 389.) Mr. Murphy's denial of the prevalence of cannibalism on the North Atlantic coast was referred to in a pre-

vious number of the Magazine, but the Eleventh Annual Report of the Peabody Museum, Vol. II., No. 2, p. 197, shows that man-eating prevailed among the Indians on Great Deer Isle, Penobscot Bay.

PEMETIC.

ANDRÉ MONUMENT INSCRIPTION.—(III., 453.) The expression, "*He was more unfortunate than criminal*," applied by Washington to André, occurs in a letter written to the Count Rochambeau: "Your excellency will have heard of the execution of the British Adjutant General. The circumstances under which he was taken justified it, and policy required a sacrifice; but as he was more unfortunate than criminal, and as there was much in his character to interest, while we yielded to the necessity of rigor, we could not but lament it." See Mem. Hist. Soc. of Penna., Vol. VI., p. 369, and Sargent's André (ed. of 1871), p. 400. C. A. C.

THE FIRST NATIONAL SALUTE TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES.—(III., 579.) If W. H. will refer to pages 173-174 of the first edition of my History of Our Flag, he will find that the flag saluted at St. Eustasia in 1776 was the Continental, or striped ensign, without the stars. And on pages 198-199 he will find that Paul Jones officially claimed, what I believed to be the fact, that *he* received the first salute to the Stars and Stripes at Quiberon Bay, February 13, 1778. The Hon. James Birney could not have read the facts when he announced his opinion, as the *stars* and stripes had no existence when the salute was fired at St. Eustasia—and I

do not come down in my opinion—and Ezra Greene's diary only confirmed Paul Jones' official announcement.

GEO. HENRY PREBLE.

THE GAME OF BOSTON.—(III., 581.) I have in my possession a small pamphlet in French, which I bought in Paris more than twenty years ago. It is entitled "Manuel des jeux de Boston, Boston de Fontainebleau, Boston de Lorient, Boston Anglais, Cribbage, Vendome et Cassino, par Van Tenac et Delanoue." Paris, pp. 73. It gives an account of the different varieties of the game mentioned in the title, and they are all very similar. In its description of the game of Boston it says that "it is American in its origin, and dates from the War of Independence, taking the place of whist, which at that time was the popular game in the New World."

A reference to the game is found in the following note on the 364th page of William Tudor's "Letters on the Eastern States," second edition, Boston, 1821.

"A game of cards was invented in Versailles, and called, in honor of the town, *Boston*; the points of the game are allusive—*great independence, little independence, great misery, little misery, &c.* It was composed partly of whist, and partly of quadrille, though partaking most of the former. As it is almost unknown in this country, it may be of use to persons who amuse themselves in this way to know that this is the most interesting game that is played. It is still partially in use in France, but in every circle in the north of Europe, from Amsterdam to St. Petersburg, *Boston* is now almost the exclusive game. A work

has been recently published in France, called *Boston de Flore*; its object is to illustrate botany by a kind of cards."

It has been said that this game was invented by Dr. Franklin, and there is a tradition that he was fond of playing it.

The Boston Club of New Orleans was named after this game, and is one of the oldest social clubs in that city.

*Boston.*

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

JOHNNY CAKE.—(III., 583.) The following facts, which are to be found in depositions in an old land suit in an adjoining county, will show that W. H. E. is incorrect as to the origin of this name, and we must go back farther than the war of the Revolution for its origin:

"In March and April, 1775, a party from Pennsylvania, known as Hinksons, under Captain John Hinkson, consisting of fifteen men, passed down the Ohio, and up Licking river, and landed at the mouth of Willow Creek, on the east side of the river, about four miles above the present town of Falmouth, and encamped there two nights and a day. While there one of the party, Samuel Wilson, cut a hackberry tree to make a Johnny-cake board."

The tree was standing as late as 1806.

*Maysville, Ky.*

W. D. HIXSON.

BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION, 1779.—(III. 670.) The reference in Mr. Edson's sketch of Brodhead to Turner's History of the Holland purchasers is an error. The authority is for the statement that Washington dated his orders Oct. 18, 1779, from More's house.

EDITOR.

Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

**THE LIFE AND EPOCH OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.** A historical Study. By the Honorable GEORGE SHEA. 8vo, pp. 470. (The Riverside Press.) HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1879.

This book, says the author in his introduction, "had its first step in a monograph on Hamilton as a historical study." This paper appeared in 1877, and was noticed in the Magazine for June of that year (I., 334). It is to the early years of Hamilton that the present volume is specially devoted. It closes with the military relations of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton with the State of New York. His artillery company was then merged in the Continental Army, and Washington attached Hamilton to his person as one of his aids. He was then selected by the New York Convention as their correspondent at Headquarters. This was in March, 1777. He had then just entered on his twentieth year. That he was remarkable for the early maturity of his character and judgment is undeniable, but that at this period he had made any mark upon his time no sufficient evidence appears. Judge Jones in his Tory history of New York, recently published by the New York Historical Society, makes no mention of him, and he, whose shaft was full of sharpened arrows, would not have overlooked him had he been an important personage or a shining mark.

With all due respect for the learned Judge, it must be said that his enthusiasm has gotten the better of his judgment in his apotheosis of the youth Hamilton. His remarkable qualities of organization and administration, which he later developed in a manner so extraordinary as to win for him the praise of foreign statesmen as the most remarkable character that was produced, had not then arrested the attention of his fellows.

It is well, therefore, that the author has seen fit to enlarge the scope of his essay so as to include what he terms the Epoch of Hamilton, though it may be justly observed here that the Epoch of Hamilton did not begin until the war was over. His epoch was that of the formation of the Union under which we live; the Union which we owe in largest measure to his creative mind and constructive faculties.

The first two chapters of Judge Shea are introductory, and treat of "the Individual," the third, of "the Founder of Empire," the remaining six, of "The Life and Epoch." Under the head of the Individual a somewhat philosophic study is presented of Hamilton's intellectual traits, as illustrated by comparison with other

directing minds, particularly those of France. With Mirabeau, whose genius was however of a far different order, he delights to compare him, and he finds points of intellectual resemblance with Talleyrand. He finds him infinitely superior to Pitt. The death of Hamilton, Mr. Shea says, was timely. This is in one sense true; he was in the fullness of his fame. Occurring at any earlier period, his loss to the country would have been irreparable. His great work of construction was complete. The empire was founded. But it is simply absurd to say that "the death in the fullness of time confirmed the United States in their Empire." These exaggerations are common in the pages of Mr. Shea. They are the result of a vaulting ambition of style, which o'er leaps itself and falls on the other side.

One omission is noticed in these pages. The omission of the name of Hamilton, by pen or lip, in the pæans of the Centennial, is noticed by Mr. Shea with surprise and pain. But on reflection, is this so strange, so surprising, as it at first seems? Hamilton had nothing to do with the Declaration of Independence, played no commanding, controlling, part in the war of independence. His star rose to its zenith at a later day. It shone in full splendor in the debates of the Convention. Its light permeates with crystal radiance the Constitution. When the people of the United States shall celebrate in 1889 the formation of the "more perfect Union," which will have stood the test of a century of difficult experiment, the master workman, who forged the hooks of steel which hold them together, will not be forgotten.

We may with as much justice complain that Mr. Shea in his general sketch of Hamilton neglects all reference to his administrative powers, which excelled that of any man of his time. Before we turn from this branch of the subject, an expression of satisfaction may be recorded that Judge Shea has presented so acceptable and true a picture of Hamilton's charming nature. He was generous, warm hearted, frank. He was the idol of the officers of the army who survived the war, even of those whose political opinions differed from his own. To this the traditions of our revolutionary families bear abundant testimony. In private life he was indeed "the friend whose ardor no adversity could chill, and whose faithfulness no reverse of fortune could alienate." One rare trait he possessed in high degree—that of gratitude; the early kindness of his patrons, the Crugers, was the occasion of his leaving the little island of St. Croix for New York. To the day of his death, one of the family said to the writer, though often

employed by them in extensive law-suits of vital importance, he would never take a dollar from man or woman who bore that name.

In the *Life and Epoch* every item of information on the early period of Hamilton's life is presented, but importance is assigned to inconsiderable matters which distort their true proportions. The subject dazes the author. There was nothing in Hamilton's early career, nothing in his boyhood correspondence, here printed, which is in the least extraordinary. Mr. Shea again repeats the story of the harangue of the young collegian at the famous meeting in the Fields in 1774. Whether or not this tradition be true is of small moment. Certain it is that the contemporary accounts bear no witness to the effect upon public opinion claimed by his biographers. In his account of the differences between the Committee of Correspondence (of Fifty-one, as it is called) of 1774 and the citizens, who met in the Fields, Mr. Shea has merely fallen into a common error of our historians, or has not deemed it necessary to elucidate the subject. A few words will explain the cause of disagreement. In 1765 the merchants of New York inaugurated the plan of non-importation from Great Britain, as a means to obtain the repeal of the Stamp Act, and redress for their other grievances. They were followed by all the other cities. The pressure was severely felt in England, and the Stamp Act was repealed. A continuance of exactions caused a renewal of the non-importation agreement, and Committees of Inspection were appointed to enforce it. But while New York kept her agreement to the loss of four-fifths of her trade, her neighbors, Boston and Philadelphia, broke faith and increased theirs. Naturally the New York merchants grew restive under the unequal bond, and in 1770 notified her sister cities that she would no longer be held by it, unless it should be recommended by a *General Congress of the Colonies*, with power of enforcement. So this scheme of opposition, which Lord North said was sufficient to have secured its purpose, if the other colonies had observed it with the same fidelity as New York, failed.

When the news of the Boston port bill reached that city, it was resolved (May 13, 1774) to recommend all the colonies "to stop all importations from Great Britain and exportations to Great Britain." In New York a Committee of Fifty-one was raised under the direction of the merchants. The committee organized on the 23d, and at once addressed the Boston committee, suggesting the immediate calling of a Congress. Boston evaded the question, and pressed the demand for a suspension of trade. The New York committee adhered to the plan of a Congress, and to her persistence is due the famous First Continental Congress of 1774. Dissatisfied with their defeat, the malcontents,

led by Alexander McDougall, a member of the Committee of Fifty-one, and Isaac Sears, who ran a sloop in the coasting trade to Boston, called the meeting on the Fields, which approved the Boston plan, and adopted a resolution of the Boston town meeting of the 13th May, almost in their own words, "That a non-importation agreement would prove the salvation of North America." The Committee of Fifty-one insisted that the whole subject should be left in the hands of the Congress, and the common sense of the city sustained them in their evidently wise course. In July the delegates presented by the committee were elected. The committee of Fifty-one had the honor of inaugurating that "*grand system of politics*," which culminated in the American Union.

Hamilton rendered more practical service with his pen. His answers to "A Farmer's" letters were able and timely and remarkable for a youth of eighteen, but it must not be forgotten that the period was one of discussion, and that the journals teemed with political essays. That they placed him in "the first line of public men" is a statement not to be for a moment admitted. Talleyrand's famous caution against "too much zeal" finds fit application here. But we are not inclined to cavil with an admiration which knows no bounds.

Of the externals of the volume, no praise would be too great. Its superb typography, its mellow tinted paper, will delight the heart of the book-lover. We hope Mr. Shea will continue his studies until his essays become a complete biography; but we commend to him a careful study of Hamilton's simple, lucid style. The key-note is pitched too high for modern taste.

**CAMPAIGN OF THE WAR OF 1812-15 AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.** Sketched and criticised, with brief biographies of the American engineers, by Brevet Major-General GEORGE W. CULLUM, Colonel Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., retired. 8vo, pp. 412. JAMES MILLER, New York, 1879.

The purpose of this volume is not to give a minute account of the second war with Great Britain, but sketches of the campaigns in sufficient detail for an understanding of their military features, and the tactical and strategical errors incident to them. This, the historical part of the work, runs through ten chapters each one of which bears the name of one of the commanders, except Chapter IX., which is devoted to sketches of engineers with whom the distinguished author was intimate during his professional career.

The sketch of General Williams, which opens the volume, is of peculiar interest. On the creation of a Corps of Engineers, by the law of

March, 1802, he was appointed to its command, and by the terms of the law became first Superintendent of the Military Academy. To the wise impulse given by General Williams much of the brilliant future of this institution is ascribed. Perhaps to his example also may be traced some of the proud tenacious exclusiveness, which is to this day a marked characteristic of the corps. Because his idea of the dignity of his position did not coincide with the views of the limit of his command entertained by the Secretary of War, Colonel Williams threw up his position in 1803, and retired to private life. The reader will not be surprised to find General Cullum, himself of the Engineer Corps, defending the position taken by his predecessor, and condemning the course of the Secretary, but that the latter was right is clear enough from the sequel; the official order of the Commander-in-Chief, by which Colonel Williams was reappointed, explicitly directing that the officers of the engineers should not interfere with the command of the line. In 1807 Williams directed the fortification of New York. Later an account is given of the personal disagreements of Eustis, the Secretary of War, and of his animosity to the Military Academy and the Corps of Engineers, in which this Secretary fares no better than his predecessors. In consequence of this disagreement with the War Department, which we may be pardoned for saying has been a chronic condition of the relations between West Point and Washington, Colonel Williams again resigned. An effort was made to restore him in 1813, and the General was good enough to intimate that the offer of restoration, with the rank of Major-General "could not be declined," since the government had "acquiesced in the principles for which he had contended;" but, as General Cullum observes, this proposition, for some unknown reason, was not carried into effect. Sufficient reason appears in the intimation of Colonel Williams.

A biographical sketch of Major-General Joseph G. Totten carries with it a brief account of the campaign of 1812. The vital strategic blunders of the plan of the campaign, which is summed up as an inglorious fiasco, are directly charged on the Secretary of War. The true objective points of attack are pointed out to have been Halifax, or Quebec, or Montreal, any one of which would have determined the war, while Detroit and Mackinac were secondary and unimportant. Amid all the disgrace of the campaign, Totten gained a reputation which he brought down, unsullied, to our own day of larger enterprise.

A biographical sketch of Lieutenant-Colonel Eleazer D. Wood next accompanies a history of the Western campaign of 1813. General John Armstrong had replaced Eustis as Secretary of War, but began his military dispositions with a

repetition of his predecessor's blunder in the movement of isolated columns upon weak points of the enemy. Only northwestern operations are described. Here the conduct of the campaign by Harrison and Harmer is severely censured as unmilitary, and the responsibility of its failure thrown upon the former; even the glorious final success on the Thames, which won him the Presidential Chair in 1840, General Cullum ascribes to the pusillanimity, inefficiency and blunders of Proctor. Wood fell later in the campaign while gallantly leading a column in a sortie from Fort Erie.

With the Eastern campaign of 1813 there is a sketch of Brigadier-General Joseph G. Swift, in which the operations of the army of the center and right are described; and in succeeding chapters the campaign of 1814, the siege and defence of Lake Erie, the Chesapeake and Louisiana Campaign, all of which the student of military strategy may study to advantage. Simple maps greatly aid in the understanding of the author's theories and criticisms. To his military peers General Cullum must look for adequate appreciation of his criticisms. But the general reader will be amply rewarded by a careful study of its pages. There is no higher authority than their writer.

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LIFE, LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF  
GEORGE TICKNOR. Ninth edition. 2 vols.  
8vo, pp. 524—533. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co.  
Boston, 1878.

The interest of these volumes is sufficiently shown by the striking fact that, although they were only first given to the public in the early part of 1876, the ninth edition has already been reached, while the English demand has been supplied by a separate issue, printed at London. They were greeted with pleasure on the Continent, as well as in England, and were the occasion of numerous critical reviews, which united in praise of the charm of the autobiography and writings of the genial, accomplished and scholarly gentleman, whose experiences in the life of letters they faithfully record, and of satisfaction with the frank, not unfriendly character of his criticisms of the phases of European society which opened to his close vision. In our August number (I., 550) attention was particularly called to the admirable reviews of the London edition, which came out consecutively in the April and May numbers of the *Revue des deux Mondes*, in which Mr. R. Blerzy, under the title of *Les Mémoires d'un Humaniste Américain*, recited Mr. Ticknor's youth and early travels; Europe, from 1835 to 1838 (as seen by him); and the old age of a Federalist. These pages give an independent judgment, from the European point of view, of this distinguished gentleman, whose name will be more surely



perpetuated by these admirable volumes than even by the classical and exhaustive history of Spanish literature, which makes him familiar to all lovers of belles lettres.

The first ten chapters of the memoirs are from the pen of Mr. George S. Hillard, and the form and proportions of the work are of his casting, but his illness led to the assumption of the task by Mrs. Ticknor and Miss Anna Ticknor, his eldest daughter. How truthfully, yet modestly, the pious duty has been performed, the public taste, that final and only true arbiter, has already pronounced. The purpose of his life is shown to have been in thorough accord with the fundamental principle of the ancient philosophic schools—the acquisition of knowledge in order to impart it; the subordination of even personal gratification of the highest excellence to that of greatest usefulness.

To the student the account of his University life at Göttingen, and the admirable manner in which he found time to mingle in the society of the most celebrated persons, travel somewhat, yet pursue a broad line of studies, and amass copious notes for future use, will prove of exceptional interest; while the general reader will enjoy the tender simplicity of his familiar correspondence, and his keen appreciation of men and things, at one of the most interesting stages of the panorama of the century. In the course of his long career he made the personal acquaintance of many of the celebrities of England and the Continent. Before he went abroad he had at twenty-three been complimented with the seat of honor at the table of President Madison. In England he was the familiar guest of Roscoe, Sir Humphrey Davy, Byron, Gifford, Campbell and the publisher Murray. In Germany he was the intimate of Blumenbach, and Wolf, 'the corypheus of German philologists,' and the first Greek scholar of his day. In his Journal of this period he gives an account of his visit to Goethe, which is striking in its naturalness. It was at this time, 1816, that he was offered the Professorship of French and Spanish literature at Harvard, which he accepted, and after three years of careful preparation entered upon its duties on the 10th August, 1819. Before his return, however, his travels and studies led him through France, Italy and Spain, and his journal, which records interviews with Schlegel, Madame de Staël, Humboldt, Pozzo di Borgo, the 'evil star of the First Napoleon,' Chateaubriand, and Lafayette, whom he visited at Chateau La Grange. In Rome he was presented to Pope Pius VII., for whom he had the highest respect, because of his resistance to "the Bonaparte," whom he hated with the ardor of a true Federalist. Here also he met Bunsen and Niebuhr, who "filled him with admiration and astonishment" by his immense learning and memory.

The beauties of Southern Spain give occasion for descriptions of scenery and architecture, which are exquisite gems of precision and nice discrimination of language. Here he drew large draughts of inspiration for his future task. On his way north to take his leave of Europe he met Talleyrand in Paris, and records an interesting conversation, in which Washington, Hamilton and Burr were mentioned. In London he saw Lords Holland, Brougham and Mackintosh; in Scotland, Scott, Southey and Wordsworth. On his return to America he was twenty-eight years of age. He immediately devoted himself to his duties, and upon the collection and arrangement of his library, which became not only a famous factor in American literature, but the familiar resort of men of letters of both continents. For fifteen years he continued his active life as a professor, when, partly dissatisfied with the narrow management of Harvard, and immediately urged by the ill health of his daughter, the admirable lady whose inherited taste and culture are shown in these volumes, he resigned his charge, and again visited Europe.

The record of his second voyage is as delightful as that of the first. It is more interesting, as presenting the change which had taken place in the European world between Waterloo and the days of July. The restoration had disappeared. The King of the French sat on the throne of the King of France. After fifteen years of reaction the Revolution had resumed its sway, and France had moved one step forward towards the freedom asserted in 1789. After nearly two years' absence, Mr. Ticknor returned in 1838 to the United States.

Great as were his services as an instructor, it was well that he resigned his professorship. Free from other engagements, he now set resolutely to work at his History of Spanish Literature, in which he had the advice of Prescott and the aid of Irving, who, as minister at Madrid, gave him peculiar facilities. The work appeared simultaneously in London and New York in 1849, and passed through four editions. A Spanish foundation was made and the work received with unqualified praise. It secured him a not unequal place in the triumvirate, Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, which has made, in styles as different as they are felicitous, the history and literature of Spain familiar themes to English ears. Later in life Mr. Ticknor took great interest in the Boston Public Library, which he determined to make a free library. He made to it extensive gifts of special collections of books and devoted fourteen years to its service, during which he made a third visit to Europe on its business. He again found a new order of things; Napoleon the Third was on the throne he had "surprised," but of this there is small mention. He returned to America from this his last visit in 1857. The next year he lost his dearest and most congenial

friend in Prescott, whose life he wrote. The clearness of his perception was shown by his foresight as to the results of secession. He saw that nothing but war was possible after Sumter, and foreseen the result of the war. Beyond the war he saw nothing but "the blackness of thick darkness resting on the South," but he spared no effort, personal or public, to mitigate the fury of popular passion. To the close of his life he retained his interest in letters and literary men, and died with contentment and cheerfulness on the 26th of January, 1871, in his eighty-first year. His Spanish and Portuguese works he left by will to the Boston Public Library.

**EARLY CHAPTERS OF CAYUGA HISTORY.** JESUIT MISSIONS IN GOI-O-GOUEN, 1656-1684. Also an account of the Sulpitian missions among the emigrant Cayugas about Quinte Bay in 1668. By CHARLES HAWLEY, with an introduction by JOHN GILMARY SHEA. 8vo, pp. 106. IVISON & PERRY, Auburn, N. Y., 1879.

Mr. Hawley, the accomplished president of the Cayuga Historical Society, recites the contents of this pamphlet to be substantially as follows: Such extracts were made from the *Relations* of the Jesuit fathers as described their labors among the Cayugas, whose Canton, known to the French as Goi-o-Gouen, lay largely within the present county of Cayuga. Translations of these extracts were made, which first appeared in a series of articles in the Auburn Daily Advertiser; the history of the mission being carried to 1672, which was as far as the *Relations* accessible to Mr. Hawley extended. These articles were collected in a pamphlet.

A second volume was then undertaken with co-operation of Dr. John Gilmary Shea, whose familiarity with the entire range of subject is well known. From the material in his possession translations were made, and the history of the Cayuga mission carried down to its close. The proof sheets of the entire work have had his intelligent supervision, and the introduction is from his pen. The work is prefaced by a chart prepared by Gen. John S. Clark, showing the location of the Iroquois Five Nations and mission sites, 1656-1684, and numerous notes have been contributed by this gentleman, who is an enthusiastic investigator of the archæologic remains of this peculiarly interesting section of our country.

The introduction of Mr. Shea supplies a valuable bibliographical account of the *Relations* themselves. These *Relations*, so often quoted, are almost the only original deposits of information concerning the Jesuit missions which were a part of the French scheme of American civilization and empire. They form a series of small vol-

umes issued in France from 1632 to 1672, on the annual arrival at her ports of the ships from Canada with American produce and the report of the Superior of the missions. They were cheaply printed, in some cases in several editions, and widely circulated. They led to the establishments in Canada of the Sulpitians, the Ursuline and Hospital nuns. A strong opposition arising to the Jesuits, with Count de Frontenac at its head, the Recollects were introduced to replace the Jesuits, and Indian missions under Sulpitians and secular priests encouraged.

The Jesuit *Relations* thus dropped out of sight and were almost unknown except from the use made of them by Du Creux or Charlevoix. With the foundation of American libraries, the *Relations* found their way to notice. Bancroft and Murray first drew attention to them. Of one volume a single copy only was known. It was secured by Faribault for the Parliament Library in Quebec, but destroyed with the collection by a mob. Fortunately Mr. James Lenox had caused an accurate transcript to be made of it, from which it was reprinted with two others, the most rare in the series. A bibliographical account of the whole collection was prepared by Dr. O'Callaghan, and printed in the Proceedings of the New York Historical Society. Since then the Canadian government has reprinted the whole series in three volumes, accessible to all.

This is the pioneer attempt to determine accurately, with careful maps, the precise sites of the missions. All honor to Cayuga for leading the way in this important work.

The first of the chapters, entitled Jesuit Missions among the Cayugas, begins with an account of the first effort made to reach the Iroquois by a mission in 1656. It originated apparently in a plot laid by the Iroquois in 1653 to induce the Hurons, whom they subdued and drew in to their protection from the French, to make common cause with them. Nevertheless it was resolved to accept the proposal of the Iroquois to send a mission to them, and Father Le Moyne, a veteran Huron missionary, was despatched to Onondaga in 1654. He was warmly and hospitably received. In 1655 others followed, and in 1656, although treachery was feared, two sloops left Quebec for Onondaga with the mission on board, which was confided to the care of Father René Menard, whose Relation makes the second chapter.

In the third is an account of the escape of the fifty-three colonists from the fortified house in Lake Ganentaa, and their safe arrival at Montreal. This mission was not reestablished until 1669, when it was successfully undertaken by Father de Carheil at the instance of Garamontie, the Chief of the Onondagas. The Cayuga mission was specially patronized by Saonchiogwa, the Chief of the Cantons, who was

second only in influence to Garacantie among the Iroquois. The letters of Carheil are full of details. He was delighted with Cayuga, less pleased with the Mohawk Valley. Oneida and Onondaga, as well as Seneca, he found little adapted for the chase, but more than a thousand deer were killed every year near Cayuga.

The Relation bears testimony on every page to the earnest zeal of the Jesuits; their eager desire to save souls; their ambition to be sacrificed as martyrs. Curiously but naturally enough, their persistence in baptism of the moribund savages led to the belief that they were the occasion of death, which had often serious consequences.

The extraordinary powers and conversation of the great Huron chief, the Rat, who alone was a match for Frontenac in wit and repartee, are alluded to.

The next division relates the history of the Sulpitian mission at Quinte Bay from Dollier de Casson's History of Montreal, first published by the Montreal Historical Society in 1869, and translated by Dr. Shea for the present work. The mission was organized in 1668. The Jesuits were replaced at Kente by the Sulpitians in 1675.

**THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH.** Being a history of France from the beginning of the first French revolution to the end of the second empire. By HENRI VAN LAUN. 2 vols., 8vo, pp., 503-554. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1879.

In these volumes Mr. Van Laun, who is well known to the English reading public as the translator of Taine's masterful History of English Literature, presents a concise account of the most eventful period in the history of France, a period which includes the rise and fall of two republics and two monarchies, one absolute, the other constitutional, and of two empires, leaving the government in 1878 in the hands to which it passed in 1789—the hands of the people. The writer does not claim to have made original investigation. He relies chiefly on the *Histoire des Français*, by M. M. Lavallee and Loch, the historic sketches of de Goncourt and Quinet, the works of Carlyle, the introduction being drawn from the original and admirable work of Taine on the Ancien Regime.

The suggestive titles of the books of the first volume are, The Gathering of the Storm, The Republic, The Directory, and The Consulate. The style is the energetic style of which Carlyle set the example. The paragraphs are pictures, the sentences brush-dashes, strong in color and crisp in form. In his chapter on the Consulate the course of Bonaparte is treated with fairness, the difficulties of his position are explained, and the gradual evolution of the first

empire, as a logical sequence of the political condition of France, divided at home and threatened from without, is explained. Here for the first time we find the admission that the imperialism of Napoleon was the choice of France, and that she opposed him with pride, as the military incarnation of the revolution, to the feudal system against which it was in perpetual revolt.

The second volume gives an account of the Empire, of the Restoration, the Reign of Louis Philippe, and the Second Republic. The new emperor was acknowledged by all the sovereigns of Europe except three. The King of Spain was the first, the King of Prussia the second to acknowledge the new government, the latter with almost obsequious flattery.

In his assumption of the Imperial dignity Van Laun considers that the Emperor was self deceived. He credits him, however, with a sincere regard for the interests of France, and also with a desire for the maintenance of peace. All the wars of Europe were charged upon the inordinate ambition of Napoleon, but a fair examination will show that he was rarely the aggressive party; unless that his existence as an emperor was a perpetual aggression. Here was the one fault of his career: Had he not formed a dynasty he would, till the last, have been able to command the assistance of the entire republican element of the continent, and perhaps to have changed the political condition of all Europe.

The fall of the restoration is properly ascribed to the innate obstinacy of the Bourbons; that of the constitutional monarchy to the incapacity of the ministry. The two great causes were the contempt in which Louis Philippe was held for his parsimony, and the natural disgust of France with the secondary place to which she had fallen through his vacillating and weak foreign policy. The second republic was doomed to fail. Indeed, permanent government seemed impossible anywhere. There was a great financial crisis all over Europe. And the social question was in every man's mouth. Industry languished everywhere, and the relations between capital and labor had divided society, indeed all Europe, into two camps. The struggle came, and socialism, which had appealed to the sword, fell by the sword.

How Louis Napoleon took advantage of the favorable moment, stabbed in the dark the Republic he had sworn to defend, and revived the Empire, is concisely told. It is with some surprise, however, that we note the omission by this keen observer of the one important fact in Napoleon's reign; that which gave to it all of its brilliancy. The discovery of gold in California, in 1848, inaugurated a new era in modern society. With the enormous increase of the specie basis credit was again expanded, confidence restored and enterprise and industries of every kind received an impulse which carried

the empire with it on an irresistible wave. It was the gold of California and not the star of Napoleon that cast over the second empire the glitter of prosperity, and brought to it the name of the Golden Age. The history closes with the deposition of the emperor and the restoration of the Republic—may it live forever!

It has never been our fortune to read a history of France so calm, so fair, so dispassionate as this of Van Laun.

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ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY on  
their Twenty-second Anniversary, May 25,  
1877, by J. J. Pringle Smith. 8vo, pp. 35,  
App. vii. LUCAS & RICHARDSON, Charleston,  
S. C.

With admiration for the chaste classic style of this address and respect for the critical scholarship which every line reveals, we must nevertheless express a regret that it was ever delivered, or rather that the sentiments which prompt it still exist in the hearts of the people of the Southern States. It opens with a statement to which the most incessant repetition can not impart one particle of truth. "Sixteen years ago," it says, this State (South Carolina), with ten others, withdrew from the Federal union, seeking safety, peace and happiness under a government within their own borders, so organized as to them seemed most likely to effect these objects. War was waged to force them again into the Union." The converse of this is the truth. The nation called "the United-States," to preserve safety, peace and happiness, and the government its people had chosen, determined to permit no strange foreign government to be formed within her limits. Ten States, led by South Carolina, waged war against the United States to establish such a foreign government within the territory of the Nation. They were defeated. With a magnanimity of which there is no example in history—a mistaken magnanimity, it may be—the nation restored to the rebellious States the rights they had forfeited. If Mr. Smith truly expresses the sentiment of the Southerners, which we doubt, there is future strife in store for the country, and every lover of free institutions will regret that the ten States were territorially reorganized, and the name of South Carolina had not been stricken from the roll of the Union.

Able as the reasoning of Mr. Smith is, it is after all but a reopening of the old argument which Webster closed on the floor of the Senate, and which it was supposed that Lee surrendered with his sword at Appomattox Court House. If this were not the result, the issue must be tried again. Sentiment will not be permitted to control the next settlement. We prefer to believe that Mr. Smith does not truly represent the opinions of the Southern people.

THE GENEALOGIES AND ESTATES OF  
CHARLESTOWN, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLE-  
SEX, AND COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHU-  
SETTS, 1629-1818. By THOMAS BELLOWES  
WYMAN. 2 vols., Royal 8vo, A-J and K-Z,  
pp. 1173. DAVID CLAPP & SON, Boston,  
1879.

In the May number (III. 327) announcement was made of the intended publication of the long researches of the late lamented Thomas Bellows Wyman in the genealogies of old Middlesex. The work is now given to the public in two superb volumes, edited with punctilious care, in the most approved method of arrangement, alphabetically and synthetically, and is admirably printed by the competent publishers.

The first volume is prefaced by a steel engraved portrait of the quaint and charming author; the second by a "Plan of Charlestown peninsula, in the State of Massachusetts, from accurate surveys by Peter Tufts, Junior, Esqr., 1818."

By the nuncupative will of Mr. Wyman, Mr. Henry H. Edes was designated to carry forward to completion the printing of the work in the earliest stages of which the author was arrested by the hand of Death. The familiarity of the editor with the author's plan, his intimate knowledge of his peculiar habits of thought and idiomatic expression, have enabled him to approximate most closely to the purpose of his friend. This is apparent to all those who had occasion to call to their aid Mr. Wyman's professional services as a searcher and copyist of genealogical material. We have under our eye a collection of this material made by him some years ago in genealogical investigation, and speak from personal knowledge.

The excellent critics of the Boston papers, whose associations give them peculiar advantages of local observation and knowledge—Mr. Charles W. Tuttle in the *Daily Advertiser*, and Mr. George E. Ellis in the *Evening Transcript*—unite in unqualified praise of the "great work" of Mr. Wyman, and the admirable manner in which it has been carried to completion by Mr. Edes. It would be mere supererogation in any one less qualified than they to add one word to their encomiums.

The work has been fostered by the authorities of the city of Charlestown, in the honor of which it will stand as a monument when brass shall have been broken and marble crumbled into dust.

A memoir of Mr. Wyman is announced to appear shortly in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. It is greatly to be regretted that it is not included in these volumes, where in the future it will be naturally sought.

**OSGOOD'S GUIDE-BOOKS.—NEW ENGLAND; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS.** A guide to the chief cities and popular resorts of New England, and to its scenery and historical attractions; with the western and northern borders from New York to Quebec. With six maps and eleven plans. Sixth edition, revised and augmented. 16mo, pp. 433. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

**THE MIDDLE STATES; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS.** A guide to the chief cities and popular resorts of the Middle States, and to their scenery and historic attractions; with the northern frontier, from Niagara Falls to Montreal; also Baltimore, Washington and Northern Virginia. Third edition. 16mo, pp. 469. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

**THE MARITIME PROVINCES; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS.** A guide to the chief cities, coasts and islands of the maritime provinces of Canada, and to their scenery and historic attractions; with the Gulf and River St. Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal; also Newfoundland and the Labrador coasts. With four maps and four plans. 16mo, pp. 336. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1875.

**THE WHITE MOUNTAINS; A HAND-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS.** A guide to the peaks, passes and ravines of the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and to the adjacent railroads, highways and villages; with the lakes and mountains of Western Maine; also Lake Winnepesaukee and the upper Connecticut Valley. With six maps and six panoramas. 16mo, pp. 436. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

These celebrated guide-books made their first appearance in the order in which they are above given, and are too well known to need any commendation. With the clean, clear type of the Riverside press, for which this American Chiswick is famous, they contain a vast amount of carefully collated information in compact space and handy form.

Their popularity is shown by the number of editions issued. No traveler can well afford to be without them. The best houses on the routes are recommended, and their prices given.

**THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW—FOURTEENTH YEAR.** JULY, 1879. 8vo. STRAHAN & Co. Limited, London. INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY, New York.

In the leading article of the July number of this periodical, which maintains its character for serious discussion of themes of the higher order, Mr. Thomas Hughes presents, in the form of a review of Mr. Bigelow's recent life of Benjamin Franklin, a concise analysis of the character of the American Sage, which is intended to modify in some respects the judgment held of him in Great Britain. He is shown to have been the most successful man of his day; the editor of the most influential paper in America; the most prolific and the most popular author on either side of the Atlantic, and the inventor of mechanical appliances, which made his name familiar in every home; notwithstanding which, while there have been complete editions of Franklin's works and numerous biographies of him published on both sides of the Atlantic since 1800, only "one slight biographical sketch in Chambers' Cheap Library and one article in the Edinburgh Review of 1806 remain the only notices which have been issued from the English press of the greatest of American philosophers and diplomatists."

Mr. Hughes seeks the reasons for this striking neglect, which has obscured Franklin's fame in England, and finds therein political and religious prejudice: the first founded on the belief that while the American Resident in England he was secretly undermining the allegiance of the colonies before the war, and at its close was the one American Commissioner who attempted to impose unworthy terms on England; the second, that while professing Christianity, he was in fact a skeptic, and veiled hostility under a guise of toleration. The first of these charges is taken up and disposed of, and a just tribute is paid to the honesty and frankness of Franklin's character. It is in regard to his attitude in the negotiation of the peace of 1783 that English prejudice was aroused against him. He is supposed to have desired to humiliate England, to have shown suspicion of Grenville, to have instilled the same feeling into the minds of Adams and Jay, and to have brought about the ultimate refusal of all compensation to loyalists, after having led the English Government to expect his support in this branch of the negotiations. Some new light was thrown on the general subject of the correspondence between John Quincy Adams and William Jay, as to the parts taken by their respective fathers in the treaty, published in the January number of the Magazine (III., 39), from which it appears that while Jay, with the serene judgment which marked his entire career, always maintained terms of mutual good understand-

ing with both of his colleagues, the same good feeling did not exist between Franklin and Adams.

In the opinion of Mr. Hughes, Franklin's conduct in the negotiation was alone consistent. "It was Jay," he says, "not Franklin, who stood out for a preliminary declaration of independence from England. Jay and Adams, not Franklin, who were afterwards prepared to waive such a declaration, and even to negotiate separately, when they found that the French Minister, de Vergennes, was not unwilling that England should delay the recognition of independence." In the sharp struggle between Franklin and Shelburne, the one to consolidate the alliance of America and France, the other to weaken that bond, and in its place to establish an alliance between Great Britain and America, equal credit is ascribed to each, and full justice is done to the motives of each of these "thoroughly upright and able men." Each was acting in the best interests of his country. In this initial struggle may be found the germ of the two great parties, the Federal and Republican, which, leaning respectively to English and French forms of government, divided the sentiment of the United States in the earlier days of its history.

The prejudice against Franklin on religious grounds Mr. Hughes considers as more intelligible, but quite as unreasonable; and in fact justice to a man of the independence of thought of Franklin could hardly be expected from the narrow restricted limits, within which, until recently, the church of every denomination has sought to confine the speculation of science. The generation has not yet passed of those who heard in their youth the anathemas of the church against the infidelity of geology. We have seen it only recently stated that Robespierre's first important cause was a defense of the introduction of Franklin's lightning rods against the charge of impiety. Notwithstanding the opinion generally held of Franklin's religious belief, and of his independence of definite creeds, Mr. Hughes finds in the picture of this master of practical life, as painted by himself in his correspondence, that "if he never lifts us above the earth, or beyond the domain of experience and common-sense, he retained himself a strong hold on the invisible which underlies it." Mr. Adams, in the correspondence which has been quoted, says that "worldly wisdom was Franklin's god," and hints at his disbelief in a future state. There is nothing in Franklin's life or writings which justifies such a suspicion. Indeed in his letter to President Stiles of Yale College, written at eighty-four on the confines of eternity, he expressly avows his belief in God, in a divine government of the world, in the immortality of the soul, and in the doctrine of reward and punishment in another life.

REVUE DES DEUX-MONDES, XLIX  
ANNÉE, TROISIÈME PERIODE. Tome trente  
et unième. 15 February, 1879. Paris, 1879.  
For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

Under the title of "A Hero of the Seven Years' War, the Marquis Louis de Montcalm," M. Hamont contributed to the February number of this stately and always interesting periodical one of the most charming biographical sketches which has appeared in many years. The precise details on which it rests consist in an unpublished journal and numerous letters of Montcalm, *Le Canada* by Dussieux et Montcalm, *le Canada Français* by de Bonnechese, of which a review was given in these pages. Montcalm by Sommervogel, and *Le Marquis de Montcalm*, by the Abbé Martin. The manuscripts were communicated to Mr. Hamont by M. Margry, whose recent work on the French Settlements in America is fresh in the minds of our readers.

The traits of this heroic character from early youth, when he drew his inspiration from a study of Plutarch in the original, to the hour in which, unsupported by his own lieutenants and overwhelmed by a superior force, he fell on the plains of Abraham, a sacrifice to the criminal neglect of the French ministry, are drawn by a master hand.

At twenty-two he already displayed the type of the true soldier, with the inner lining of a lofty and refined soul. Tempted to the gambling table by the gay young officers of the Strasbourg garrison, and for a moment carried away by the fatal passion which it is said never relinquishes its hold upon its victims, he proved an exception to the rule, and breaking away in shame from his excesses, he found in the study of the Greek classics a cure for even this disease. He was more fortunate in two associations he made at this period, one with an officer, the Marquis de la Fare, the other with Chauvelin, the Keeper of the Seals, a minister fashioned in the mould of Louvois. Still more fortunate was he in his marriage with the granddaughter of Denis Talon, a love match, even though in the reign of Louis XV., when love and marriage were rarely synonymous terms.

On the disgrace of Chauvelin, despairing of obtaining a regiment, his one ambition, he followed La Fare to the wars of the Austrian succession and at once distinguished himself by his ardent zeal and indomitable resolution. Promoted colonel of the regiment of Auxerrois, he was sent to Italy, and held the difficult line of communication between Bayard and Asidagna with an iron hand. At Plaisance he led his regiment over the enemy's redoubts and fell within the lines, desperately wounded by five sabre cuts from a Croat hussar. He was found

senseless on the field the next morning by the Austrians. At the peace he was promoted to a brigade.

The strength of his character was in its moral force. He resembled the heroes of Plutarch in his antique stoicism, the dramatic characters of Euripides and Sophocles, in the proud equanimity with which he bore unflinching the changes and trials and sufferings of life.

Of all men, he was the man for an independent and distant command. It needed a wide field of operations to draw out his latent resources and show the variety of his powers of organization and administration. Such a field was Canada at the critical moment when the seven years' war broke out. D'Argenson saw his capacity and charged him with the defence of New France.

Our own able and fascinating chronicler, Mr. Parkman, has told the story of the rise and fall of the great empire which France founded on our continent, with a thoroughness and precision that renders any fresh recital superfluous, but even those most familiar with his pages will find delight in the dramatic manner in which the difficulties and the dangers which beset the martial governor, and the unwavering activity and unconquerable resolution with which they were met—a resolution which partook of the traits rarely combined, of unbounded audacity and a prudence which neglected no precaution, overlooked no detail. The passages in the sketch, in which the author defends and frees Montcalm from the charge of encouraging his savage allies to acts of barbarism, are peculiarly interesting. With the wonderful facility which the French have always shown in their adaptation to the modes of thought and action of savage tribes, Montcalm acquired over the redskins an almost superhuman influence. Nothing can be more dramatic than the description of the scene when he met the Indian tribes in council, and threw into the midst of the assembly the necklace, which was to remain the emblem of the Union between France and her Indian allies. It was to this scene and this emblem that the French appealed when they sought the assistance of the Indians to the allied cause in 1780, and their appeal was not in vain.

Notwithstanding his self-reliance, Montcalm never underrated the imminent peril of the colony. He knew the apathy, the indifference, the degradation of Versailles. "We shall fight," he wrote to the Minister, when his entire force to hold the frontier and garrison the posts was but seven thousand men. "We shall fight, and we shall bury ourselves if need be beneath the ruins of the colony;" and he kept his word. In the general decrepitude, moral, political and financial, into which France fell, the heroism of Montcalm alone sufficed to

save from the general wreck the lustre of her military glory and the honor of her flag.

## NOTICE

THIRD SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS, BRUSSELS,

SEPTEMBER, 1879

Through the kindness of the Rev. B. F. DeCosta we have been favored with the newspaper reports of this session and a letter from M. E. Beauvois, of Corberon, one of the most distinguished of its French members.

The session is described to have been more brilliant than either of those that preceded it. The King of the Belgians, the President of Venezuela, and several high officials, past and present, civil and military, were present. The papers sent in were more thorough and scholarly in their treatment than those before read. The official report will consist of two volumes, and be ready for delivery by midsummer of next year.

The next, the fourth session of the Congress, will be held at Madrid or Seville, in 1881.

The Americans at the Congress were very desirous to have the next session held in the United States, but as no formal request to this effect from persons high in authority was presented to the Congress, and as a formal invitation was received from the Spanish Government, the Council of Direction decided in favor of Spain.

To the proposition of the American delegates it was suggested that if they seriously desired to hold a session in America, the Congress might be summoned in the interim between the sessions; that is, in 1880. These sessions, parallel and independent of each other, would not be competing, but, on the contrary, would serve to recruit new members, who would make part of both Congresses. M. Beauvois suggests, in addition, that the American session might treat of the later centuries, while the European might be properly confined to the pre-Columbian period and the century of discovery.

To this, with deference to the experience and learning of M. Beauvois, we suggest that the year 1883, the centennial of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, the celebration of which will be a great national event, and therefore peculiarly attractive to foreigners, will be the most appropriate time for the holding of an American session; and we further think that in view of the great interest displayed in all that concerns our pre-historic remains, American archæologists will not be content with a plan of papers confined to post-Columbian history.

EDITOR.

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EDITOR.





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